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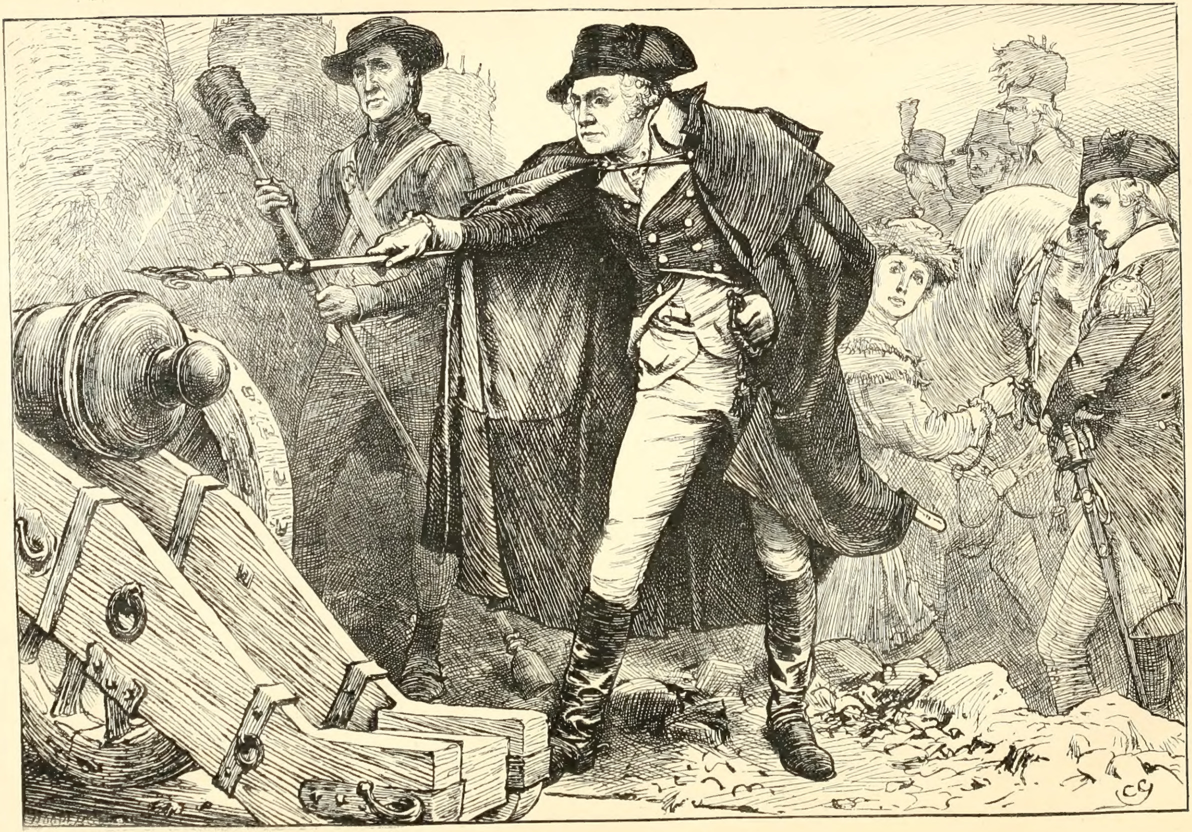

WASHINGTON AT THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN.

(*See p.* 430.)

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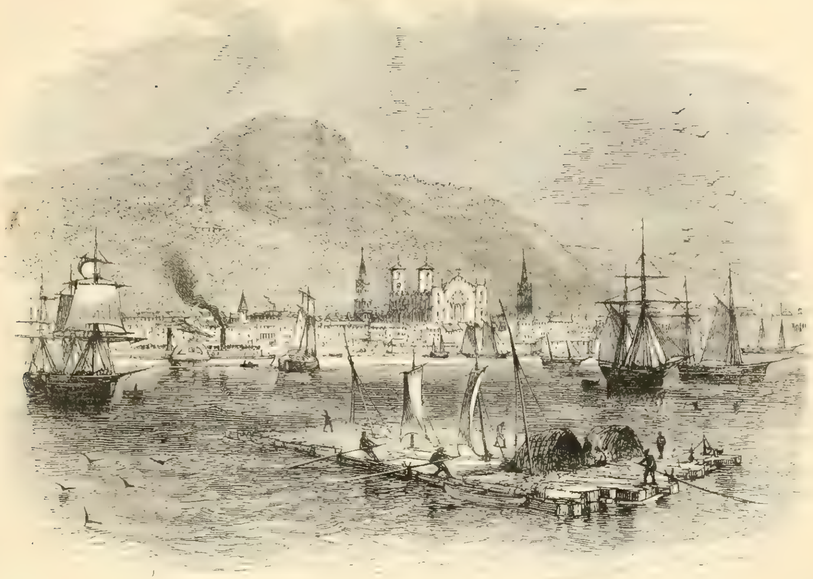

MONTREAL.

CASSELL'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

[illegible] the English Army before Quebec—Surrender of the City—Danger of an Attack from the French—Action with De Levi in Front of the Walls—Defeat of the English, and Investment of the City by the French—Raising of the Siege on the Approach of an English Squadron—Concentration of French Forces at Montreal—Amherst's Plans for the Conquest of Canada—Capture of Isle Royale—Junction of Three English Armies before Montreal—Capitulation of the City, and entire Subversion of Canada—Decline of French Power—Outbreak of the Cherokees on the Borders of Virginia and the Two Carolinas—Collision with the Savages—Siege of Fort Loudoun by the Cherokees—Reduction of the Rebellious Indians to Submission—Governor Pownall and Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts—Ill-judged Message to the Assembly—Death of George II., and Accession of George III.—Character of the latter Monarch—Early Events of the New Reign, and Evil Prognostics for America.

WOLFE'S heroic death before Quebec, and the victory by which it was accompanied, sealed the fate of Canada; but the effect was not immediate. The city did not at once surrender, and it was a year before the province submitted to the rule of England. The situation of the British army on the St. Lawrence was still serious, notwithstanding the great achievement of September 13th, 1759. The fortifications of Quebec were still intact; an army yet stood within the walls, beaten indeed, but not utterly demoralised. If the garrison should rally, they might drive the English back in disastrous rout. If the troops then concentrated in various parts of Canada should march to the rescue of the capital, the besiegers might be assaulted in their rear at the same time that they were attacked in front. A great point had been gained; a great success had been accomplished; but the dangers of the position were considerable, in view of the weakened state of the invading hosts, and of the improbability of any reinforcement reaching them. General Townshend, therefore, on succeeding to the command, thought it prudent to fortify his camp, at the same time that he took all necessary measures for the investment of the hostile city. But he was spared the tedious operations and uncertain issues of a siege. On the 17th of September, the French made proposals for a capitulation. The death of Montcalm and of his second in command, and the great losses of the regiments engaged on the 13th—1,500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, against only 640 on the side of the English—had broken the spirits of the garrison, while the scarcity of food rendered their situation even more precarious than it would have been in a merely military sense. The season had become wet, cold, and stormy, and winter, in those northern latitudes, was not far off. Everything conspired to daunt the French and Canadians, and to make them desirous of a pacific arrangement. The English were equally glad to post themselves in a city, the fortifications of which, being uninjured by a cannonade, would be the better able to exclude the enemy, should he make an attack in force. By the terms of capitulation, the inhabitants were to be protected, during the remainder of the war, in the free exercise of their religion; but their future political fortunes were left to be decided at the return of peace.

The surrender of Quebec took place on the 18th. The city, besides its garrison, contained a population of about ten thousand persons; but the prevailing elements were the military and the clerical. Convents, hospitals, and public buildings, each with a large garden about it, occupied the greater part of the space within the fortified walls; and the priest threaded his frequent way along the winding and precipitous streets, visiting the posts of the soldiery, or the dwellings of the working colonists. But now the priest had no longer any soldiers to visit: the banner of the Bourbons was struck down, and that of England floated in its place. On the 19th of September, about a thousand prisoners were embarked on transports, to be conveyed to England; and a garrison of five thousand British troops, commanded by General Murray, took possession of the conquered town. The fleet soon afterwards departed, carrying with it General Townshend, who now returned to London; and the French colonists in the neighbourhood of Quebec entered the city in great numbers, voluntarily delivered up their arms, and took an oath to observe strict neutrality during the war. All immediate danger was at an end; but, shortly after the capitulation, the English General learned that that portion of the French army which escaped from the field of battle had been reinforced beyond Cape Rouge by two regular battalions from Montreal, and that Bougainville, with eight hundred men and a convoy of provisions, had contemplated throwing himself into the town. For the present, however, the French accepted their defeat, though cherishing in their minds many projects for the future. At the same time, the operations of General Stanwix in the west were so completely successful that the emigrants who had been expelled by the French returned to their settlements, and even pushed their way still farther into the desert.

Montreal was now the only place of importance left to the French in Canada; but, in the early part of 1760, it was resolved to make an endeavour for the recovery of Quebec. The British fleet had departed; all communication with England was cut off by the ice in the Lower St. Lawrence; and the defences of the town were not in themselves very formidable. The Canadian Governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, had at his disposal about five thousand regular troops, and an equal number of Canadian militia; and it appeared to him that a dashing movement might not improbably result in the expulsion of the English from the city they had won. The winter did not pass without some enterprises to this end being attempted; but they proved wholly unsuccessful. The British outposts were found to be strong and vigilant; and, although De Levi possessed a number of frigates which gave him command of the river, and the nearest English squadron was at Halifax in Nova Scotia, nothing could be effected. It was fortunate that no serious attack was made during the winter; for the garrison under Brigadier Murray suffered severely from excessive cold, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions produced a terrible outbreak of scurvy, resulting, before the end of April, in the deaths of a thousand soldiers, and the disabling of twice that number. This reduced the total number of effectives to about three thousand; but the approach of spring had a beneficial effect on the sick. Murray had entrenched his troops on the Heights of Abraham, and all needful measures were taken for interposing, between the ramparts and any hostile force, several extemporary defences, such as would, under the worst of circumstances, delay the enemy for a considerable time. This, then, was the state of affairs at Quebec, when, on the 26th of April, the British commander learned that the French had landed at Point-au-Tremble. Though snow still lay on the ground, the navigation of the Upper St. Lawrence was by this time free from ice; and, the artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage of the French having been embarked at Montreal, and carried down the river under convoy of six frigates, De Levi marched in ten days to the vicinity of Quebec. His army consisted of ten thousand white men and five hundred savages, against whom Murray could only muster a very inferior force. He therefore ordered all the bridges over Cape Rouge to be broken down, and the landing-places at Sillery and Foulon to be secured. Marching in person at the head of a strong detachment, he took possession of a post which prevented the French from cutting off his advanced guards; but, finding himself still threatened by his adversaries, he formed the daring design of giving them battle in the open field—an attempt which had ended disastrously to the French when confronted by Wolfe, and for which Murray was in a less advantageous position than Montcalm.

The little army marched out of Quebec at half-past six o'clock in the morning of April 28th. As soon as the several brigades were drawn up in line of battle, the French were seen, at the distance of three-quarters of a mile, approaching in single column. Murray, conceiving that he could successfully attack them before they had formed, advanced rapidly, and at first swept the enemy from the heights; but the hostile regiments soon rallied, and, after a desperate conflict, drove back the English with serious loss. The latter were by this time outflanked, and in great danger of being completely surrounded. Disorder had set in throughout the ranks; several of the regiments were mobbed; and, having maintained the struggle for nearly two hours, Murray withdrew into Quebec, with the loss of nearly all his artillery, and of a thousand men in killed and wounded. The French are said to have lost in a much greater proportion; but they enjoyed the consolation of victory, and had taken the first step towards retrieving their damaged position. The English commander was greatly blamed for the rashness of his endeavour, considering his great numerical inferiority to the French; and he seems in truth to have been inspired with the audacity of Wolfe, without possessing Wolfe's judgment. It had been a saying of the conqueror of Quebec that nothing was impossible to a victorious army; and Murray relied on this dictum in too literal a spirit. His purpose, in the event of failure, was to hold out at Quebec to the last extremity; then to retreat to the Isle of Orleans, or Coudres, and there await reinforcements.* He was not reduced to the worst of these contemplated conditions, but he had to sustain a siege. On the very evening of the day when his forces were defeated in the field, trenches were opened against the town by the victorious army. The garrison exerted themselves with praiseworthy spirit and energy in improving the fortifications of the place; but it is not likely that it could have held out long. On the 11th of May, the French opened their batteries against the walls. Murray, to encounter this cannonade, planted the ramparts with one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, and the superior fire of the besieged silenced after awhile the batteries of the besiegers. Nevertheless, the position of the English was extremely critical, for a fleet with reinforcements had been despatched from France, and, had it arrived, the fate of Quebec would probably have been decided. But, fortunately, the English fleet from Nova Scotia, under Lord Colville, and a squadron from England, had sailed in time to anticipate the advent of their rivals; and before the middle of May some English ships were before Quebec. They at once prepared to attack the French vessels which had brought De Levi's artillery, and which were still in the St. Lawrence, a little above the town; but the latter, on seeing the enemy's approach, fled without risking an encounter. Some of the French ships were wrecked, others taken and destroyed; and the blow so disheartened De Levi that he instantly raised the siege, and retreated with so much precipitation as not to allow himself sufficient time to remove the whole of his artillery and stores, the greater portion of which fell into the hands of General Murray. The French commander retreated to Montreal, but on his route thither was deserted by a number of Canadians and Indians, who seem by this time to have made up their minds that the star of France in that part of the world was irrevocably setting. It was the intention of Murray, on the morning after their disappearance, to attack the besiegers in camp by a vigorous sortie. Learning that they had gone, he followed with all speed, and succeeded in taking some prisoners. But the bulk of the army was beyond reach, and Murray returned to Quebec without the satisfaction of avenging his late defeat, but with the comforting assurance that the capital of Canada was safe in English hands.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil now saw that he must make his final stand at Montreal. The case was desperate, but he did not shrink from doing his utmost. He called in all his detachments, and concentrated his forces in the second city of Canada. He circulated false intelligence of the successes of France in other parts of the world, where she had in fact been as unfortunate as in America. By these patriotic fabrications, and by liberal promises of approaching succour, he endeavoured to raise the spirits of the provincials and of their savage allies; but he must have seen that his chances were of the slightest. General Amherst was now making extensive preparations for the entire subjugation of Canada, and De Vaudreuil had no force at his disposal capable of resisting the hosts that were being directed against him. He depended principally on the difficulties presented by the natural features of the country—on the woods, mountains, and morasses which flanked his position. But obstacles of this nature are seldom insuperable when a commander is determined to surmount them; and the French Governor of Canada knew only too well that an apparent impossibility had been accomplished by Wolfe. Three armies were by this time in motion against the doomed city. Amherst had conveyed instructions to General Murray to advance up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, with all the troops he could spare from the garrison of Quebec. Colonel Haviland, with a body of troops from Crown Point, was to take possession of the Isle-aux-Noix, in Lake Champlain, and thence to press on by the shortest route to the St. Lawrence; while Amherst himself, with the main body of the army, amounting to about ten thousand men, including Indians, would proceed from the frontiers of New York to Lake Ontario, and sail down the chief river of Canada to the last stronghold of the enemy.

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* Murray to the Secretary of State.

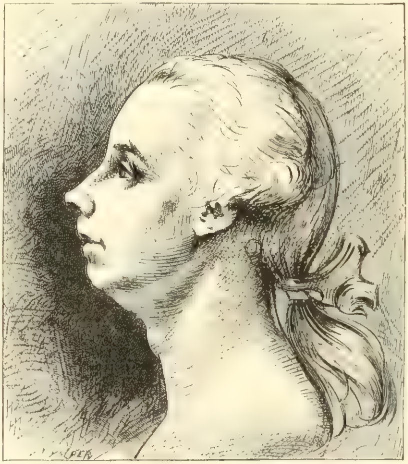
On the 9th of July, Amherst arrived at Oswego, where his forces were augmented by a thousand Indians of the Six Nations, under the command of Sir William Johnson. The entire army with their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, embarked on Lake Ontario, in open boats, on the 10th of August, and proceeded to the St. Lawrence. After encountering a French sloop, which ultimately surrendered, although not without a warm engagement, the squadron sailed towards Isle Royale, where the French had a fort which gave them command of the channel, and also of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk river. Amherst determined to reduce this fort, and, having first taken possession of some neighbouring islands, he invested the principal position, which, having been cannonaded for some time, capitulated when the prospect of a successful assault became imminent. The English commander then pursued his course down the St. Lawrence, the navigation of which he found very difficult and dangerous, on account of frequent rapids and falls, which caused the death, by drowning, of about ninety men, and the loss of forty-six *bateaux*, seventeen whaleboats, one row-galley, and some artillery, stores, and ammunition. But these accidents, however regrettable in themselves, had no effect in retarding the expedition. The invading force arrived before Montreal on the 6th of September, and it was joined by General Murray on the very same day, and by Colonel Haviland on the next. The city is planted on an island in the river St. Lawrence, and is about equi-distant from Quebec and Lake Ontario. At the period in question it was poorly fortified, though the second town to Quebec, and a place of importance, as being the chief seat of the Indian trade. The Marquis de Vaudreuil had counted too much on the natural difficulties by which his position was surrounded. These had all been overcome by the skill, courage, and enterprise of the three commanders; and so well had Captain Deane piloted Murray's flotilla up the St. Lawrence from Quebec that not a vessel was lost. As he advanced, Murray published manifestoes to the populace, of whom a large number submitted to English rule, and at once took the oath of neutrality. Others, who resisted, were disarmed, and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of their conquerors. At Montreal it was clearly seen, after the junction of the three armies, that successful resistance was impossible. Amherst had only just commenced his preparations for a siege, when De Vaudreuil, on the 7th, made proposals for a capitulation. The following day, Montreal was surrendered to the English; and Detroit and other places of importance followed. The Commander-in-chief immediately afterwards issued a general order to the army (including the regulars, the provincials, and the Indian allies), thanking them for their exertions, and bespeaking their humane consideration for the Canadians, now become British subjects under the protection of King George II.

Thus, by a most remarkable series of successes, the whole of Canada passed from the possession of France to that of England, which has ever since retained this vast territory. The French were reduced to a third-rate position on the continent of America; for, after the capitulation of Montreal, they possessed nothing more than Louisiana—a country, doubtless, of immense extent, but so thinly peopled, and so poor, as to have but little value. The military honour of Great Britain, which for some years had undergone a strange eclipse, was splendidly re-established by these great events, and the English race became thenceforward, beyond dispute, the leading power of North America. The fortunes of Canada, as a rule, do not belong, except in a collateral way, to a History of the United States; but it has been necessary to relate the foregoing circumstances in detail, because Anglo-American soldiers fought with the armies of Great Britain in the reduction of Canadian cities, and because the conquest of New France had a very important influence over the relations between England and her transatlantic colonies. With the reduction of French power in their immediate neighbourhood, the Americans lost what they at least considered their only motive for continued loyalty.

To complete the humiliation of the French, the armament despatched from France to the relief of Quebec was attacked in the Bay of Chaleurs, on the coast of Nova Scotia, by Captain Lord Byron, commanding the British vessels stationed at Louisburg, who, having been informed of the enemy's movements, went in pursuit. The French squadron, which consisted of a single frigate, two large store-ships, and nineteen smaller vessels, was assailed by Byron with five ships of war, and speedily destroyed, together with two batteries which the French had erected on shore. The entire population of those northern parts, including the native tribes, were now completely subdued. French and Indians were eager in making their submission, and the whole of the fur-trade fell into the hands of the English. So little did the latter apprehend from an enemy who had recently been dangerously powerful, that the fortifications of Louisburg were blown up, and the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, conveyed to Halifax. Only three hundred soldiers were left in barracks in what was formerly the chief town of Cape Breton. The French must have trembled for the small possessions left them. There can be little doubt that the settlements on the Mississippi could have been readily subdued, had the attempt been made. As was fully known at the time, they were so ill-provided with necessaries that the people could hardly have lived without the supplies which they derived from a contraband trade with the English colonies. This trade was made the subject of complaint by the naval and military commanders; and Pitt, in a circular letter to the provincial Governments, denounced the practice, and directed that severe measures should be taken against it.

During the progress of these events, some of the southern plantations were troubled by an Indian war of rather formidable character. At the commencement of the struggle with France, the Cherokees, acting in accordance with treaties that had been concluded some time before, sent several of their warriors to join the English expedition against Fort Duquesne. On their return march, after the reduction of that post, they supplied their want of horses by seizing on such as they found wandering about the woods. The animals being the property of the Virginians, great indignation was felt at their abstraction, and an attack was made on the offenders. Twelve or fourteen Indians were killed, and several more taken prisoners; on which the Cherokees, in their exasperation, began to listen to the suggestions of the French, who imputed ferocious designs to the Virginians, and supplied the savages with arms and ammunition. In the autumn of 1759, the latter made a hostile descent on the back settlements of Virginia and the two Carolinas. Numerous white men were murdered and scalped, and it became necessary to take military measures on a large scale against the threatening inroad. The three provinces affected sent a considerable military force into the country of the Cherokees, where a treaty was concluded, and guaranteed by the customary delivery of Indian hostages. Unfortunately, however, the savages were again provoked by the arrogance of Governor Lyttleton, of South Carolina; and, as soon as the military force was withdrawn, the Cherokees, early in 1760, resumed their attacks with greater fury than before. Several traders who had ventured among them were murdered; whereupon the Legislature of North Carolina retorted by passing a law which enacted that all Indian prisoners should become slaves to their captors, and that a premium should be paid to every colonist producing an Indian scalp. Nevertheless, the audacity of the savages proceeded so far that they laid siege to Fort Prince George, in the hope of recovering the hostages, who were confined there. Those unfortunate captives were presently slaughtered in resisting the orders of the commandant that they should be put in irons; and the Indians, wild with rage, menaced the most frightful revenge against their adversaries.

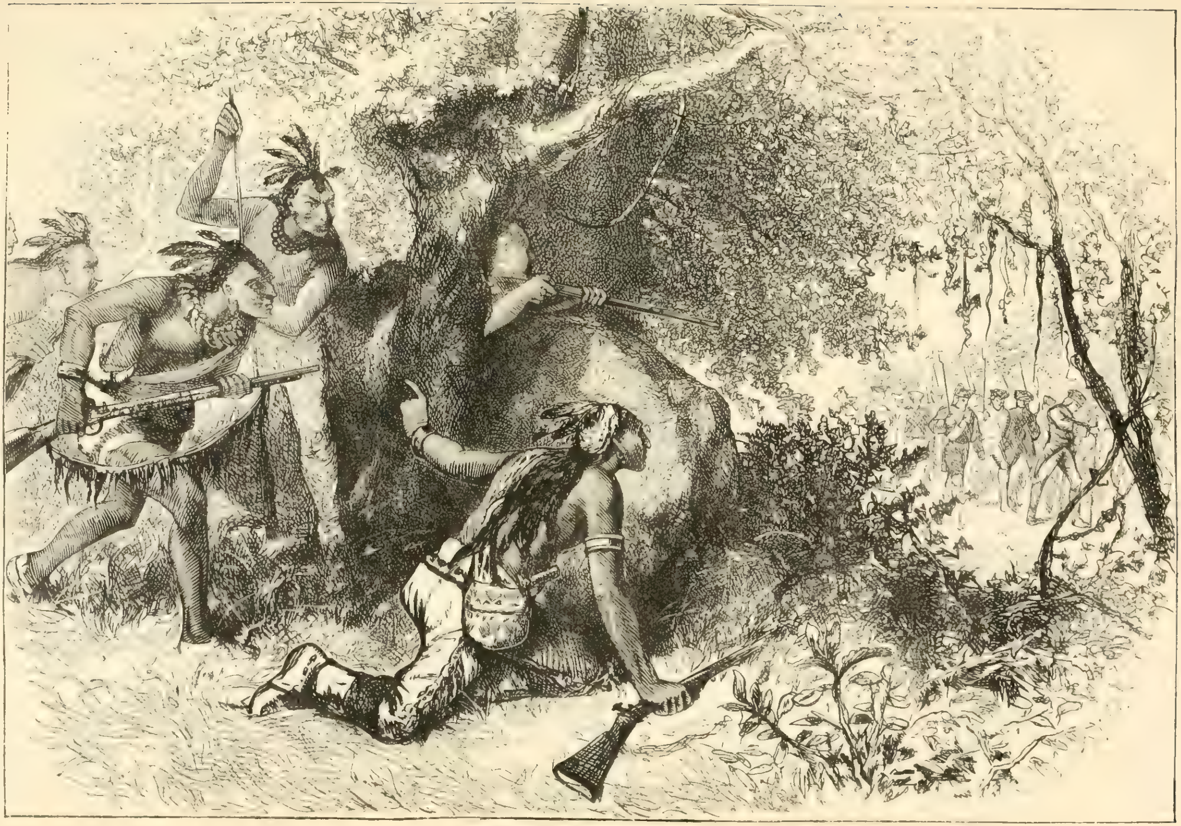
Alarmed for their safety, the Carolinians sent a despatch to General Amherst, begging for immediate assistance; and some regulars were at once supplied, to help in controlling the savages. These being joined by the provincial forces of the previous year, the united army advanced, during the month of May, into the country of the Cherokees, destroyed all the towns of the lower nation, and, marching to Fort Prince George, compelled the Indians to relinquish their blockade. In the native villages through which the soldiers passed on their way to the fort, they discovered the mangled bodies of several white men, and were so enraged at the sight that they slew most of the Indian prisoners whom they took. Colonel Montgomery, who was in command of the regulars, expected that the relief of Fort Prince George, and the terror of these executions, would have inclined the savages to submission; but they rejected his terms of accommodation, and maintained an attitude of defiance. He therefore marched forward through the Dismal Swamp, where progress was toilsome and dangerous, and arrived within five miles of Etchoe, the central town and settlement of the Cherokees. He was now at the entrance of a deep valley, shadowed with thickets, and crossed by a muddy river, flowing between steep banks of clay. Some rangers were sent forward to scour the ground between the bushes; but immediately on entering the obscure valley, they fell into an ambush, and were galled by a heavy fire from concealed parties of Indians. Their comrades advanced to their assistance, and were similarly encountered. It was necessary to bring the whole force into action to dislodge the lurking savages, whose numbers were so great, and whose position was so difficult of access, that the task of dispersing them was a work of time and hazard. At length, however, they retired, but in good order, and only to take up in succession other positions of strength. Montgomery himself was among the wounded in this affair, and thought it prudent, on defeating the enemy, to retire to Fort Prince George. Shortly afterwards he withdrew his regiment from the Carolinas, and the people were left to make the best provision they could for their own defence.



GENERAL WOLFE.
(From the Portrait by Sir Benjamin West in the British Museum.)

The Cherokees now assembled a considerable force, and laid siege to Fort Loudoun, situated in the north-eastern part of the present State of Tennessee, but on ground which was at that time included in North Carolina. The fort had been built three years before, and was not a place of any great strength. It was occupied by two hundred and fifty men; but the garrison were ill-supplied with provisions, and the remoteness of the situation precluded the hope of succour. The besieged held out for a long while, supporting themselves on horseflesh, until the failure of every species of food compelled a surrender. By the terms of capitulation, the garrison were to retire unmolested with their baggage, and were to be conducted on their way by trusty guides. The Indians professed to desire a lasting peace and a fairly-regulated trade with the white men; but they were secretly planning an act of treachery. When the troops were about fifteen miles from the evacuated fort, they were deserted by their guides, and attacked by a large number of Indians, who fired on them from all sides, killed twenty-five of the soldiers and all the officers but one, and made the rest prisoners. The captives, after passing a miserable time in the towns and villages of the red men, were redeemed by the province of South Carolina. Several small forts were subsequently besieged by the Cherokees; but, on the conquest of the whole of Canada, Amherst sent another force against these marauders, and, with the help of provincial troops and Indian allies, succeeded in bringing them to submission, in the summer of 1761, after another obstinate battle on the scene of Montgomery's misadventure.

Before this final success had been achieved, the rebellious Indians in the eastern parts of New England, who had for a long while sided with France, confessed their error, and, seeing the hopelessness of the French cause, and the extraordinary triumphs of the English arms, sought to make the best terms they could for themselves. In the course of 1760, the Penobscots sent deputies to Boston, and concluded a treaty of peace, by which they acknowledged themselves, without restriction or limitation, the subjects of Great Britain. By this treaty they undertook to dwell near a strong fort erected in their country by Pownall, the Governor of Massachusetts, and to deliver up all future offenders of their tribe to be judged by the authorities and laws of the province. The Penobscots were now greatly reduced in number, owing to the long continuance of war, and were glad to obtain the protection and favour of the Power they had defied. Shortly afterwards, Governor Pownall was removed to the richer Presidency of South Carolina, and was succeeded at Boston by Francis



TREACHERY OF THE CHEROKEES.

Bernard, formerly a proctor in the ecclesiastical courts of England, and more recently Governor of New Jersey. Pownall had been a very popular official. He had favoured the principles of the party most inclined to support colonial privileges, and was of course held in high esteem by all its members. But there was also a party in favour of the Royal prerogative; and although the holders of that view were a minority, they were sufficiently numerous and sufficiently influential to vex even the jovial spirit of Governor Pownall. It is said that he was not sorry to quit a position where he had been dragged into so many contentions. When he embarked for England (for he never actually took possession of office in South Carolina), both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature attended him in a body to his barge. In England, he was elected to the House of Commons, and, both by word of mouth and by his pen, warmly supported the cause of the colonists in their struggle with the mother country.

Bernard was a man of very different views. He allied himself with the prerogative party, the chief leaders of which were Hutchinson and Oliver—native Americans, whose views were in favour of the Court. The new Governor gave a very injudicious and unfortunate indication of his political bias in a phrase occurring in a message to the Legislature on the recent successes in Canada. He desired the two Houses to bear in mind the blessings they derived from their "subjection" to Great Britain, without which, he observed, they could not have been a free people. It was no doubt perfectly true that France had been humbled more by the Imperial power of England than by the efforts of the colonists themselves; for, however valuable the aid which the latter had rendered, and however gallant the conduct of the provincial troops, it is inconceivable that America, at that stage of her development, could have coped with the military resources of France so successfully as to strike down her banner from every stronghold in her Canadian possessions. But "subjection" was an ugly word, carrying with it many dangerous meanings, and it is not surprising that the Massachusetts Legislature repudiated it. The Council, in replying to Bernard's message, acknowledged that they owed their freedom to their "relation" to Great Britain; and the House of Representatives reminded the Governor that the obligation had been mutual, for that if the people of Massachusetts, for more than a century past, had not waded in blood, and burdened themselves with expenses, in repelling the common enemy, England would probably at that day have had no colonies to defend. The neglect of her colonies by England in previous times had perhaps done more towards the creation of a sense of independence than the injudicious interference of later days had operated to provoke a desire for it. At any rate, both feelings were now very prevalent, and very strongly developed. Burnaby, an English writer who travelled through North America in 1759–60, declared that he heard sentiments of independence expressed in almost every province that he visited.* These sentiments, however, were by no means novel as far as Massachusetts was concerned. They had existed from the very commencement of the colony, and in recent times had only been thinly disguised by rather hypocritical expressions of loyalty.

The provinces were now on the eve of their great struggle, and an event which happened in the autumn of 1760 may be said to have drawn the line between the old and the new state—between colonial history and the history of an independent Power. On the 25th of October, George II. died suddenly, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was succeeded by his grandson, then a young man of two-and-twenty. That this event was really the first of what may be called the later steps towards the War of Independence, cannot be doubted. George III. had from an early age conceived very high ideas of the Royal prerogative. He was surrounded by advisers who encouraged those ideas to the utmost, and it was not long after his accession to the throne that he called to his councils the very Ministers whose policy with regard to America led to such disastrous results. The new King was not a man of commanding abilities or of large acquirements. His intellect was narrow; the range of his studies slight. Yet he was not the mere fool which it has sometimes been the fashion to represent him. On some subjects he had a good deal of plain sense, though unfortunately his prejudices were strong, and his resolutions, when once formed, were carried out, or at least pursued, with an obstinate pertinacity which was often productive of great mischief. He was undoubtedly honest and sincere in all his convictions and all his acts; he was certainly courageous; he was virtuous after the sober fashion that English people love. His religious feelings, though of a conventional order, were thoroughly unaffected; and the purity of his court, though unduly formal, and leading to an excess of formalism in the whole body of English society, had a good influence in correcting the brutal coarseness and immorality of previous reigns. George III. understood, up

* Graham's History of the United States, Book X., chap. 6.

to a certain point, the people whom he ruled, and he was in harmony with some of the most distinctive qualities of the nation to which it was his boast to belong. Through a large part of his reign, he was one of the most popular monarchs who ever sat on the English throne. Yet all this did not make him a good politician; still less did it fit him for dealing with the difficult problems of colonial government. As we have before indicated, he was bent on breaking down the ascendency of the Whig aristocracy. To some extent he was right in his object; but he could not see that the world had advanced too far for a return to the political principles of Henry VII. On the next morning but one after his accession, the King made Lord Bute a Privy Councillor; and to Bute were due most of the early political ideas of George III. The Scotch peer was bent on making the King absolute; the King was only too well inclined to abet the project; and the colonies were to be among the first subjects of the doubtful and perilous experiment.

Pitt, who had gained the confidence of the late monarch since his accession to power, though he had previously been cordially disliked by the Second George, soon found that he should not have a supporter in the Third. The new sovereign was opposed to the war which Pitt had conducted with such brilliant success; he thought the Secretary too independent and too powerful; he preferred the more courtly ways of Newcastle; and he saw the Duke before any other member of the Administration, and before holding a Council. When the Privy Council met, the King's speech to that body was read. It had been drawn up by Bute, and it spoke of the war as bloody and expensive—which wars are apt to be. The declaration was entered on the Council-books without any previous concert with Pitt; and when that Minister read it, he was much hurt at what he regarded as an implied condemnation of his policy. He insisted that the address should be altered as it stood on the books; and, after a long and angry dispute with the northern favourite, he obtained the King's consent to substitute for the objectionable passage the words:—"As I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary, war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in a manner most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies." This was on the very day of the King's accession to the throne, and therefore before the summoning of Lord Bute to the Privy Council. George III. was extremely angry at the change in his speech which had been forced upon him, and he determined to look still more to the Duke of Newcastle and the Scotch Earl as the chief agents in the enforcement of his political ideas. A witty lady of that day said it had now become a question what sort of coal the King should burn in his chamber—whether Scotch coal, Newcastle coal, or Pitt coal. In truth, the last of the three alternatives was very nearly excluded. Pitt retained power for nearly a year more; but he was no longer in that position of undisputed ascendency which he had enjoyed ever since his accession to the Government. Other times had brought other men, and America was shortly to experience the nature of the change.

CHAPTER II.

Designs of the Favourite, Lord Bute—Secret Opposition to Pitt—Bute made Secretary for the Northern Department—The General Election of 1761—Intrigues for Peace—Negotiations opened with France—Reduction of Belle-Isle by the English—Imperious Policy of Pitt—Progress of the Negotiations—The "Family Compact" between the French and Spanish Bourbons—Pitt outvoted at the Council—His subsequent Resignation—Efforts of the Americans—Declaration of War against Spain—Military Aid rendered by the Colonists—Conquest of the French West India Islands, and of Havannah—Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle—Premiership of Lord Bute—Conclusion of a Treaty of Peace at Paris (1763)—Terms of the Treaty—Various Opinions as to the Peace—The Floridas and their Previous Annals—Close of the First Epoch of American History.

BUTE grew in favour every day, and he presently cherished the ambition of displacing Pitt. The desire of the young monarch to make peace as soon as he decently could, was flattered by the Scotch Earl, as any other desire of the same exalted person would have been. Pitt was even more disposed than at first to prosecute the war with energy, so as to humble the Bourbon sovereign, and effectually break the power of France. "He is madder than ever," said Bute one day to Bubb Dodington, his intimate friend and political coadjutor. The Southern Secretary knew his power, and would not brook dictation: Bute and Dodington felt their inferiority, and did not venture to cope with him openly. They endeavoured to work on public opinion by the issue of numerous pamphlets and handbills, sharply criticising the policy of the great War Minister. In the Cabinet, they had an active ally in the Duke of Newcastle. He had never forgiven Pitt for casting him into the shade, and he was delighted at the prospect of dethroning him. The question for the moment turned on whether the King of Prussia was to be supported in his Continental policy, or whether he should be abandoned, in the hope of patching up a sudden and not very glorious peace. George III. would have deserted Frederick, and have entered at once, and solely, into negotiations with France. Pitt, with the support of Parliament, made his own views prevail; but the coalition against him gathered strength. On the 21st of March, 1761, Parliament was dissolved, and on the same day the *Gazette* announced several changes in the Ministry. They were of such a nature as plainly to reveal the influence which the favourite was exercising over the counsels of the King. Legge had on a former occasion displeased Bute in some electoral matters: he was now removed from his post as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Adherents of Bute were promoted to higher offices; and on the 25th of March, Bute himself was Gazetted to the office of Northern Secretary, from which the Earl of Holderness was dismissed. The last-named had already expressed to the rising star his willingness to quarrel with his fellow-Ministers, and resign, so that Bute might come in, without seeming to displace anybody. By this crafty arrangement, Bute became a Minister of importance in the Cabinet—a fact of evil omen for both England and America.

In the day of his blossoming fortunes, Pitt had been flattered and caressed by Bute, who had told him that their views were in almost exact accord, and that he considered the great Minister the only man to save the wreck of Royal authority from total destruction. Now, when he found that Pitt would no more be the agent of the Tories than the underling of the Whigs, he plotted against his influence, with the countenance of the young King. The war was still popular; but those were days in which the popular sentiment had scarcely any way of expressing itself, except by rioting and turbulence. The House of Commons was to a great extent elected by corrupt means. In some places, members were returned at the dictation of the aristocracy, whose great landed estates gave them predominance; in others, the King possessed the ruling influence: only in a few large constituencies did the commonalty exercise freely their right of choosing representatives. The General Election of 1761 was managed chiefly in the interests of the sovereign, and it resulted in the return of a House of Commons devoted to the Royal prerogative. Venality was never carried to a more disgraceful pitch than in those spring months of 1761. The borough of Sudbury, which in more recent times held a conspicuous place in the annals of corruption, had the audacity to advertise publicly for a purchaser;* and many others, though not so impudently shameless, were well known to be open to the highest bidder. The King fully availed himself of this discreditable state of things; and yet, only a few days after his accession to the throne, he had acquired great popularity in certain circles by publishing a Proclamation "for the encouraging of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality." But in the eighteenth century it was not supposed that morality had anything to do with politics.

By these methods, George III. and his flatterer, the Earl of Bute, obtained an ascendency in the House of Commons. The King was heartily desirous of peace—as it would seem, from motives of humanity. France was disgusted with a contest which, for her, had been fruitful of reverses. The French Minister, the Duke de Choiseul, was beginning to insist that peace was a necessity, since his countrymen had lost the art of making war. Pitt clung tenaciously to his original ideas, and was for striking still fiercer blows against the staggering bulk of France. In England, the peace party found an open supporter in the Duke of Bedford—a more guarded advocate in the Earl of Bute. There were those who would have conceded a great deal to France, for the sake of attaining their objects; but Pitt was still powerful enough to hold his own. The French Ministry made proposals, on the 25th of March, for opening separate negotiations with England. Pitt agreed to the suggestion, but entered on the debate with the most haughty resolve to yield nothing. Choiseul proposed, as the basis of the treaty, that each of the two belligerent nations should (subject to exchanges and equivalents) retain what it had conquered from the other, and held in actual possession on the ensuing 1st of May as regarded Europe, on the 1st of July as regarded the West Indies and Africa, and on the 1st of September as regarded the East Indies. This arrangement was certainly advantageous to England, as the balance of successes was greatly in her favour; and Choiseul was willing that the dates of possession should be subject to the revision of his rival. The principle was accepted by Pitt, who, however, delayed the settlement of the epochs till, by means of a large fleet which sailed on the very day he gave his answer, he had effected the conquest of Belle-Isle, on the coast of Bretagne. It is to be feared that this great Minister was inflamed by the rage of glory, and that on the present occasion his ambition blinded his sense of honour. Belle-Isle was reduced by the 7th of June, after an obstinate and heroic defence. The land, which is little better than a rock peopled by humble fishermen, was, in itself, of no value to the conquerors; but its possession by England was an additional humiliation and an additional menace to France, and Pitt believed that it would have the effect of inclining that Power still more to make peace on almost any terms. Previous to this last success, the French envoy in London, M. de Bussy, had fought hard for concessions. The restoration of Canada was mentioned; but Pitt rejected the idea on the instant. Choiseul expressed surprise at this decision to Mr. Hans Stanley, the English envoy at Paris. "I wonder," he remarked, "that your great Pitt should be so attached to the acquisition of Canada. The inferiority of its population will never suffer it to be dangerous; and, being in the hands of France, it will always be of service to you to keep your colonies in that dependence which they will not fail to shake off the moment Canada shall be ceded."* Events very soon showed that in this respect Choiseul was a true prophet.

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* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 57.

Pitt grew more and more imperious in his policy. He was pushing matters too far—was risking thousands of lives for the vainglory, or rather the mischievous glory, of dragging France into the dust. He demanded everything; he would concede nothing. Choiseul desired to retain a harbour in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with the freedom of the fisheries, which were thought to be indispensable to the maintenance of an effective navy. Pitt refused to comply. The French Minister became exasperated, and, shortly afterwards, the capture of Belle-Isle roused the most vehement sense of opposition throughout the whole French nation. There was even some danger of the war taking a fresh start from the negotiations by which it was sought to bring it to an end. But Pitt had by this time many opponents in the Cabinet. The Duke of Bedford boldly questioned his reasonings where others, who equally dissented, shrank in fear from encountering the thunders of his eloquence, the lightning of his scorn. "The endeavour to drive France entirely out of any naval power," said Bedford, "is fighting against Nature, and can tend to no good to this country, but, on the contrary, must excite all the naval Powers in Europe to enter into a confederacy against us, as adopting a system of monopoly of all naval power, dangerous to the liberties of Europe." He added that, if it should be decided to carry on the war for another campaign, he for one would wash his hands from all the guilt of the blood that might be shed. For once Pitt had made a mistake: by sending out the expedition against Belle-Isle, he had introduced a dangerous element into affairs. The humiliation of France on her own soil had excited the most vehement desire for revenge, and the result was a close alliance between France and Spain. The sovereigns of both countries were Bourbons, and the agreement concluded between them was called the Family Compact. While it was being negotiated, in the course of July, Bussy was instructed by his Government to demand, on behalf of Spain, indemnity for seizures of vessels, the right to fish at Newfoundland, and the demolition of the English settlements in the Bay of Honduras. However disposed some members of the Cabinet may have been to concede these points, Pitt maintained his ascendency. It was unanimously resolved that the proposals were inadmissible, and it was declared to the French envoy that the King would not suffer the disputes with Spain to be mixed up with the question of peace or war between England and France. A few days later—on the 29th of July—Mr. Stanley presented to the French Government the English ultimatum. It was of so sweeping a nature, and was so manifestly designed to secure the superiority of England in America, the West Indies, Africa, and the East Indies, to say nothing of Europe, that the Duke de Choiseul said he would never put his hand to such terms.

The Family Compact was concluded on the 15th of August, and on the same day France and Spain signed a special convention by which the latter undertook to declare war against England, should peace not be concluded between that Power and France by the 1st of May in the following year. Pitt was well-informed of these matters before they had yet been publicly notified; and when M. de Bussy, on the 13th of September, presented the French ultimatum, which conceded several of the English demands, while still refusing others, the Minister, relying on the renewed appetite for war that would be excited among his own people by the threat of a Franco-Spanish alliance, rejected the proffered terms with scorn. The negotiations for peace were then broken off by the English Government, and Pitt immediately formed the design of declaring war against Spain. The extraordinary energy and soaring genius of the man were stimulated, rather than depressed, by difficulty and peril. To destroy the power of France in the West Indies, and to reduce the whole of Spanish America to a kind of subjection to Great Britain, seemed to him perfectly feasible plans. But neither the King nor the majority of the Government supported these daring views. The question of recalling the English Ambassador from Madrid was discussed at three meetings of the Cabinet, the last of which was held at the beginning of October. So extreme a step found only one advocate besides Pitt himself—Pitt's brother-in-law, Earl Temple. The great dictator was at length brought to bay; but, rousing himself to the full measure of his powers (though his hereditary malady of gout, and the anxieties of office, had by this time greatly reduced his strength), he observed, in proud and almost defiant accents, that he had been called to the Ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself responsible, and that he would not remain in a situation which made him accountable for measures he was no longer allowed to guide. It is said that the President of the Council, Earl Granville, then not far from the close of his long career, replied in words which, if really uttered, showed that Pitt was no longer dreaded as one whom it was not safe to attack. "I find," he is reported to have said, 'the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor can I say I am sorry for it, since he would otherwise have certainly compelled *us* to leave *him*. But if he be resolved to assume the right of advising his Majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this Council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets that at this Board he is only responsible to the King. However, though he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, still it remains that *we* should be equally convinced before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measures he proposes."* Two or three days after, Pitt, having first delivered in writing a statement of his reasons in favour of the policy he had desired to follow, resigned his office into the hands of the King. Temple also quitted the Government, and the peace-making party was now supreme.

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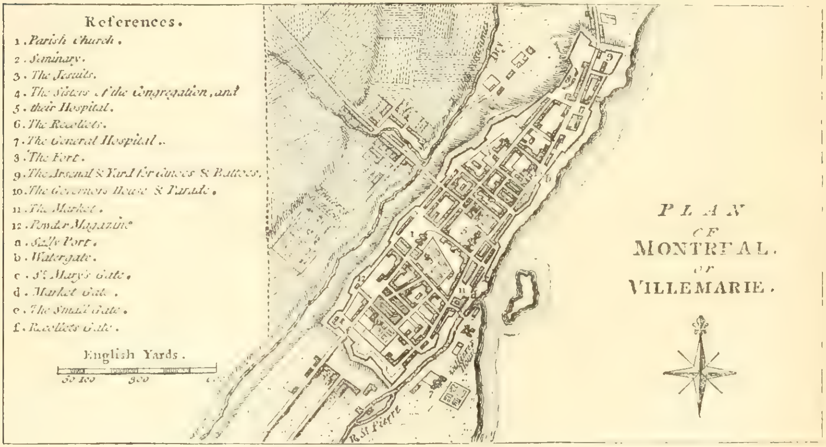
* Bancroft.


References.
1. Parish Church.
2. Seminary.
3. The Jesuits.
4. The Sisters of the Congregation, and
5. their Hospital.
6. The Recollets.
7. The General Hospital.
8. The Fort.
9. The Arsenal & Yard for Canoes & Batteaux.
10. The Governors House & Parade.
11. The Market.
12. Powder Magazine
a. Sally Port.
b. Watergate.
c. St. Mary's Gate.
d. Market Gate.
e. The Small Gate.
f. Recollets Gate.
English Yards.
50 100 300
PLAN OF MONTREAL or VILLEMARIE.
R. St. Pierre

PLAN OF MONTREAL. (*From Jeffery's American Atlas.*)

While these matters were going on in England, America, secured from danger by the great successes of Wolfe and Amherst, remained in tranquillity. In the earlier part of the year, Pitt, while still in office, had addressed a letter to the provincial Governors, representing that the King was determined to prosecute the war with vigour until the enemy should be compelled to make peace on terms conducive to the advantage and glory of his crown, and to the welfare, in particular, of his subjects in America. At the same time he required the colonies to co-operate with the Royal policy, by raising troops to the amount of two-thirds of the forces they had contributed for the campaign of the previous year. The provincials responded with energy and goodwill. They repaired and strengthened the various fortified posts in Canada; constructed new works of a defensive character; erected houses and barracks wherever it seemed necessary to maintain garrisons; and watched with sleepless vigilance over the great acquisitions of the war. With the fall of Pitt from power, they lost their great friend; but England was too much involved in conflict to pursue, for the present, any designs which the reactionary party may have conceived. Both the English and the French King desired peace; but circumstances were too strong for them. George III. even suggested, through the Spanish Ambassador in London, that the French Court should renew its last propositions. Choiseul refused in the most decided terms, and affairs advanced towards a new stage. The war with Spain, which Pitt would have anticipated by striking the first blow, was not long in coming. The hostile designs of that Power grew so unmistakably apparent in the late autumn that, before the close of the year, the Earl of Bristol received orders to quit Madrid, where he represented the British Government, and the Spanish Ambassador at London was dismissed. Spain had been practising on the credulity of King George and his Ministers by the most friendly professions, in order that time might be gained; but, with the arrival of the South American treasure-ships in the old country, the demeanour of that Government became so insolent that it was impossible any longer to avoid a rupture. War was declared against Spain on the 4th of January, 1762.

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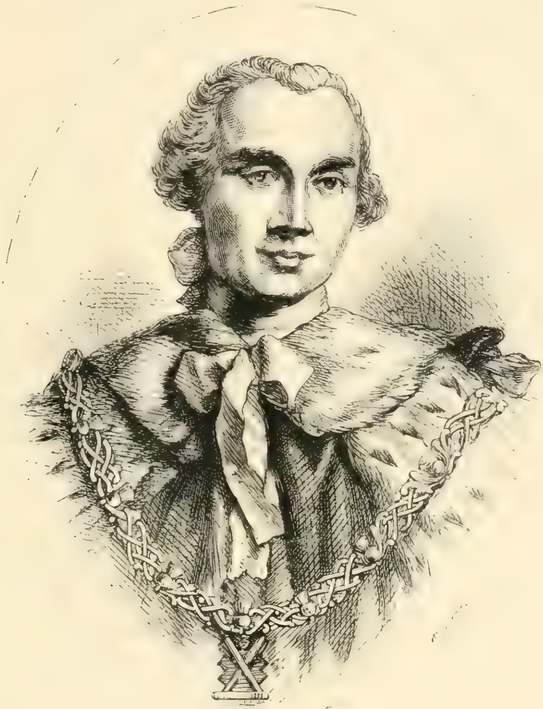
* The observations of Pitt and Granville on this occasion are to be found in the *Annual Register* for 1761, to which Burke is believed to have furnished them; and their authenticity was never disputed. They are quoted by Earl Stanhope in his "History of England," chap. 37.



LORD BUTE.

Lord Bute had now become the most influential Minister in the Cabinet, although the Duke of Newcastle, as First Lord of the Treasury, still remained the nominal Premier. The office of Southern Secretary, vacated by Pitt, was filled by the Earl of Egremont, a man of Tory principles and no great ability; and the Privy Seal, which had been held by Lord Temple, was kept in reserve for the Duke of Bedford. One of the earliest official acts of Lord Egremont in 1762 was to despatch a powerful force to Havannah for the reduction of the Spanish settlement there. Previously to this, the English troops on the American continent had received orders to proceed against the French West Indian colony of Martinique; and the provincial Governments were required to support as many colonial regiments as they had contributed in previous years, to replace the regulars in the positions then occupied by them. The provinces were very willing to obey these directions; for the desire of military distinction had taken general possession of colonial society, and it was doubtless a matter of policy to prove that America was equal to her own defence. Moreover, a redundancy of population had of late begun to show itself in several places. Emigrants were passing from Massachusetts to Nova Scotia in not inconsiderable numbers, and a class of idlers had been formed by the events of the last few years, to whom active service in the army was very acceptable. The provincial Governments offered bounties to encourage the enlistment of Americans into the regular forces of England; and in this way about nine hundred men were added by Massachusetts alone to the army sent against the French West Indies. The operations of that army were completely successful. On the 14th of February, 1762, Martinique was taken by the land forces under General Monckton, and the fleet under Admiral Rodney; and the surrender of all the lesser islands belonging to France soon followed, so that the whole of the Caribbees fell into English possession as the consequence of one happy stroke. In the attack on Martinique, great assistance was rendered by the New England troops, who had likewise a share in the subsequent reduction of the Spanish possessions at Havannah. They had been invalided and sent home to their own country from the siege of Martinique; but, finding their health restored on the voyage, they ordered the ships to put back, steered for Havannah, and, reinforcing the regular troops before that place, at a period when their numbers were dangerously reduced, enabled them to conquer the settlement in August. Some weeks earlier, the French had had a brief success. Making a sudden attack on Newfoundland, on the 24th of June, they compelled it to submit; but the island was retaken, on the 18th of September, by a force despatched to its rescue by General Amherst.

Before all these great successes had been accomplished, the Duke of Newcastle had resigned his nominal Premiership, on finding his colleagues and the King opposed to granting a subsidy in aid of Prussia. This was in May. Bute now became the titular, as well as the real, head of the Government, and he soon employed his additional powers in the furtherance of his great desire—the conclusion of a peace. In August, overtures were made by him to the Court of Versailles through Sardinia. They were eagerly accepted, and by the middle of September the Duke of Bedford was representing the English Government at Paris, and the Duke de Nivernois the French Government at London. When news of the negotiations reached America, great anxiety was felt lest England should relinquish Canada, as she had given up Cape Breton after the war of 1744–8. It was known to be a question in the old country whether it would be more advantageous to retain Canada or the French islands in the Caribbean Sea; but to the Americans the arguments seemed all in one direction. Israel Mauduit, a merchant in London, brother of Jasper Mauduit, the agent of Massachusetts, published a pamphlet in which he insisted on the importance of Canada to the well-being of the English colonies. In the year 1760, during a residence in England, Franklin had entered the same field with a little treatise entitled "The Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to the Colonies, and the Acquisition of Canada and Guadaloupe." The argument was strongly in favour of England retaining Canada as a protection against French encroachments; and this view, which was emphatically Pitt's, prevailed in the end, though the West India islands had their advocates, both in the Cabinet and the country. As the reader is already aware, a good many astute politicians feared—and not without cause, as events soon made manifest—that the Americans, on being delivered from the dread of French conquest, and from the necessity of depending on England for defence, would sever all connection with the mother country. It cannot be doubted that many aspiring minds in America desired the acquisition of Canada for that very reason, and with that very design.

Before the end of 1762, preliminaries of peace were signed at Fontainebleau, and a definitive treaty was concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. By this treaty, the French King renounced all pretensions to Nova Scotia; ceded

Canada and its dependencies to England, together with Cape Breton, and the other islands and coasts adjoining the river St. Lawrence and the gulf of the same name; and disclaimed all reservation of any pretence to require the slightest departure from this general cession and guarantee. In order to remove for the future every occasion of territorial disputes, it was stipulated that the boundaries between the dominions of Great Britain and France on the continent of America should be irrevocably defined by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source as far as the river Iberville, an outlet from the greater stream which strikes off fourteen miles below Bâton Rouge, and, flowing east, enters the river Amité, which falls into Lake Maurepas. Thence the line was to follow the course of the Iberville and the Amité to Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain (the southern shore of the latter of which waters is about five miles north of New Orleans), and so on to the sea. To give effect to this stipulation, the French King ceded and guaranteed to the English monarch the river and port of Mobile, and all the French claims and possessions on the left bank of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it is situated. England, in return, gave back to France her West India islands, with the exception of Grenada and the Grenadines, to which France relinquished all claim. To Spain, England restored those Spanish settlements in the West Indies which had been conquered during the war; while Spain, on her part, ceded to England the settlement of Florida, with Fort St. Augustine, the Bay of Pensacola, and all the territory that Spain possessed or claimed on the continent of North America to the east and south-east of the Mississippi. It was stipulated that the inhabitants of the countries ceded by France and Spain should be allowed the enjoyment and exercise of the Roman Catholic religion as far as might be consistent with the laws of England, and that they should retain their civil rights, if they chose to live under the British Government, or should be entitled to dispose of their estates to British subjects, and retire with the produce to any part of the world. These were the chief features of the treaty as concerned America: the other provisions do not belong to this narrative.

Lord Granville, the President of the Council, declared on his death-bed that the war had been the most glorious, and that the peace just signed was the most honourable, that the English nation had ever known. Many, however, formed a different judgment of the peace. When the preliminaries were laid before the House of Commons, in the December of the previous year, Pitt vehemently denounced most of the stipulations; but the House affirmed the contemplated treaty by 319 to 65 votes, while in the Upper Chamber the Opposition did not dare to challenge a division. The country, notwithstanding, was much disappointed that the French and Spanish West Indies, and other acquisitions of the war, were given up. In their zeal for an arrangement, Lord Bute and his colleagues appear to have yielded too much. The peace was denounced as a treacherous and disgraceful capitulation; and Bute was even charged, though seemingly upon insufficient grounds, with receiving a large sum of money for making the terms of the treaty so favourable to France.

Shortly after the ratification of peace, the territories ceded by France and Spain were erected into four distinct Governments, entitled Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada. Cape Breton and the adjacent islands were united to the Government of Nova Scotia, and the region situated between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's was annexed to the province of Georgia. Of the two Floridas, the eastern included all comprised in the present State of Florida as far west as the Apalachicola river, while the western extended from that stream to the Mississippi, and from the 31st degree of latitude, on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. Portions of the modern States of Alabama and Mississippi were thus included in West Florida. That part of America had been discovered by the Spaniards in 1512, and a small settlement was formed by them at St. Augustine in 1564. Some French Protestants entered the country about the same time, and it was a question which race would prevail. The Indians were at first won over to the side of the French by the considerate treatment which for awhile they experienced at their hands; but the Spaniards were resolved to tolerate no rivals. They fell upon the French unawares, flayed the Governor alive (so, at least, say the French accounts), and hanged the rest. In 1567, Dominic de Gourgues, a Gascon gentleman, fitted out a vessel at his own charge, re-took the forts, and hanged the Spaniards on the same trees on which they had hanged the French. Nevertheless, the Spaniards retained possession of the country, and, as we have seen, became very troublesome neighbours to the English in South Carolina and Georgia. The subsequent course of this History will show that Florida did not remain very long in the possession of England. It was not until 1819 that it finally ceased to be Spanish, and passed under the Government of the United States.

With the conclusion of the war which conferred

Canada on England, the first epoch of Anglo-American History may be said to terminate. The period of colonisation, and of the slow and difficult formation of self-governing commonwealths in what had previously been a savage desert, is at an end. We stand on the threshold of an independent national life, and have now to consider, not the experiments and trials of a number of provincial communities, but the struggles of a youthful people with the Power which had called it forth.

CHAPTER III.

England left Mistress of America by the Peace of 1763—Designs to alter the Government of the American Colonies—Official School of Politicians—Character of George Grenville—The Bute Ministry—Grenville, Egremont, Halifax, and Charles Townshend—Lord North's Rise in the Crown Service—Erroneous Notions of Colonial Policy—Constitution and Powers of the Board of Trade—Functions of the Secretary of State—Persistent Intrigues of the Board, from 1748, to subvert Colonial Liberties—Description of the Colonial Governments—Public Opinion in the Colonies—Efforts and Sacrifices during the French War—Existing Grievances in America—The Admiralty Courts and the Collection of Revenue—The Prohibition of Trade with Foreigners—Customs' Duties for the Regulation of Commerce—Difficulty of Enforcing these Laws—Writs of Assistance—James Otis before the Superior Judicial Court at Boston—Governor Bernard and the Massachusetts Assembly—Appointment of Judges during the King's Pleasure—The Indians of the Western Territory annexed in 1763—Weakness of British Posts on the Ohio and the Lakes—Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas—The Indian War—Siege of Detroit and of Fort Pitt—Demarcation of Canada, reserving the Lakes and the Mississippi Valley.

THE peace with France and Spain left Great Britain in possession of nearly all on the North American continent which had been disputed with her by foreign Powers. The prospect henceforth of a secure and unchecked dominion in that vast territory of the Western World was offered to the political ambition of English statesmen. It naturally led them to entertain fresh schemes for consolidating and centralising the offices of colonial administration, and augmenting the powers of the Imperial Government over its separate provinces in America. This intention, though seldom openly avowed, had been cherished during the late war by active politicians of different party connections, whose habits or turn of mind disposed them to magnify the official element in State affairs. Among the most prominent and persistent, though unhappily mistaken, representatives of such a characteristic tendency was George Grenville, brother of Lord Temple, and brother-in-law to Pitt; a diligent man of business, skilled in legal and parliamentary forms, and tolerably honest in his dealings with those around him. His great fault was that practical bigotry and stolid obstinacy which men who lack imagination are too apt to contract from their incapacity of feeling with other people, or of seeing matters from different points of view. It is by these austere, inflexible, narrow-minded rulers, with all their presumable rectitude of purpose, that revolutions are provoked.

The King's favourite Minister, the Earl of Bute, had immediately appointed George Grenville Secretary of State for the Northern Department; while to Lord Egremont, the brother-in-law of Grenville, was confided the office of Secretary of State for the Southern Department, which, as the reader is aware, comprised the colonies. Lord Halifax, who had already, at the Board of Trade and Plantations, shown his eagerness to force arbitrary measures upon the King's subjects in America, now became First Lord of the Admiralty, to harass them in another way. The Bute Administration included also the clever but fickle Charles Townshend, second son of Viscount Townshend, and Frederick, Lord North, a son of the Earl of Guildford. These two men were destined, within a short time, one after another, to carry on the mischievous work to its natural consummation in the permanent separation of political interests, further signalised by an unhappy war, resulting, under Lord North, in the utter defeat of those sovereign pretensions which they had chosen to set up. But though every one of the persons just named must bear his own share of the blame due to the side which chiefly erred in this great quarrel, it seems certain that the Earl of Halifax, some years before the period now in question, was the first to conceive that disastrous policy, and to prepare for its adoption. He had repeatedly suggested that, upon the termination of the foreign war, Parliament should take in hand the government of America; that it should restrain the powers of the Provincial Houses of Assembly, and should provide for the maintenance of the Civil Service, and of the magistracy, as well as for a standing military force, by some permanent revenue, to be levied in America under an Act of Parliament. There is no doubt whatever that these intentions were cherished at the Board of Trade, though not encouraged by the chiefs of the Ministry, during the whole course of the French war. Some of the colonists then residing in London, too complaisant either to offer a timely remonstrance or to sound an alarm, were perfectly well aware of the measures designed.* Some of them had even officiously tendered their advice to Ministers upon the kind and method of taxation by the British Parliament which could be imposed with least chance of resistance. So far back as 1755, for instance, in a pamphlet by Mr. Huske, of Massachusetts, who afterwards got into the House of Commons, we find the proposal for the Stamp Act. Not only Pitt during the late war, but Sir Robert Walpole at an earlier period, had met the dangerous proposal to tax the colonists with a decided refusal. But Pitt, though a great presence and power in debate, was not always able to control the private action of his subordinate colleagues. They ceased not to intrigue with the Governors of the colonies—men selected by the Board of Trade, as in the case of Francis Bernard, for that very purpose—who were allowed to urge perpetual complaints against the provincial Legislatures (complaints which were not invariably without reason), and to recommend the substitution of a more peremptory rule by Great Britain. Some of the clergy, amongst whom was Sherlock, Bishop of London, were prompted by their impatient zeal for an Episcopalian establishment in America to meddle with this constitutional question; and it was regarded with interest, upon the same ground, by Archbishop Secker. As the events of the war, in the conquest of Canada and of the Ohio and Tennessee valleys, drew public attention to America, it became a popular topic of writers and speakers in England to insist on making the colonies pay for those gains of empire supposed to be acquired on their behalf. Little was known in England of the efforts and sacrifices which the colonists had loyally borne in the seven years' military struggle; for no British Minister cared to raise his voice in Parliament, and speak in their praise. They were on the distant shore of a broad ocean; they had little power to gratify or to assist the ambitious politicians of London.

The respective official functions of his Majesty's Secretary of State, and of the Lords Commissioners for the regulation of Trade and Plantations, with regard to the colonial administration, had become very unsettled. The Board of Trade, though not always represented in the Cabinet, and possessing an imperfectly defined share of responsible authority, had in course of time got beyond the mere transaction of ordinary business in detail with the colonies, and reception of despatches and accounts, to which it was at first restricted. Under the presidency of Lord Halifax, assisted by Charles Townshend since 1749, it had in practice acquired the powers of a Ministry of State for Colonial Affairs. By an Order in Council dated March 11th, 1752, the patronage of all Crown appointments in the colonies was vested in this Board. The colonial Governors were then directed to correspond with the Board alone, except in cases of particular importance, which exception was understood to mean affairs that might touch the relations of the kingdom with foreign States. But when, in 1761, Halifax and Townshend left the Board, the former to become Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the latter to be Secretary at War, these colonial matters were summarily transferred, or rather were restored, to the Southern Department of the Secretaries of State. This was done upon Lord Bute's accession to the Ministry, of which both Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle were still the leading members. It was probably arranged by Lord Bute and the King with Lord Halifax and Charles Townshend, in order to prevent any interruption of the persistent intrigue against colonial liberties. A few months later, when Lord Bute himself was placed at the head of the Government, Townshend became President of the Board, with all the powers which Halifax had before enjoyed, and with a seat in the Cabinet. But in April, 1763, the office was given to Lord Shelburne, who proved less docile than had been expected for the purposes in view, and who even disputed with Lord Egremont, the Secretary of State, his proper degree of authority at the Board of Trade.† It was quite evident that

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* The officials dependent on the Crown, in almost every province, had been apprised of the intention of Ministers. Mr. Bancroft, in his History of the United States (Vol. IV., chap. 16), quotes to this effect the letter of Calvert, Secretary of Maryland, in January, 1760. "It has been hinted to me that, at the peace, Acts of Parliament will be moved for amendment of government and a standing force in America; and that the colonies, for whose protection the force will be established, must bear at least the greatest share of charge. This will occasion a tax." Calvert, therefore, prepared himself to supply the Board of Trade with information concerning the safest modes of raising a revenue in America by Act of Parliament. The counsels already offered to the English Government by such men as Ellis, Governor of Georgia, Richard Lyttelton, of South Carolina, and Arthur Dobbs, of North Carolina, are quoted in the same page of Bancroft's History.

† The correspondence may be read in the "Life of William, Earl of Shelburne," by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Vol. I.,

Shelburne, who had been useful to Lord Bute, yet was a sincere admirer of Pitt, and a man of liberal sentiments, would not be made the tool of that official clique, namely Halifax, Grenville, and Townshend, already described. Their projects, however, went on apace during these months, notwithstanding the sudden death of Lord Egremont, the King's coolness toward Grenville, and the open hostility of Pitt. The "Great Commoner," as Pitt was still called, was summoned to form a new Ministry on Lord Bute's retirement, but was unable to agree with the King about its composition. Pitt was too full of unforgiving pride and anger, of morose antipathies and morbid self-esteem. Grenville therefore obtained the conduct of the Government in September, 1763; Lord Halifax became Secretary of State for the Southern Department, and Lord Hillsborough, one of the same official clique, took the Presidency of the Board of Trade. The political machinery was thus firmly erected for starting that system of British Parliamentary control of the colonial franchises, and of the civil rights of fellow-subjects abroad, which had so long been designed by statesmen too covetous of power.

The real motives of this dangerous policy are not difficult to perceive. There was the pedantic satisfaction of narrow opinions concerning the prerogative of the Imperial Legislature, which would inspire such minds as those of Halifax and Grenville; there was also, in men of less integrity than Grenville, a servile wish to please the young King, who seems to have confounded that principle with his own Royal prerogative. This was a powerful consideration with men of restless ambition like Charles Townshend, who hoped some day to be summoned by his Majesty to the highest post of Government. Lords North and Hillsborough, and Mr. Charles Jenkinson, late private secretary to Lord Bute, were influenced by a similar wish to earn Court favours; and they knew that the King had, from courtierlike and clerical instigation, a strong feeling of personal dislike to the provincial Assemblies of America. But there were also, common to the whole Board of Trade and to the Treasury, the interests of official patronage and the distribution of paid employments in the colonies among their lordships' friends. They had always looked forward to an opportunity of converting the entire administrative service out there into an establishment which should derive its appointments directly from the Crown, but which should be financially supported by a permanent charge, in the way of a Civil List, to be settled upon the colonists or their trade beyond the reach of their representative Legislatures.

It is most important to observe that this design was entertained with great persistency by some departments of the Imperial Government from the time, so far back as 1748, when the Duke of Newcastle exchanged the Southern Secretaryship with the Duke of Bedford, at whose request the Earl of Halifax was then placed at the Board of Trade. That was fifteen years before the occasion, in 1763, when the Tory Ministry made a pretext of the war expenses, incurred meantime in America, to bring forward new projects for taxing the colonies. The pretext was untrue, inasmuch as the colonies had shown their willingness, in a manner to be seen presently, to contribute towards those war expenses, and Parliament was actually repaying the past colonial advances on that behalf. We can hardly fail to discover that the real contention between the British Ministry and the American colonists, during the lifetime of a generation, was for something more precious than money. It was for liberty, and the security of ordinary civil rights; that their social life and industry might be free from the prying, meddling, grasping intrusion of a host of irresponsible officials sent out from England, and countenanced by judges subservient to their patrons in England, the whole establishment being kept up at the cost of the oppressed people. This was the danger which the descendants of those English settlers in America, who in the seventeenth century had quitted their native land for the sake of religious freedom, now saw to be imminent over their heads in the middle of the eighteenth century.

We must look at the actual state of provincial institutions and society, to estimate the means of resisting such treatment. British America, without speaking of the provinces recently won from the French, was divided into a dozen separate communities, with different political constitutions. There were the Royal colonies, the Proprietary colonies, and the Charter colonies of freemen. Of the first class were Virginia, New Jersey, New Hampshire (then including Vermont), New York, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, which last had surrendered its charter, in 1751, for the payment of its expenses by the Crown. These Royal colonies were administered almost uniformly by a Governor and Council of Crown appointment, with an Assembly elected by the freeholders. The Government acted under instructions from the Crown, and the acts of the Assembly could be dis-

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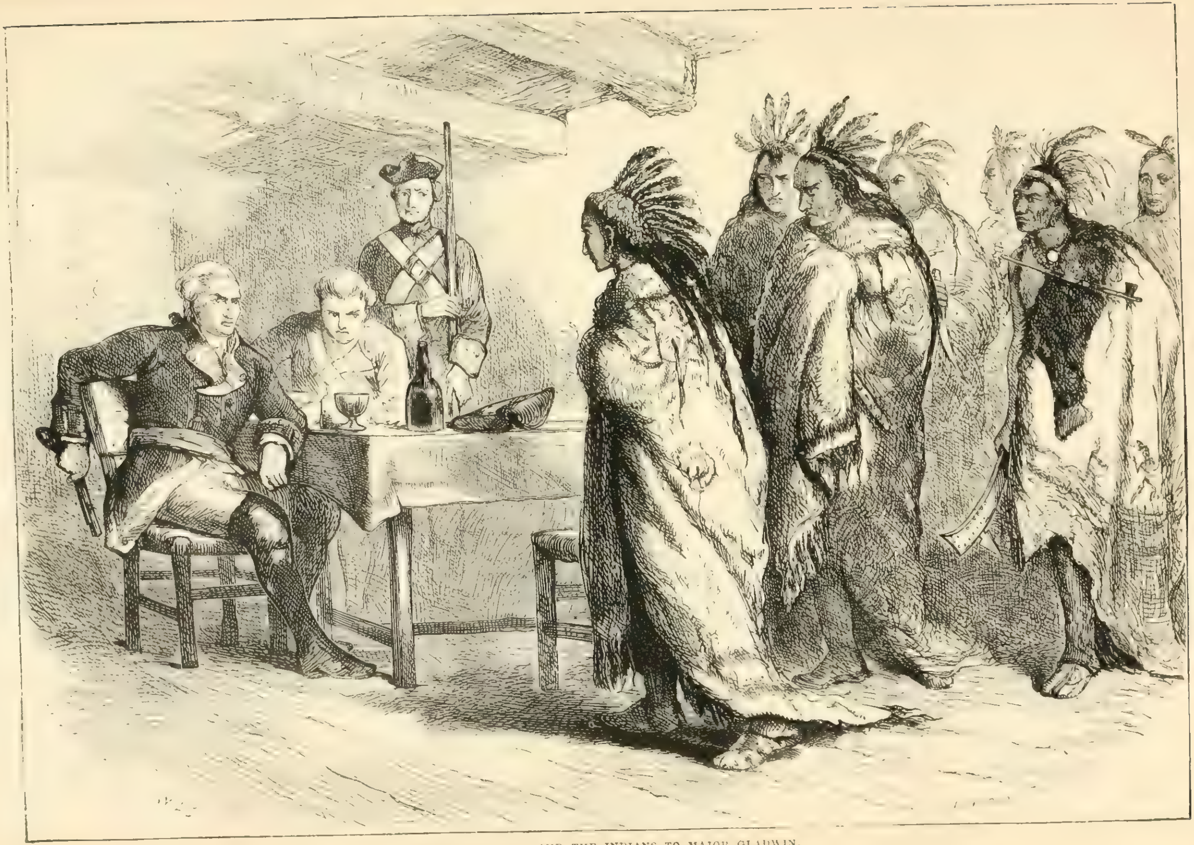
chap. 4. Lord Shelburne resigned his office, which he had taken in April, in the September of that year.



VISIT OF PONTIAC AND THE INDIANS TO MAJOR GLADWIN.

allowed or repealed by his Majesty in Council. We shall presently see the working of this system in New York. But in the Charter colonies there was a very different state of affairs. In Maryland, the Baltimore proprietary, and the Council of its appointment, had the power of making laws, with the assent of the freemen in their Assembly; but the income from quit-rents, fines, and a fixed toll on the export of tobacco, placed the Lieutenant-Governor almost above the need of proposing new taxes. In thriving Pennsylvania, which had sent Franklin to England for the purpose of advocating a reform in its proprietary government, the privileges yet enjoyed by Thomas and Richard Penn were obnoxious to the people; but the Assembly had the real legislative power. The Deputy-Governor could reject their measures, but could not dissolve or prorogue the Assembly, whose annual votes furnished his support. The New England provinces, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and even the Royal colony of New Hampshire, were in the exercise of practical self-government. Some limitations had indeed been put, in the renewal of their charters, on the political and commercial liberties granted by the Stuart Kings. In the last charter framed for Massachusetts, there was an express clause to establish the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Courts, which were meant to serve, as will be seen, for the collection of a Customs' revenue. The Rhode Island new charter had reserved an appeal to the King in Council, in questions "of a public nature," from the acts of the provincial Legislature. These partial encroachments on local self-rule, as well as restrictions of the powers of trade in Maryland and Pennsylvania, showed the disposition of the Crown to increase its authority. But the constitution of Rhode Island and Connecticut was thoroughly democratic; the Assembly, elected by the freemen, appointed the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twelve Assistants, who in conjunction with the Assembly made the laws and provided the administration, with the appointment of magistrates and judges. In Massachusetts, while the Council was nominated by the Court of General Assembly, which likewise appointed all the civil servants, the Governor, who had a veto on legislation, was appointed by the Crown. Yet the local and municipal public franchises of New England, more especially in Connecticut and Massachusetts, were admirably complete. Every township had the power of holding its meetings at will, to discuss all matters of public concern; to choose its own local officers for the year, and its representatives in the Assembly of the province; to levy and apply rates for the support of highways, of schools, of churches, and of the poor; and to keep up an armed militia, in which every able-bodied freeman was enrolled.[*]

The population of the thirteen British colonies, in 1754, before the war with France, amounted to 1,165,000 persons of European race, besides 260,000 negroes. The New England provinces were then estimated to have 425,000 inhabitants; the middle provinces, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania with Delaware, had 457,000; and the rest, with the greater part of the negroes, belonged to the South. Both population and commerce had increased during the French war, in spite of the great losses and disturbance it had caused to our countrymen in America. In 1766, when Franklin gave evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, he reckoned the number of white men, between sixteen and sixty years of age, at 300,000. The population of his own province, that of Pennsylvania, was at that time 160,000, one-third being Germans, and one-third Quakers; and it had doubled in sixteen years. New York and Massachusetts had increased in a nearly equal proportion. The import and export trade of the colonies had been growing still more rapidly than their population, as their wealth enabled them to buy English manufactures and other foreign produce. Their yearly imports from Great Britain amounted to upwards of two millions sterling. The efforts they had made during the late war to aid the forces of the mother country were quite as great as what England had done for them. They nobly responded to the summons of William Pitt in 1758, to join in the expedition to Canada. Twenty thousand men of their militia and volunteers, at one time nearly twenty-five thousand, were kept under arms to serve with the Royal army, during five or six years, being equipped and maintained at the cost of the colonies. In the campaigns on the St. Lawrence, on the Lakes, on the Ohio, their sturdy valour was exerted. The building and arming of forts and of guardships, the hire of transports, and many services or supplies to the regular troops, were cheerfully undertaken and performed. Massachusetts alone, when called upon to raise a quota of 2,300 men, sent forth not less than 7,000 effectives, and kept them in the field to the end of the war; besides manning the forts, supplying three hundred seamen to the Royal navy, and equipping a twenty-gun war-ship, and an armed sloop, at a total yearly cost of £80,000. The colonial war-expenditure, altogether, had left a debt of two millions and a half, laid upon the provincial exchequers; but this debt was being rapidly paid off. We must not forget the large subsidies freely voted by each provincial House of Representatives upon requisitions made by the Crown through their respective Governors. Their loyalty to the Empire, and to King George II. and King George III., had been abundantly proved; and both those Kings had borne emphatic testimony to their "zeal and vigour," in the Royal speeches at the opening or closing of Parliament. The House of Commons had thereupon voted, year by year, from 1759 to 1763, the sum of nearly £200,000, "to enable his Majesty to give proper compensation to the respective provinces in North America, for the expenses incurred by them." In this manner, about £700,000 was repaid, which was not one quarter of what they had expended in the war. So recently as April and May, 1762, the Crown Governor of Massachusetts, Francis Bernard, had formally commended its Legislature and people,* for "the unanimity and despatch with which they had complied with the requisitions of his Majesty." He bore witness that they had "acted under no other influence than a sense of their duty, as members of a general empire," and from "motives of loyalty and public spirit." Unfortunately, however, this devotion to the interests of the Empire, and to the well-being of the colonies themselves, had been preceded by a period of factious opposition, and of disregard of the common safety. The readiness with which the provinces allowed the French to invade their frontiers, while they quarrelled among themselves or with the Home Government, had fostered the designs of English officialism.

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[*] Bancroft, Vol. III., chap. 6, on the "Old Thirteen Colonies," draws a glowing picture. "New England had been settled under grants to towns, and the institution of towns was its glory and its strength. It was an aggregate of organised democracies. There, each township was also substantially a territorial parish; the town was the religious congregation; the Independent Church was established by law; the minister was elected by the people, who annually made grants for his support. There, too, the system of free schools was carried to great perfection; so that there could not be found a person born in New England unable to read and write. He that will understand the political character of New England in the eighteenth century must study the constitution of its towns, its congregations, its schools, and its militia."

The Ministerial covert design against American constitutional liberty was long antecedent to those questions of taxation, of tariff, duties and stamps, which finally brought about the American Revolution. There were certain men among the colonists, some of them misguided, some venal traitors to their fellow-citizens, who had been privy to a series of preceding intrigues, and overtures or approaches to political usurpation. They had corresponded with members of the Board of Trade in London, ever since 1748, upon the most convenient means of establishing a revenue and an administration which should not be dependent on the votes of the Representative Assembly. But that was a scheme threatened in the future. The immediate grievances and perils which the colonies already felt, and those which they had narrowly escaped, were sufficiently serious.

Soon after the beginning of the late war, the rule was laid down, by an Order of the King in Council, in violation of colonial statutes, that troops might be quartered in the colonies without the consent of their Legislature; while it was decreed also that their own local militia should be put under the Mutiny Act. The colonists, however, were more disposed to resent the exercise of a jurisdiction by the Admiralty Courts, at Boston and other seaports, in the enforcement of fiscal regulations. The strict lawfulness of the actual cause of complaint in this particular instance would appear to be questionable. The provincials had been accustomed to carry on a trade with the Spanish and French American colonies. It was a trade forbidden, or subjected in time of peace to prohibitory duties, by British legislation, in the interest of our own West Indian possessions, and of their mercantile connections at home. The statute passed in the sixth year of George II., chap. 13, forbade the import of foreign rum, and heavily taxed that of foreign sugar, in the British colonies. The people of Boston and New York did not offer to dispute the authority of Great Britain to enact a restrictive commercial policy. Parliament might impose Customs' duties "for the regulation of trade," but not for the sake of a revenue, on the foreign merchandise brought to colonial ports. This was no infringement of their political rights, and they relied upon mere smuggling to defeat the prohibitory law. No men in Boston had more greedily engaged in the contraband traffic than some of the partisans of arbitrary government in Massachusetts. But it was very difficult to enforce the exaction of these Customs' duties, which the ordinary colonial officials forbore to collect, under the influence of some of the New England shipowners and merchants. No class of citizens, however much averse to smuggling, could like the method of proceeding. The conduct of the Admiralty agents and Crown revenue officers was sometimes harsh and vexatious, and certainly unlike the proper way of dealing with charges before a civil magistrate. It came to be understood that the executive officers of the Civil Service in the colony, with the tacit approbation of the Legislature, would decline to render any assistance to the Admiralty Courts, or to the Crown officers, in the enforcement of Acts of trade and navigation. In February, 1761, upon an instance of such refusal, the superior judicial tribunal, in which Hutchinson presided, was asked to issue a writ compelling those whose aid was sought to serve the execution of these obnoxious Acts. The law under which this writ was demanded was an Act of Parliament, in the reign of William III., which had never been adopted by the colonial Legislature. The advocate on the popular side was an eloquent barrister named James Otis, who was enthusiastically devoted to ideas of liberty and patriotism. He vehemently denied the right of Parliament to make laws for their commonwealth, and delivered a speech of fiery indignation, which aroused a strong feeling in the public mind. The judges of the Court, not daring to pronounce their own decision in favour of the revenue officers, adjourned the case, and by the next term procured a judgment from Westminster to that effect. They were obliged in the meantime to hear another speech from the popular Boston advocate upon his motion for the reservation to public use of a share of the contraband forfeiture, according to law, from the booty which was obtained by the revenue officers and informers. These incidents, having stirred up the provincial spirit of independence, were in September, 1762, followed by a dispute between the House of Assembly, on the one hand, and Governor Bernard with his Council, on the other, upon an item of unauthorised expenditure for the fitting-out of a sloop of war.

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* The following is the message of his Excellency, who represented the British Government, on the 27th of May, 1762:—"Whatever shall be the event of the war, it must be no small satisfaction to us that this province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. Everything that has been required of it hath been most readily complied with; and the execution of powers committed to me, for raising the provincial troops, hath been as full and complete as the grant of them was. Never before were regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the field, as they have been this year; the common people seemed to be animated with the spirit of the General Courts, and to vie with them in their readiness to serve the King."

A subject of quarrel in the province of New York was of perhaps still greater importance. The highest judicial appointment there, upon the death of the late Chief Justice in 1761, had been conferred upon a Boston lawyer, not by the usual tenure of such offices, "during good behaviour," which means for life, as in the case of English judges, but "during the King's pleasure." The provincial Legislative Assembly, jealous for the independence of the judges in New York, passed vigorous resolutions addressed to the Governor, and refused the grant of a salary to the newly-appointed judge. On the representations submitted to his Majesty by the Board of Trade, the Secretary of State, Lord Egremont, in December, 1761, gave general instructions to all colonial Governors that they should issue no judicial commissions but "during the King's pleasure." This was a most pernicious innovation, against which the leading members of the Bar, in New York and New England, protested as became their liberal profession.

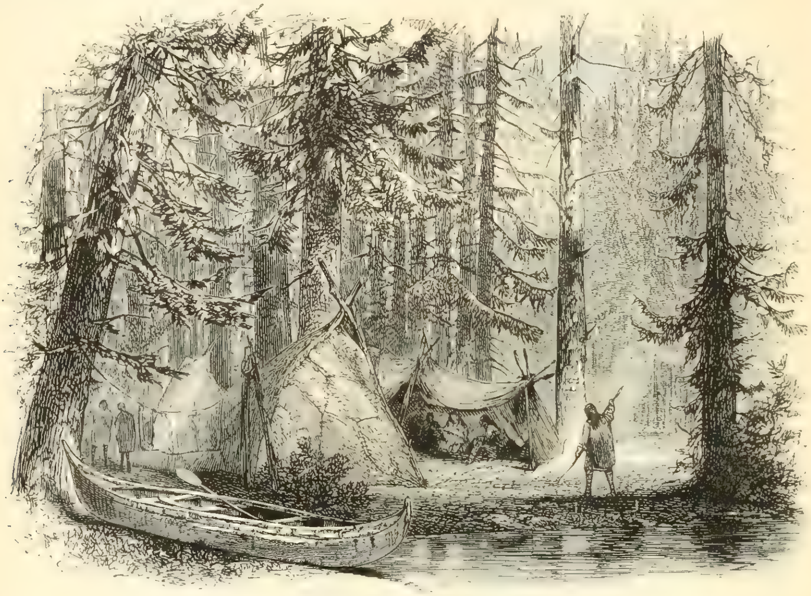
Before entering upon the narrative of those transactions in the British Government and Parliament, which completely altered the relations of America to England, there remains to be noticed a brief conflict with the Indians of the western territory lately won from France—an after-clap of the war which ended in the year 1763. The whole of that extensive region, westward of the Pennsylvania mountains and north of the Ohio river to the shores of Lake Erie, Lake Huron, and Lake Michigan, was a forest inhabited by numerous warlike tribes, the Delawares, the Senecas, the Shawnees, the Miamis, the Wyandots and Pottawatamies, the Ottawas, the Ojibways or Chippewas, and the Hurons, partially subject to French influence. These people, whose character and habits are vividly portrayed in Longfellow's poem of "Hiawatha," had become in some degree attached to the sociable and gallant Frenchmen, settlers and soldiers, the dealers in cheap European luxuries, and the Roman Catholic missionary priests. It was an unwelcome change for the western Indians that the French establishments among them should give place to those of the sterner and stronger English, who had never mingled amicably with their wild neighbours on the Atlantic shores. They perhaps failed to understand immediately that the cessation of the war between King Louis and King George, upon the terms ratified at Paris, would involve their own submission to the dominion of those accustomed foreign enemies, whom they had been taught by their French protectors to hate and despise. So it came naturally to pass that, in the spring and early summer of 1763, the preparations of the English military for occupying this western country provoked a stealthy movement through the forest of men gathering for a sudden leap of deadly intent. Sir Jeffery Amherst, who was still in command of the English troops, was inclined to underrate the forces and martial skill of the Indian population, when the officer posted at Miami detected the sending of a bloody wampum-belt, which was their secret signal, to the tribes on the Wabash.

Except at Fort Pitt, on the Ohio, and Detroit, on the banks of the river connecting Lake Huron or Lake St. Clair with Lake Erie, the British posts were wretchedly feeble. Scattered at wide intervals, many days' journey from one another in the pathless woods, they were mere block-houses, usually guarded by an ensign, a sergeant or corporal, and a dozen or a score of soldiers. The fort at Detroit, indeed, commanded by Major Gladwin, had more adequate defences. Near the French village of thriving peasant-farmers was a stockade, twenty feet in height, enclosing a circuit of twelve hundred yards, within which stood the houses or huts of the garrison. This consisted, in the first week of May, only of the remnant of the 80th Regiment, which now mustered but a hundred and twenty men, with three small guns and as many mortars, scarcely fit for use; but two armed vessels lay in the river. The principal native chief in that district was Pontiac, ruler of the Ottawa tribe, who seems to have been the chosen head of a wide confederacy, at this time, for the destruction or expulsion of the English. He visited Detroit once or twice, with peaceful and friendly professions, accompanied by a large retinue, bearing concealed knives, tomahawks, and guns under their blankets. Major Gladwin, who had been warned against an intended massacre in the midst of feasting or speech-making, took care to keep a guard at hand during these interviews, and Pontiac went away, but soon returned with an army to besiege the fort. He at the same time sent word to the French officers still on duty in Illinois, where the cession had not yet been completed, promising to kill all the English, and that the Indians would carry on the war, as their own war, another seven years. Detroit was closely blockaded during May, June, and July, until the garrison became short of provisions.

The minor forts and remote military posts, those of Sandusky, near the upper end of Lake Erie, St. Joseph, on the south-eastern shore of Lake Michigan, and Forts Mackinaw, Miami, Presque Isle, Le Bœuf, Venango, and Ouatanon, in different parts of the country from Pennsylvania to Indiana, were presently surprised by the savage foe, who in some instances gained admission under the guise of playful or convivial friendship. The garrisons in the more distant and lonely places were slaughtered; others were bound and carried off for hostages; but, all over the country, hundreds of peaceful farmers or traders, with the women and children of their families, were cruelly slain. The most important stronghold of English dominion west of the Alleghanies was Fort Pitt, under the command of Captain Ecuyer, supported by Fort Ligonier, fifty miles distant. It was attacked, at the beginning of June, by a large force of Delawares, Mingoes, and Shawnees, who had purchased muskets, gunpowder, and lead from reckless English traders. Captain Ecuyer had about three hundred soldiers, besides officers, in Fort Pitt, but was encumbered with the charge of two hundred women and children. He repaired and augmented the defensive ramparts with log-walls and palisades, and did all that skilful diligence could effect with the means he had at his disposal. The savages, increasing their force and boldness towards the end of June, as they gathered up from their successful assaults on the dispersed English posts, thrice summoned Ecuyer to yield, assuring him of an unmolested retreat. As he stoutly refused, the siege was more closely pressed; the enemy digging holes in the ground before the ramparts, and there taking shelter while they annoyed the garrison with incessant volleys of musketry, and with burning arrows to fire the woodwork. This continued through the month of July.

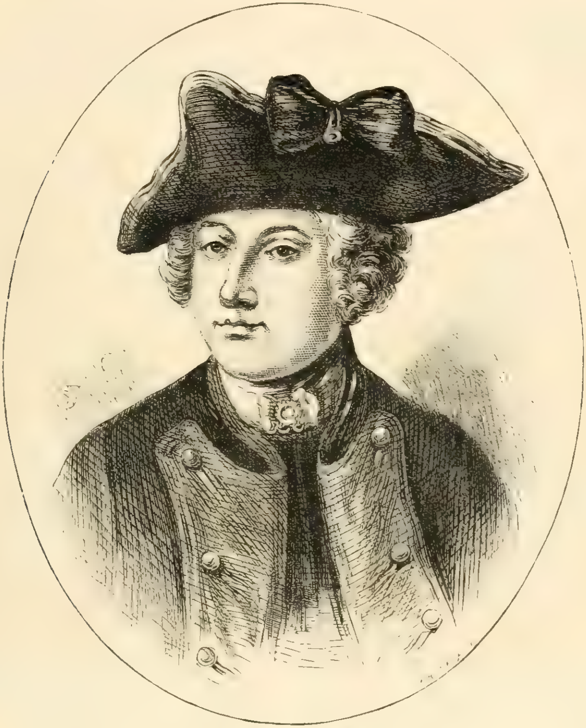
Detroit, in the meantime, though accessible by navigation from Lake Erie, whereby the British forces at Niagara might be sent to its relief, had suffered, from its persistent siege by Pontiac, a greater peril. The first party that landed at the mouth of the Detroit river was cut off or dispersed by the Indians there. In June, a schooner arrived at the fort, with a reinforcement of sixty men. On the 29th of July, Captain Dalyell, with two hundred and sixty, made good his entrance into the beleaguered stockade. He came with Sir Jeffery Amherst's express orders to lose no time in attacking the besiegers at their camp two miles up the river. Notwithstanding the contrary advice of Major Gladwin, this was rashly attempted on July 31st, with a disastrous result. The English, after marching along the river-bank till they reached the Indian breastworks, were thrown into confusion by a sudden discharge of musketry, which killed twenty, and wounded forty or fifty, Dalyell himself being one who fell. The siege now became still more formidable, the numbers of the enemy being raised to upwards of a thousand. When the news was brought to General Amherst, at New York, he denounced all the Lake Indians, with intemperate and undignified bitterness, as "the vilest race of beings that ever infested the earth, whose riddance from them is a meritorious act for the good of mankind." He promised £100 to any man who should kill "that cowardly villain Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas," and desired the officers of his army to "take no prisoners, but put to death all that fall into your hands of the nations who have so unjustly and cruelly committed depredations." There were some of the colonists, however, who did not approve of such precepts and practices in warfare. The Pennsylvania Assembly once more, while voting the instant levy of its militia for the defence of the frontier, declined to put them under the orders of the British General. Reproaches on this account were again repeated against the colonists, in the official correspondence with the Home Government.

But the struggle begun in the western wilds by Pontiac, and not at all supported by the French, was drawing near its end. Colonel Bouquet, advancing by orders of Sir Jeffery Amherst through Southern Pennsylvania with part of two Highland regiments, passed by Carlisle and Bedford, crossed the Alleghanies, and reached Fort Ligonier on the 2nd of August. He led about five hundred soldiers, with a long train of pack-horses, oxen, and sheep, to relieve the garrison at Fort Pitt. Twice on its farther road, at Edge Hill and Bushy Run, he was encountered by the Indians, who fought with great valour and pertinacity, so that one quarter of the English were wounded or killed. This was on the 6th of August, and four days afterwards the safety of Fort Pitt was secured. Detroit was also saved by reinforcements in September; but on the 14th of that month a convoy was intercepted near Niagara, by the Senecas, and was entirely destroyed, with the slaughter of seventy men. It is creditable to the French officer, De Noyon, then in command at Fort Chartres, Illinois, that he made great exertions, in October, to pacify the Indian Tribes from the Ohio to the Lakes, and everywhere east of the Mississippi. He sent wampum-belts and calumets with messages to their twenty-five nations, and more especially to Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, to desire that their war with the English might cease. Pontiac and his allies loyally obeyed this summons, and a stop was put to hostilities by the close of November.



PRIMEVAL FOREST AND INDIAN LODGES.

The political distribution of those vast territories so recently annexed to the British Empire was a subject of anxious debate in London between the Secretary of State and the Board of Trade. Here again Lord Egremont's views, or rather the views of Townshend and Grenville, his overbearing colleagues, did not coincide with Lord Shelburne's. The latter was averse to the proposal that Canada, denoting at that time merely Lower Canada, should be used as the handle of a vast military administration to cover all the western parts of the Continent, as far as the Mississippi, including the southern as well as northern shores of the great Lakes, and the Ohio valley with its tributaries. Such an arrangement would have placed the older English colonies on the Atlantic shores in a very disadvantageous position, and would have debarred them from all that they might gain by the French cession of the West. The Board of Trade, however, was happily at this moment, in June, 1763, under the direction of Lord Shelburne; and his opinions, expressed in an official reply to the minutes of the Secretary of State, were allowed to prevail.* The westward and southward limits of the province of Canada, or Quebec as it was at first called, were therefore fixed by a line drawn from the river St. Lawrence, nearly opposite Lake Champlain, to the west as far as Lake Nipissing, which would have excluded nearly all the peninsula of Upper Canada, between Lakes Erie and Ontario and Lake Huron. At the same time, the south-eastern boundary was so defined as to give Canada only that strip of land on the right bank of the St. Lawrence which sheds its waters northward into that river; leaving to the New England colonies, or to Nova Scotia, all that looks towards the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean.



SIR JEFFERY AMHERST.

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* Life of Earl of Shelburne, chap. 4, containing the chief passages of this discussion. "If this great country," he said, "should be annexed to the government of Canada, we are apprehensive that the powers of such government would not be properly carried into execution, either in respect to the Indians or British traders, unless by means of the garrisons at the different posts and forts in that country, which must contain the greatest part of your Majesty's American forces, and the Governor of Canada would become virtually Commander-in-Chief, or constant and inextricable disputes would arise between him and the commanding officers of your British troops." A few weeks later brought news of Pontiac's war, when Sir Jeffery Amherst sent troops from Pennsylvania and New York to rescue the Western forts.

CHAPTER IV.

Financial Schemes of the Grenville Ministry—Military Establishment in America—Customs' Duties for Revenue—Lord Shelburne evades giving his Opinion—Grenville and his Colleagues—His Resolutions for taxing America, proposed in March, 1764—The Project of Stamp Duties—Difference between Internal and External Taxes—Advice of Colonists in London—Compensating Boons to America—The King's Speech in closing the Session—State of Affairs in America—New Hampshire Boundary Question—Public Opinion in the Colonial Provinces—Admiralty Courts' Jurisdiction—Restriction of the Colonial Paper Currency—Drain of Specie by Taxation, and Monetary Derangement by Stoppage of Contraband Trade—Popular Barristers: James Otis, Morin Scott, and Patrick Henry—Reception of Grenville's Measures in America—Boston Town Meeting—Samuel Adams—The Massachusetts Committee—Massachusetts House of Assembly—Excitement in New York—The "Rights of the Colonists"—The Provincial Assemblies—Addresses to the Crown and to Parliament—General Protest against Taxation by the British Parliament—Hutchinson's Remonstrance with the Ministry.

THE financial position of the British Government, in 1763, was such as to excite the anxious consideration both of King George III. and of Grenville, as both were of a thrifty disposition. The public debt had been increased to one hundred and forty millions sterling, besides a floating debt of fourteen millions. The seven years' war, which had left so great a burthen on the kingdom, had been waged partly in Germany, for the sake of the King's Hanoverian possessions and connections; and its expenses partly accrued from the engagements to pay our German allies, whose claims were magnified without shame or scruple. But some portion of the new debt had been incurred in America; and it was expected that the keeping of our large territorial conquests there would fix a heavy annual charge upon the Imperial exchequer in future. A standing army of twenty regiments, or ten thousand men, was to be maintained in America, by the resolutions which the Secretary-at-War laid before the House of Commons in March of this year. Charles Townshend at the same time explained that the cost of their support would be borne by England only during the first twelvemonth. It was intended by Ministers, he said, that the support of these regiments afterwards should be defrayed entirely by the colonists.* But a beginning was at once to be made with the raising of a revenue from America by immediate taxation, by way of giving a pledge and material guarantee to the English landed interest that the colonies should pay for the augmentation of the military establishments. With this view, as it appears, while Charles Townshend was yet at the Board of Trade in Lord Bute's Ministry, alterations were proposed in those prohibitory customs' duties on the import of foreign rum, sugar, and molasses into the English colonies, the enforcement of which at Boston had provoked much discontent. The plan devised now was to reduce these duties to a scale of rates that would not be prohibitory, so as to make them yield a certain amount of revenue; more stringent measures being at the same time adopted to enforce their collection. This was an artful contrivance, to give the appearance, not of imposing new taxes, but of lowering taxes which had been imposed in the reign of George II. The House of Commons was therefore entertained with tales of the resistance of the colonists to the levy of those duties on French or Spanish sugars, rums, and molasses; and it was represented that their collection, while it cost £7,000 or £8,000 a year, produced only £2,000 a year; as if the object with which they were imposed had been to yield a profit, not to carry out a protectionist commercial policy.

Resolutions were brought forward accordingly by Charles Townshend, on the 9th of March, and were readily passed, to the effect above described; after which a Bill founded upon these resolutions was framed by a Select Committee, of which Lord North was a member; but, the session approaching its close, the Bill was withdrawn on the 29th of that month. Six weeks later, when Lord Shelburne had succeeded Townshend at the Board of Trade, upon Lord Bute's resignation, the new Secretary of State, Lord Egremont, addressed to that Board some general questions concerning the new establishments to be formed in America. One question was this: "In what way, least burthensome and most palatable to the colonies, can they contribute towards the support of the additional expense which must attend their civil and military establishments upon the arrangement which your Lordships shall propose?" The expediency and propriety of taxing the colonists were points here quietly assumed to stand beyond question. This was the view propounded by Grenville and his colleagues, but it never gained the assent of Lord Shelburne. In his reply, on behalf of the Board of Trade, to the inquiries of the Secretary of State, he contented himself with saying:—"On this point, one of the highest importance, it is entirely out of our power to form any opinion which we could presume to offer for your Majesty's consideration, as most of the materials necessary to form a just and accurate judgment upon it are not within reach of our office." It was certainly not within the official competency of the Board of Trade to decide a grave question of constitutional law. The new Attorney-General, Charles Yorke, may be supposed to have advised Government upon this occasion; and his opinion was already shown, by his having been one of the Select Parliamentary Committee to draw up the first taxing Bill. Lord Shelburne, as we have seen, did not remain many weeks longer at the Board of Trade, and soon became an active member of the Opposition. The affair of John Wilkes and his prosecution for an obscene libel then engrossed public attention: America was little regarded. As soon as the Ministry was reconstituted, with Grenville for its virtual chief, Lord Halifax for Secretary of State, and Lord Hillsborough at the Board of Trade, they prepared to execute the policy which they had in view. The Commissioners of the Stamp Duties were ordered, in September, to furnish the draft of a Bill for imposing stamp duties upon his Majesty's subjects in America and the West Indies. In adopting this measure, Grenville seems to have taken the advice of Jenkinson, his chief secretary to the Treasury, contrary to that of Richard Jackson, his secretary for the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Grenville himself knew little about the colonies, and did not share the wish of Halifax to bring their entire administration into mere dependence on the Crown. He was more desirous to uphold the strict mercantile monopoly of Great Britain in the colonies, and to lighten the burthen of taxation in England by laying what he could upon his American fellow-subjects.

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* The following extract from a London correspondent's letter, dated March 27th, which appeared in Weyman's *New York Gazette*, is preserved by Mr. Bancroft:—"I cannot omit mentioning a matter much the subject of conversation here, and which, if carried into execution, will in its consequences greatly affect the colonies. It is the quartering sixteen regiments in America, to be supported at the expense of the provinces. The inutility of these troops in time of peace, though evidently apparent, might not be complained of by the people of America, were the charge defrayed by England. But to lay that burthen on the plantations, already exhausted by the prosecution of an expensive war, is what I believe you would not have thought of. The money, it is said, will be levied by Act of Parliament, and raised on a stamp duty, excise on rum distilled on the continent, and a duty on foreign sugar and molasses, &c., by reducing the former duty on these last-mentioned articles, which it is found impracticable to collect, to such a one as will be collected. This manner of raising money, except what may arise on the foreign sugars, &c., I apprehend, will be thought greatly to diminish even the appearance of the subject's liberty, since nothing seems to be more repugnant to the general principles of freedom than the subjecting a people to taxation by laws in the enactment of which they are not represented."

With these objects in view, before the meeting of Parliament towards the end of 1763, Grenville issued a set of instructions to the colonial Governors, and to the naval and military commanders in America, for the more rigorous enforcement of existing laws concerning trade and navigation. All officers, both of the army and navy, with the troops and crews under their command, were to co-operate with the revenue officers, and were to be rewarded by getting a large share of the forfeitures, adjudged by the Courts of Admiralty without trial by jury, and with an appeal only to the King in Council. This was Grenville's practical response to the opposition raised in Massachusetts, during two years before, to the execution of the revenue laws; and it was by no means adapted to conciliate the people in the colonies, or persuade them to accept new schemes of taxation. But when the session of Parliament opened, on the 15th of November, there was not a single member of either House who seemed able to foresee the coming storm in the western horizon. The King's Speech once more called attention to "the heavy debts contracted during the late war, for many of which no provision had been made." The renewal of the land tax, which would produce two millions sterling, was readily voted; but it was quite understood in the House of Commons that America should be made to pay; and Mr. Huske, the American M.P. for Maldon, officiously promised to show how they might exact from the colonies half a million sterling of new revenue, which would give the English landed interest such relief as it wanted.* The session thus opened went on, passing over Christmas, into the first months of 1764; and the 9th of March arrived, which was a critical day in the history of the British American Empire.

On that day, in Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Grenville appeared with his Budget, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and stated his intentions with regard to taxing the American colonies. Besides new import duties, to be immediately laid upon their trade, he would, in the next session, bring in a Bill for stamp duties. "He now gave notice of this, because he understood that some people entertained doubts of the power of Parliament to impose internal taxes in the colonies. Although, of all the schemes which had fallen under his consideration, he thought a Stamp Act was the best, he was not so wedded to it that he could not give it up for any one that might appear more eligible. If the colonies themselves thought any other mode would be more expedient, he should have no objection to come into it by Act of Parliament." But he challenged his opponents to discuss, if they thought fitting, the right of Parliament to lay any tax, internal or external, upon the colonies. Not a voice of those present in the House of Commons at this sitting was heard to deny the Minister's proposition. Next day, at a very late hour of the evening, and in a very thin House, he submitted a series of resolutions to the Committee of Ways and Means, setting forth the details of the new taxation. The Act of the 6th George II., chapter 13, so far as it prohibited the import of foreign rum and other spirits into the British colonies, was to be continued; but foreign sugar and molasses were to be subjected to certain duties for revenue, and duties were likewise to be imposed on foreign coffee, wine, silk, cambric, calico, and indigo. The 13th resolution was as follows:—"That the produce of all the said duties, and also of the duties which shall be raised, from and after the 29th of September, 1764, by virtue of the said Act made in the sixth year of his late Majesty, shall be paid into his Majesty's Exchequer, and there reserved, to be from time to time disposed of by Parliament towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America." Grenville is entitled to some credit for making this reservation —an example which was not followed by his successors in the same line of policy, Charles Townshend and Lord North. It was Grenville's purpose to secure the application of whatever Parliament should compel the Americans to pay, simply to keeping up the military defences of America, not to increase the power of the Crown over American official salaries.* But the fourteenth resolution of the series, which he got the House of Commons to pass on this occasion, was one of a most ill-advised and unfortunate character. It had been emphatically disapproved, in private, not only by Jackson, the able secretary to the Exchequer, but also by Lord Hillsborough, President of the Board of Trade. This resolution was—"That towards further defraying the said expenses, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations."

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* This speech was uttered either on the 5th or 6th of December, in Committee of Supply on the military forces in America, or on the 7th or 8th, in Committee of Ways and Means on the land-tax. There was talk of reducing the land-tax one shilling in the pound, which would relieve the landowners to the amount of half a million. (Bancroft.)

The impolicy of attempting this method of taxation in the colonies, which Walpole and Pitt had considered and declined, was in vain represented to Grenville. In the minds of colonial politicians, according to nearly all their own speakers and writers, an important distinction was made between external taxes on the import of merchandise into the colonies, and taxes levied in the interior of a province upon its domestic interests of property and business. The former might be supposed to belong to the general system of regulations for British commerce, with regard to foreign competitors and rivals, in which system the American colonists professed their willingness to acquiesce, though still disposed, at least in Massachusetts, to persist in a contraband traffic with the Spanish and French West Indies. But they would not submit to any internal taxation of the colonies by a Parliament at Westminster, because it seemed to be an infringement of their rights of domestic self-government. The charges of the Post-office they did not regard as a tax,† but as a payment for service done, and a payment to which no man was obliged who did not send or receive letters by post. But the use of stamps would be compulsory; for without them no one could inherit or bequeath an estate, recover a debt, secure a loan or contract, or enter into the matrimonial state. It was, moreover, obvious that the soreness of feeling provoked by this objectionable impost would be continually and universally kept in irritation by the daily need of using stamps under the proposed law. These and other arguments against the Stamp Act were privately submitted to Grenville by several persons in London, connected with America, favourable in general to the policy of the King's Government. Among those persons were Thomas Penn, one of the Pennsylvania proprietors, and Allen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. On the other hand, Jasper Mauduit, the agent for Massachusetts, made a merit of his servile acquiescence; and Knox, the agent for Georgia, likewise assented to the stamp duty. Mr. Huske, already named, now repented of his eagerness to promise a colonial revenue, and entreated a respite, that the colonists might speak for themselves; while Thomas Pownall, once Governor of Massachusetts, who afterwards became a champion in Parliament of American liberties, was one of the most forward to praise the measures of taxation proposed by Grenville. That Minister relied, moreover, on granting some valuable boons to colonial trade for the mitigation of the colonists' displeasure. Of these particular indulgences the most considerable was that of relieving the American whale-fishery from the differential duty on its products hitherto maintained for the advantage of British whalers, who had also been encouraged by a direct pecuniary bounty. The rice grown in South Carolina and Georgia was allowed to be sent to foreign countries. The growth of hemp and flax in America was to be rewarded with a bounty; and certain drawbacks were allowed on foreign goods exported from Great Britain to the colonies. With these supposed compensations, the Minister persisted in his design, while he repeatedly expressed feelings of regard and tenderness for the King's subjects in America. He remarked that they now had an opportunity, by signifying their assent to the stamp duty, of making a precedent for their being consulted in future, before any tax should be imposed on them by Parliament. If they could, however, propose some more convenient mode of taxation, which should be equally efficacious, he would give it all due consideration. But if any party objected to the Americans being taxed at all, they might save themselves the trouble of discussion, for he was determined that the colonies should contribute to the national revenue.

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* Bancroft observes that for this reason the Crown officers in America were lukewarm in support of Grenville, when they learnt that the taxes were to be applied exclusively to keeping up the army. What Bernard and others sought was a permanent civil list, laid upon perpetual funds. "But Grenville, accepting the opinions of his secretary Jackson, refused to become the attorney for American office-holders, or the founder of a stupendous system of colonial patronage and corruption. . . . When Halifax urged the payment of the salaries of the Crown officers in the colonies directly from England, in accordance with the system which had been maturing since 1748, Grenville would not consent to it; and though Halifax, at a formal interview with him, at which Hillsborough and Jenkinson were present, became extremely heated and eager, Grenville remained inflexible. . . . . He was narrow-minded and obstinate; but it was no part of his intention to introduce despotic government." (Bancroft, Vol. IV., chap. 9, note.)

† Franklin's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, February, 1766. Works of Franklin, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. IV., page 192.

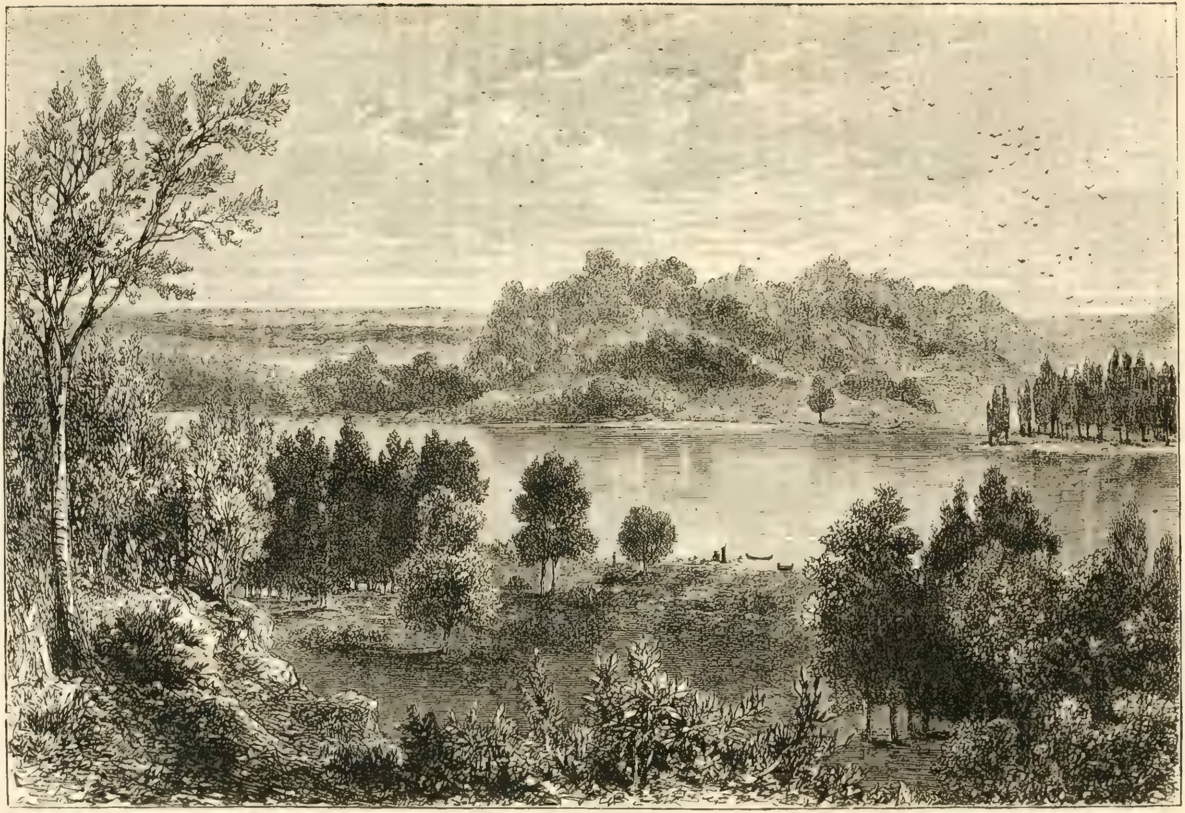
The other fiscal measures relating to the colonial tariff were embodied in a Bill which was presented on March 14th by a committee, of which Grenville, Jenkinson, and Lord North were members. This Bill, meeting with no opposition, was rapidly passed through both Houses, and instantly obtained the Royal assent on the 4th of April. The King, in closing that session of Parliament, commended members for "the wise regulations which had been established to augment the public revenues, to unite the interests of the most distant possessions of the Crown, and to secure their commerce with Great Britain." In his narrow-mindedness and obstinacy, the head of the State was unable to perceive that Parliament had entered a path of the most dangerous tendency—a path that might lead, as indeed it did lead, to revolution and civil war. We must, of course, be careful how we judge by after events; yet it is impossible to doubt that the statesmen of England had evidence enough before them to form a correct idea of the temper of the American people. The wishes and resolves of the colonists were disregarded, rather than unknown; and it was hoped to subdue opposition by overwhelming force.

Meanwhile, till the full import of the British Government policy was realised in America, there were other matters of special concern to engage the attention of the different provinces. Numerous parties of hardy adventurers from Pennsylvania, from Virginia, and from North Carolina, soon made their way beyond the Alleghanies to the banks of the Cumberland and Tennessee. The vast region of the Mississippi, though forbidden to settlers by the authority of Royal Orders in Council, was freely ranged over and squatted upon by these independent pioneers of civilisation. The idea of a continental English dominion in America, instead of a group of detached and isolated provinces, now grew to large proportions. At the same time, there were some undetermined boundary questions affecting the more settled and populous territories. A matter of considerable interest to New England was the disposal of the back country situated between the Connecticut river, the Hudson, and Lake Champlain. This territory was claimed by New York; and the Governor, Colden, was urgent with the Board of Trade that it should be allotted to his province, instead of to Massachusetts or New Hampshire. Those eastern provinces, he said, were animated by a Republican and levelling spirit, whereas New York was more aristocratic; and it was therefore more proper that the latter should have its jurisdiction enlarged. The King's Government decided the matter as Colden proposed. But the temper of the New York people, by that time was not at all docile to the Royal authority.

It happened in New York, as regards the dispute on the tenure of judicial appointments, as it did in Massachusetts with that concerning the obnoxious method of procedure against contraband traders, and in other provinces with other grievances of a different nature. There were many concurrent sources of colonial dissatisfaction in the several portions of British America shortly before the announcement that they were to be taxed by the Parliament at Westminster. Though Pennsylvania, with Franklin for its counsellor and spokesman, was even then soliciting direct government by the Crown, to supersede that of its proprietary lords, it had to complain of troublesome militia regulations, and interference with its legislation touching the use of a paper currency. This last, indeed, was a matter in which general inconvenience was caused by one of the measures that Grenville had already pushed through Parliament. The provincial Assemblies, during the late war, had been accustomed to issue bills which were made a legal tender in payment of debts. As they had become greatly depreciated, and merchants in England were thereby put to heavy losses, it was enacted, immediately after the peace, that such bills should not in future be issued, to be put in circulation as a legal currency. The salutary effects which this law might have produced were in some degree thwarted by the derangement of the colonial monetary system through other recent measures of British legislation. It was by the prohibited trade with the Spanish American dominions that the colonists had obtained a supply of the precious metals, enabling them to remit specie to England in payment for the goods they purchased. This supply was now cut off by the sudden adoption of extraordinary means to suppress that long-established traffic which had, though contrary to law, been practised with the security and punctuality of legitimate commerce. At the same time, they were required to pay the new taxes in gold and silver, transmitted to England for the Imperial exchequer; so that the scarcity of money in the colonies was severely felt, and many respectable citizens were threatened with the utter ruin of their private affairs.

The prominence at this time assumed by some eloquent pleaders at the bar in the colonial courts of justice, where cases affecting the Royal prerogative had come on for trial, was a rather ominous symptom. At Boston, upon the occasion related in our last chapter, the enthusiastic oratory of James Otis had won for him great influence with the people; but Oxenbridge Thacher was also esteemed a notable advocate of freedom. At New York, the members of the legal profession, in their remonstrance against the appointment of judges during the Royal pleasure, had been led by John Morin Scott, and one or two others, with courageous earnestness. In Virginia, which was destined to furnish the coming revolution with some of its most powerful agents, Patrick Henry, a young lawyer hitherto scarcely known beyond his native village, gained high popularity by the boldness of his speech in a case of some local interest. It concerned the payment of a commutation for tithes or other legal dues to a parish clergyman; but the real question at issue was the validity of an Act of the Virginia provincial Legislature, fixing the rate of such commutation in tobacco for money, which Act, in 1759, had been negatived by the Crown, at the instance of the Bishop of London. Patrick Henry, in his argument before a Virginia county court, vehemently denied the King's power at any time to annul laws of domestic operation, which had been formally passed by the representative Assembly, the Council, and the Governor of the province. This was taking higher ground of constitutional or political principles than had yet been ventured upon; and Patrick Henry was menaced with a prosecution for treason. He retired for a short time from the scene of his perilous forensic triumph; but the popular voice not long afterwards called him to a seat in the provincial Assembly. He was soon to appear as one of the foremost intellectual champions of the American cause.

In this condition of the public mind, with so many inflammatory agencies at work, the news of Grenville's financial scheme, more especially of his intention to propose a stamp duty early in the next year, aroused in the colonies a storm of angry feeling. But the attitude taken at first was calm in resistance. A town meeting was held at Boston in the month of May, when Samuel Adams, a citizen of modest fortune, but highly esteemed for the strict integrity of his character, and for his intellectual attainments as a distinguished scholar of Harvard University, led the discussion in a tone of uncompromising firmness. Resolutions were passed asserting the claim of the King's subjects in the colonies, not only by charter, but as their birthright, to the same freedom which other British subjects enjoyed; and especially declaring that they should not be taxed without their own consent expressed by a representative Legislature. They called on the provincial Assembly of Massachusetts, then in session, to give effect to these resolutions; and they appointed a committee, consisting of Otis, Thacher, Cushing, Gray, and Sheafe, to enter into correspondence with the other provinces for joint action. The Boston Instructions to representatives were drawn up by Adams, and were accompanied by a statement of the case, which Otis had been desired to prepare. These memorials demanded for the colonists, by the law of nature and reason, as well as by the common law of the realm, those rights which belonged to all Englishmen—personal security and liberty, the possession of their own property, and the power of local legislation for their own government, subject only to a negative of particular acts by the Crown, but with the sole power of imposing taxes in the colony. It was plainly declared that "the authority of the



THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

Parliament of Great Britain is circumscribed by bounds which, if exceeded, render its acts those of mere power without right, and consequently void." Again, the same memorial repeated—"Acts of Parliament against natural equity are void; Acts against the fundamental principles of the British institutions are void." The Massachusetts Assembly was not slow in responding to these injunctions from the citizens of Boston. A formal letter of instructions was addressed to Jasper Mauduit, their agent in London, setting forth the views which he was to lay before the British Government on behalf of their province. They protested against "the burdensome scheme of obliging the colonists to maintain a standing army," and recounted their past efforts and services in the late war. But they asked, as if incredulous of the news they had heard, "Can it be possible that duties and taxes shall be assessed without the voice or consent of an American Parliament? Ireland was a conquered country; yet no duties have been levied by the British Parliament on Ireland. A people may be free and tolerably happy, without a particular branch of trade; but without the privilege of assessing their own taxes they can be neither. Prohibitions of trade are neither reasonable nor just; but the power of taxing is the grand barrier of British liberty. If this is once broken down, all is lost; if we are not represented, we are slaves." And they added, "The resolutions for a Stamp Act naturally and directly tend to enervate the goodwill of America towards Great Britain."

At New York, when the arrival of the English packet brought intelligence of what had been done, people of every class were loud in expressions of resentment. Their first notion was to defeat the imposition of the new Customs' duties by refusing to buy or use the imported goods subject to this taxation. They would drink no wine and wear no foreign manufactured stuffs, either those produced in England (such as woollen cloth), or those sent to them by English merchants. They would grow and manufacture their own wool in America; and for this purpose, to permit a more rapid increase of their flocks of sheep, they agreed to eat no lamb. It was a trivial incident of the popular agitation; but it took the fancy, and became a proverbial symbol: "I'll eat no lamb" was thenceforth a watchword of American patriots. But there were some who talked of dressing in sheepskins till they could manufacture cloth; in the meantime, all resolved to dispense with dyed broadcloth, and content themselves with homespun grey or brown fabrics of the country handlooms. This turn of their inclinations was further encouraged by the maxims of homely frugality which Franklin and others had lately taught in "Poor Richard" and similar publications. Adams even made it a point of heroic virtue, and prayed for his Boston that it might be "a Christian Sparta."

In September and October, when the movement begun in Massachusetts had spread, there were more signal demonstrations of the spirit now aroused in the neighbouring provinces. A treatise written by James Otis, entitled "The Rights of the Colonists," had much circulation amongst them. It was chiefly made up of high-flown declamation, concerning abstract principles of human liberty, and the weakness and wickedness of tyranny, in that style of which Rousseau had set the example in France. But it also contained some pithy sentences in which lay the gist of the argument on the American side. The opinions here stated were more advanced than such as were previously referred to. "A time may come," said Otis, "when Parliament shall declare every American charter void; but the natural, inherent, and inseparable rights of the colonists as men and as citizens will remain. There is no foundation," he proceeded (thus going beyond the views of moderate colonial politicians), "for the distinction between external and internal taxes. If Parliament may tax our trade, they may lay stamps, land-taxes, tithes, and so indefinitely; there are no bounds. But such an imposition of taxes, whether on trade or on land, on houses or ships, on real or personal, fixed or floating property in the colonies, is absolutely irreconcilable with the rights of the colonists, as British subjects and as men. Acts of Parliament," he repeated, in the terms of the Boston resolutions, "when against the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, are void." In conclusion, Otis referred to the possibility of an appeal to force. "Yet the colonists," he said, "well know the blood and treasure that independence would cost. They will never think of it, till driven to it as the last fatal resort against Ministerial oppression, which will make the wisest mad, and the weakest strong." This sort of language was not calculated to soothe the roused passions of his countrymen.

But the provincial Assemblies of America were mostly disposed to a firm, yet gentle and temperate, manner of proceeding. That of Rhode Island, acting together with the Governor, Stephen Hopkins, who was elected by the people, resolved indeed not to acknowledge that the British Parliament had any authority to make even laws of trade for the colonies. Their little province was "ready to exert its utmost efforts to maintain its privileges inviolate," and they appointed, like

Massachusetts, a committee of correspondence to act jointly with the other provinces. Connecticut addressed to the British Legislature an elaborate disquisition, proving that it had already performed its full share of service to the Imperial Government in the costs of the late war, and that for Parliament to lay on stamp duties, or any other internal taxation, would be a gross infringement of colonial rights. "It was humbly and firmly trusted, and even relied upon, that Parliament, as supreme guardian of the liberties of the subject, would not suffer the same to be done." Pennsylvania, still distracted by its conflict against the proprietary system of government, yet listened to the overtures of Massachusetts and Rhode Island for political joint action. This province alone had spent half a million sterling in the late war, and had sent a thousand volunteers to the more recent Indian expedition of Colonel Bouquet; its taxation now amounted to half-a-crown in the pound of all private incomes.* Its Legislature professed constant readiness to attend to a Royal letter of requisition, for pecuniary aids to be freely voted by the colonists, and levied in such manner as they chose. But this should be their own legislative act, in response to a message from the King by his Secretary of State; they would have nothing to do with a British Chancellor of the Exchequer. Resolutions were accordingly passed by the Pennsylvania Assembly, declining to allow the proposed taxes, but expressing their willingness to grant aids to the Crown, whenever called for in a proper, constitutional manner. They now appointed Franklin, who had come home in 1762, to return to England as the agent for the province, with new instructions which he was to show to the Ministry. The remaining provinces were not indifferent to the political emergency. The Assembly of Virginia addressed the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, with a protest against the taxation of America by the British Parliament. This was declared to be "subversive of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, and of dangerous example." But the people of Virginia, if permitted to enjoy "their undoubted rights," would still cherish their connection with "Britain, the seat of liberty," as their greatest happiness. In North Carolina, likewise, an address was voted by the Assembly, claiming the exclusive right of imposing taxes; and a committee was appointed to act with the Massachusetts committee.

The New York Assembly met in September, and immediately took measures to secure for its constituents "that great badge of English liberty, the being taxed only with their own consent." An address to the King was agreed to, in which this "exclusive right" was claimed as one already recognised by his Majesty, and the loss of which would reduce them to "the basest vassalage." They complained also of the laws restricting trade, of those interfering with the exercise of the financial credit of their province, and of the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Courts without trial by jury. Separate and distinct addresses to the House of Lords and to the House of Commons were adopted at New York. These addresses disclaimed, "with the utmost abhorrence," any thought of independence for that colony, with regard to the supreme power of the Empire. They acknowledged, "in the most extensive and positive terms," the lawful authority of the British Parliament "to model the trade of the whole Empire," so as to subserve the interest of the trade of Great Britain; "but the freedom to drive all sorts of traffic," they added, "in subordination to and not inconsistent with the British trade, with an exemption from all duties in such a course of commerce, is humbly claimed by the colonists, as the most essential of all the rights to which they are entitled as colonists, and as connected in the bond of liberty with the free sons of Great Britain." It was not only the threatened Stamp Act, but the new customs' tariff, to which they objected. "For since all impositions, whether they be internal taxes or duties paid for what we consume, equally diminish the estates upon which they are charged, what avails it to any people by which of them they are impoverished?" In conclusion, the New York Assembly demanded for the people of that colony "an exemption from the burthen of ungranted and involuntary taxes;" as without this security there could be no idea of property or liberty, no happiness, and "life itself would be intolerable." It could never be, they said, that the Constitution of Great Britain allowed one part of the community for ever to tax and legislate for the other part. If it did so, it would be the most unequal Constitution that ever existed; "and no human foresight or contrivance," it was finally observed, "can prevent its resulting in the most intolerable oppression."

These demonstrations of the Provincial Legislatures, in the summer and autumn of 1764, were the reply made by the English people of America to Grenville's challenge from the Treasury Bench of the House of Commons. He had so little of the wisdom of a statesman that he never took the principle of their refusal into serious consideration. Yet he received timely warning from an official quarter hitherto most favourable to the prerogatives of the Crown. Hutchinson, the Chief-Justice and Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Exchequer, earnestly remonstrating against the Parliamentary imposition of taxes. His arguments, both of equity and of expediency, were clearly and forcibly stated; but he was a time-serving man, anxious to be in favour with the winning side. Persons well acquainted with America thought the Ministry were acting too rashly.

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* Franklin's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons.

CHAPTER V.

Further Projects of Taxation entertained by the Bedford-Grenville Ministry—Remonstrances of London Merchants, and of the American Provincial Agents—Schemes of Bernard and Colden, at Boston and New York, to subvert Colonial Liberties—Command of Military Forces in America—Billeting of Troops at the Charge of the Colonies—Grenville's Proposal of the Stamp Act—Charles Townshend and Colonel Barré—Absence of Pitt—Exclusion of Petitions against the Stamp Act—Passing of the Act—Bribes and Bounties—Restraints on Trade and Industry in America—Slavery maintained as a British Interest—Reception of the Stamp Act by the Colonists—Patrick Henry in Virginia—The Assembly of Massachusetts—Provincial Corresponding Committees—South Carolina and New York—Invitation to a Congress of the Provinces—Ingersoll, of Connecticut, at Boston—The Newly-appointed Stamp Distributors—Compulsory Resignations—Andrew Oliver, the Boston Stamp-master—Riots at Boston—Riots in Rhode Island and in Maryland—Ingersoll waylaid in Connecticut—Governor Bernard and the Massachusetts Assembly—The Congress at New York in October—Resolutions and Addresses to Parliament—Governor Colden and the New Yorkers—Impossibility of executing the Stamp Act—Confirmation of Acts of the Congress—Change of Government in England—The Rockingham Ministry.

AT the opening of Parliament in January, 1765, the question of further taxing America was referred to in the King's Speech, as one of "obedience to the laws, and respect for the legislative authority of the kingdom." This suggestion was answered by the two Houses in their Address, with the assurance of such "temper and firmness as would best conciliate due submission and reverence." Here was an evident consciousness of the approaching political struggle. It was next alluded to in the discussion of the Army Estimates, when Charles Townshend, as Paymaster-General, insisted upon establishing a large military force in America; "for the colonies," he said, "are not to be emancipated." The writings of Otis, and other declarations of the rights claimed in Boston and New York for those communities of English freemen, were now read by persons in London connected with the Government. A reply was drawn up and published by Soame Jenyns, one of the Board of Trade; while the Attorney-General, Charles Yorke, and the eminent Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief-Justice, studied their precedents and arguments of law, with a similar intent to uphold the Royal prerogative. Grenville, in the meantime, had to meet the deputations of London merchants, and the agents for several American provinces, who remonstrated in vain against the policy he had taken up. They asked him, instead of levying a tax, to make a requisition, through the Secretary of State, for the supplies needed on behalf of the military service. Franklin, who had now arrived in England as agent for Pennsylvania, offered a formal pledge that its Legislature would comply with such a requisition. Jackson, who represented Connecticut, dwelt upon the gravest political objection to Great Britain taxing the colonies; that if the Crown had a Civil List and standing army there, independent of their own Legislature, their civil liberties would be endangered. This was denied by Grenville; but the remark soon met with a practical commentary in a new order from the War Office, that the military commanders all over America should act without reference to the civil Governors.

This was indeed the purport, though not the express text, of the official determination arising from a dispute in Florida, which had no particular connection with the controversy we have followed. It was natural enough that the alarmed colonists should look upon all such measures and proposals as forming one system of policy adverse to their freedom. The chief promoter of this despotic system in America was Francis Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, who had just communicated to the Ministry his scheme of a thorough change in all the provincial Governments. He recommended a civil list, beyond the control of local Legislative Assemblies; an order of colonial nobility, with life-peerages; the abolition of existing charters; and either the administration of the whole by one Government, or the formation of three large provinces, suppressing Connecticut and Rhode

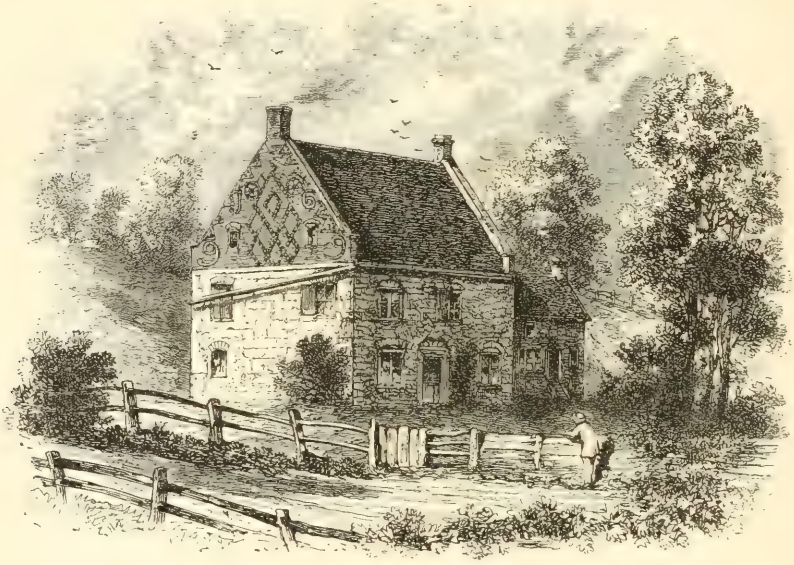
Island. At the same time, Colden, the Lieutenant-Governor of New York, was contending for the subjection of all judicial proceedings in the colonies, even trials by jury at common law, without any writ of error from superior courts, to a decision by the King in Council.

Another measure was in hand, which just then attracted but little notice, yet was destined to have momentous consequences in a short time. The extension of the Mutiny and Billeting Act to the army in America was managed by Mr. Welbore Ellis, Secretary at War, according to the recommendations of General Gage. It included provisions for billeting troops in the barracks of the provincial militia, in public-houses, inns and taverns, barns and empty houses; but the colonial Governments were required to furnish them with fuel for firing, candles, cooking utensils, bedding, beer or cider, rum, salt, and vinegar, at the cost of the colonial tax-payers. It was a small matter, apparently, in amount and in principle; but it was calculated to serve for the occasion of an irritating dispute between the Imperial and Provincial legislative powers.

The Stamp Act, however, which Grenville had frankly announced in the year before, was to become the more immediate subject of contention. It was on the 6th of February, 1765, that he proposed to the House in Committee fifty-five resolutions of minute detail, for an Act imposing a variety of stamp duties in America, and establishing the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Courts in all cases under this Act, as well as under the Customs' Acts. The Minister spoke at considerable length, and stated that it was found necessary to maintain an army of ten thousand men in America, which would cost £300,000 a year; that the duties and taxes already enacted would yield but £100,000; and that America could and should pay for the establishment of that military force employed for its protection. He compared the public debt of England with that of the colonies; the increase of taxation, and the cost of the public services, in the mother country, and in those distant provinces, respectively. He declared that Parliament, as the common council of the whole Empire, was fully capable of imposing internal taxes in the colonies, as well as taxes on their trade and navigation; and that all their charters were subject to the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain.

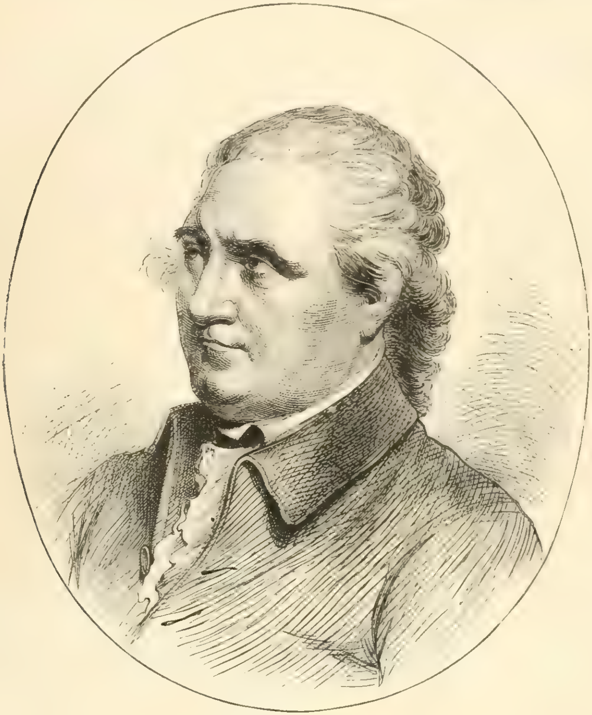
The resolutions were passed with few dissentients in Committee, though Alderman Beckford and Mr. Richard Jackson spoke against them, as both unjust and imprudent. The Stamp Act was then brought in, and was quickly put through its regular stages, giving rise to more than one lively debate. Among the speakers, one who most distinguished himself was Colonel Isaac Barré, an eloquent Irishman who had served with General Wolfe at Quebec, and had contracted personal friendships in America. He reproached the Ministry and the House for not knowing, feeling, or caring for the interests of the American people. Hereupon Charles Townshend, who also piqued himself upon his acquaintance with America, replied with a vehement asseveration of the great advantages that the colonies had gained from the last war at the cost of Britain. "And now," said he, "will these American offspring, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms, till they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, will they grudge to contribute their mite, to relieve us from the heavy burthen of national expense we lie under?" This was an inconsiderate way of putting the case, inasmuch as it betrayed either ignorance or forgetfulness of the earlier periods of colonial history. It laid the Ministerial advocate fairly open to a powerful retort from that impassioned rhetorician, Colonel Barré, who was keenly sensible of every point in favour of his American clients. "They planted by your care!" he exclaimed. "No, it was your oppression that planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves, for the principles of true English liberty, to every hardship, and to the cruelties of a savage foe. They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them; and as soon as you began to care about them, it was to send persons, in one department and another, to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behaviour has caused the blood of these sons of liberty to boil within them. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, and exerted their valour on the frontiers, amidst their constant laborious industry in the interior of their country, which yielded all its little savings to your service. And believe me —remember I this day told you so—the same spirit of freedom will actuate that people still. Prudence forbids me to explain myself farther; yet I claim to know more of America than most of you. Its people are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate; I will say no more."

This spirited passage of declamation, in which there was a certain portion of truth, but which ignored some material considerations on the other side, was reported in the American journals. It afforded the highest gratification to the colonists, and encouraged them in their bold acts of resistance throughout the summer of 1765. Pitt was absent, from illness, during all the proceedings of the House with regard to the Stamp Act of that session; he would else have been their most efficient champion. Besides Colonel Barré, Alderman Beckford, and Jackson, their cause was defended by Sir William Meredith and General Conway, more especially on behalf of Virginia. The memorials and addresses of the different provincial Legislatures were in vain presented to the House, or rather were brought up and offered for presentation. It was objected, by members on the Ministerial side, that no petition against a Money Bill could be received, according to the standing orders of the House. The petitions of London merchants and others trading with America were excluded by the same rule. In general, the opponents of the Government measure were scarcely prepared with sufficient knowledge of constitutional principles to maintain their cause in debate. They were easily overborne, as it seemed, by the peremptory assertions of such a lawyer as Yorke, who insisted that the colonies were but chartered corporations with the power of making bye-laws, but with no share of the supreme legislative power. The minority of votes on the resolutions in Committee, on the 6th of February, was but 49 against 245. The Bill itself, which was introduced by Grenville, Lord North, and Jenkinson, on the 13th of February, passed the House of Commons on the 27th, with no formal division. It went through the House of Lords very quietly, and obtained the Royal assent on the 22nd of March. Grenville had now procured the full sanction of Parliament to his American taxing policy. He still endeavoured to soothe the injured colonial interests by granting more bounties on special articles of their produce and traffic. The powerful Minister showed a patronising countenance to men like Pownall, Knox, and Mauduit, who told him that the colonies would acquiesce in his financial plans. But, in spite of all this seeming liberality, America was still to remain in a condition of galling restraint and injurious dependence on certain privileged British interests. Though some relaxation was now granted in the case of iron and timber sent to Ireland, the exportation of almost every American product to any country but England was absolutely



OLD DUTCH HOUSE, LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK.

forbidden. With the exception of Madeira or Portuguese wine, the colonies were equally forbidden to procure for their own use any foreign commodity otherwise than from Great Britain. They were prohibited from working their own iron in furnaces and forges on a large scale; and the woollen manufacture, beyond mere household spinning and weaving, was made impossible by laws against carrying wool or cloth from one province into another. Other vexatious restrictions on trade and industry were sedulously maintained, and the African slave trade to America, together with the institution of slavery in Virginia and Carolina, was forced upon the colonists, against their earnest remonstrances, by the policy of Great Britain, for the profit of London and Liverpool or Bristol merchants.*



COLONEL BARRÉ.

The Stamp Act had now passed, and it was to be seen how the colonists would take it. The first movement of resistance began in the Virginia House of Assembly, in the month of May. The eloquent Patrick Henry, elected but a few days before for Louisa County, brought forward a set of five resolutions, declaring the sole right and power of that Assembly to tax the inhabitants of the colony. In the debate which ensued, and of which Thomas Jefferson and George Washington were silent hearers, bold language was freely used. The resolutions were opposed by the King's Attorney,

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* "While free labour was debarred of its natural rights in the employment of its resources, the slave trade was encouraged to proceed with unrelenting eagerness; and in the year that had just expired, from Liverpool alone, seventy-nine ships had gone in that trade to Africa, and had borne to the West Indies and to the Continent more than 15,300 negroes." (Bancroft, Vol. IV., chap. 12.) The provincial Legislatures would have abolished slavery, as well as the slave-trade; but they were not allowed to interfere with the latter, because all trade from abroad to the colonies was for the Imperial Legislature alone to deal with.

Peyton Randolph, and by Robinson, the Speaker of the House, but were carried by a small majority; one was afterwards rescinded. The Lieutenant-Governor, Fauquier, then dissolved the Assembly; but the signal had been given to the other provinces. In the Assembly of Massachusetts, on the 6th of June, Otis proposed that an American Continental Congress should be convened, which was to consist of delegates from all the thirteen provinces. The project was approved, and letters were sent to every provincial representative body, inviting their committees to meet at New York, on the first Tuesday in October. They were "to consult together, and consider of a united representation to implore relief." It seemed doubtful, at first, whether this proposal of a Congress would not prove a failure. Though New York, as well as Virginia and Massachusetts, was strongly disposed to resistance, there was some hesitation in other provinces—New Jersey, Maryland, and New Hampshire—to commit themselves to the leadership of Boston. But in South Carolina, on the 25th of July, mainly by the deliberate earnestness of Christopher Gadsden, chairman of a committee to which the Massachusetts circular was referred, the provincial Legislature agreed to the plan of joint action. Two or three months, however, would yet be passed, either in painful suspense or in active preparation, before the meeting of the New York Congress. In the meantime, both in America and in England, some important transactions were to take place.

In Boston city, on the 8th of August, the reality of the obnoxious Stamp Act was brought home to the indignant townsfolk by the arrival of Jared Ingersoll. He was a Connecticut man, who had been sent as public agent of that province to England, and had betrayed its cause by assenting to the Stamp Act, for which he was rewarded by the appointment of Stamp-master. A similar appointment for Massachusetts was bestowed upon Andrew Oliver; while, for the other provinces, men were appointed whom the Royal Governors preferred, or who had official friends and patrons in London. It seemed good, therefore, to the uncompromising and determined opponents of the Stamp Act, that all these gentlemen should be compelled by popular demonstrations to resign their office. Nobody should be allowed to distribute stamps; and Grenville's Act of Parliament should be a mere dead letter. It was already known in America that the Grenville or Bedford Ministry was about to fall, and that the King had sent for Pitt. The Boston populace, in a rough and hasty manner, took upon themselves to inflict the sentence of ignominy upon that hated system of government which they hoped was about to be changed. They kept the birthday of the Prince of Wales with hearty cheers around their bonfire, not only for "Pitt and liberty," but also for "our true British King."

A company of mechanics or working-class men, calling themselves, from a phrase in Colonel Barré's speech, the "Sons of Liberty," made an uncouth effigy of Andrew Oliver, which they hung upon an elm-tree. This was on the 14th of August. The Chief-Justice and Deputy-Governor, Hutchinson, ordered the sheriff to take down the figure; but the order was not readily obeyed. The day passed on, while Governor Bernard, moved by Hutchinson, debated with the Provincial Council what they could do. In the evening came a multitude of people, with the effigy laid on a bier, which they carried in triumph through the streets past the State House and under the windows of the Council Chamber, shouting, "Liberty and no stamps!" They pulled down the frame of a wooden building, designed by Oliver for his stamp-office, made a pile and fire, and burnt the image of that unpopular person in front of his own dwelling-house. The commander of the town militia was in vain ordered by Hutchinson to beat his drums and disperse the mob: Hutchinson himself, approaching them with the sheriff, was soon obliged to fly, getting even one or two slight blows. They also made some noise in front of the Province House, where Governor Bernard lived, before dispersing for the night.

The next morning brought another crowd of people about the houses of Hutchinson and Oliver, to demand that the latter should give his written promise, which he did, not to serve as stamp-officer, and that Hutchinson should testify his disapproval of the Stamp Act. The Governor hastened to shut himself up in the fort, while issuing a proclamation for the discovery and arrest of the rioters. They were, indeed, not a few disorderly fellows, but nearly all the townspeople and those of neighbouring villages. In the course of another week or two, their rage was further stimulated to an attack upon Hutchinson, who was regarded as the prime author of all the obnoxious measures. On the night of the 26th, they kindled a bonfire in front of the State House; and, having seized on the records of the Admiralty Court, and the account books of the Comptroller of Customs, they burnt those documents with every token of derision. They next drove Hutchinson out of his own house, breaking open its doors with axes, and destroying his furniture and library. He took refuge with Bernard in the Fort or Castle, whence the two wrote bitter complaints to the Government in England. These outrages were blamed by men like Samuel Adams, and other Boston leaders of colonial public opinion; but it can hardly be doubted that those leaders had done much to excite them. The demand that was to come for a grant of compensation to the individual sufferers will hereafter appear to involve a question of great moment.

The example of mobbing and terrifying the newly-appointed stamp-distributors was soon followed by other provinces. In Rhode Island, on the 28th of August, and in Maryland, on the 2nd of September, the houses of persons connected with that detested measure were demolished by exasperated mobs; and the officials named under its operation, in New Jersey, New Hampshire, and New York, were compelled to resign by fear of the like ill-treatment. The Governors at Boston and New York kept the stamped papers still unpacked under guard at the forts of those towns, awaiting some opportunity for their safe distribution. But when Ingersoll proceeded to Connecticut, in order to begin the execution of his unlucky office, there was great trouble in store for him. The townsfolk of Newhaven, who had just elected Roger Sherman their representative in the Provincial Assembly, called upon Ingersoll to give up his appointment. He was reluctant to do this, but promised not to issue the stamps without consent of the people, and set out for Hartford, in company with Governor Fitch, to attend the meeting of the Assembly there. The roads were beset by numerous bands of mounted farmers and yeomen, who overtook Ingersoll, when he had parted from the Governor, and threatened him with vague words of terror, so that he was glad to subscribe his written resignation. This was done at Wethersfield, from which place he was conducted to Hartford, where he was obliged to present his resignation to the Governor and Provincial Assembly.

There were no further acts of violence; but the newspapers and pamphlets, the platform and pulpit orators, in each principal town of colonial America, kept up the popular spirit, in ardent anticipation of the New York Congress. Their arguments and expressions of sentiment were to the same purport as those already quoted. John Adams, of Massachusetts, and an able Maryland lawyer named Dulany, were two of the most effective writers. The provincial Legislatures began, one after another, to meet in September, with the exception of New York, which had not been convened. That of Georgia, the youngest, feeblest, and most dependent colony, was the first to come together, without a summons from its Governor, and to join the proposed Congress. Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, and Maryland, elected their delegates in good time for the 7th of the ensuing month. The Massachusetts Legislature met on the 25th of September, with fresh instructions from the constituent townships to oppose the Stamp Act and the Courts of Admiralty. Governor Bernard addressed them with a solemn warning to obey the authority of the British Parliament. He told them that their community was on the brink of a precipice; let them take heed to prevent its falling. He would cast the responsibility on them: from that day, he said, this arduous business of executing the Stamp Act should be put into their hands; it should become a provincial concern. It behoved them to look to it; and so they did. They enacted that all the courts of law in Massachusetts should do business without stamps. A resolution to the same effect had been adopted by the Rhode Island Assembly, with an indemnity for all public officers who disregarded the Stamp Act. Governor Bernard was astounded, and could only resort to a prorogation for several weeks.

At New York, where Governor Colden was supported by General Gage with the military and naval forces, and with the guns of the fort and the ships, there could be no such tumults as at Boston. But the General did not care to assist the Governor to stop the clamours of the press, and of bold speakers against the Stamp Act; and he rather despised the timid apprehensions of civilians like Colden and Bernard. The press was very much wilder, being anonymous, than the oratory of barristers and preachers. "Join or Die," with reference to the Congress of Provinces and their mortal danger from tyranny, was the motto of one paper, which bore the milder title of the *Constitutional Courant*. The *Gazettes* of New York, as those of Boston, of Providence in Rhode Island, and of New London in Connecticut, were filled with strenuous assertions of democratic principle. A sentiment of American nationality seemed also to be growing apace.

The Congress, which was to be the prototype of American national Assemblies, was held at New York, from the 7th to the 25th of October, 1765. It consisted of delegates from the Houses of Representatives of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina; of delegates from Delaware and New Jersey, less formally nominated by the representatives of those provinces; and the members of the Corresponding Committee of the New York Assembly. New Hampshire and Georgia sent word that they would abide by the decisions of the Congress. James Otis and Samuel and John Adams, of Massachusetts, Judge Robert Livingston, of New York, the Rev. Stephen Johnson, of Connecticut, and other Northern men, here met Christopher Gadsden, Lynch, and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, whom they found like-minded. Governor Colden told them at once that their Congress was unconstitutional and unlawful, but did not attempt to interfere with its meetings. Their proceedings were calm and judicious, for the end which they had in view. General Gage wrote to Governor Bernard, on the 12th:—"Those who compose it [the Congress] are of various characters and opinions; but in general, the spirit of democracy is strong among them, supporting the independence of the provinces as not subject to the legislative power of Great Britain. The question is not of the inexpediency of the Stamp Act, but that it is unconstitutional and contrary to their rights." There was, indeed, a great deal of abstract discussion on liberty, privilege, and prerogative, led by James Otis, of Boston. Some were for putting their case on the privileges secured to the colonies by Royal Charters; but the majority preferred to insist on their antecedent rights as men, and citizens of the English nation. Freedom from taxation, otherwise than by their own representative Legislatures, and the right of trial by jury, which was denied by the Admiralty Courts, were the two main points aimed at in the resolutions of this Congress. It was contended that all supplies to the Crown were free gifts; that neither the people of Great Britain, nor their Parliament, could give away the property of the colonists in America; that no representation of the colonists in the British House of Commons was practicable; and that the colonists must therefore be taxed only by their own Provincial Assemblies. These views were expressed in a petition to the King, and in an address to the House of Lords, though Gadsden and Lynch were for sending no address to either of the Houses of Parliament. To the House of Commons a different address was sent, with a general acknowledgment of "all due subordination to the Parliament of Great Britain," admitting its power to legislate for the regulation of trade through the whole Empire, or for the amendment of the common law, but disputing its authority to impose taxes on the colonies, and entreating to be relieved from such imposts. Towards the close of these deliberations of the Congress, great popular excitement was aroused in New York by the arrival of a vessel with stamped papers. The official distributor, M'Evers, had resigned, but the Governor had announced his intention to provide for the issue of stamps. Stern threats were uttered, and repeated in street placards, against the man who should begin this odious task. The Congress, however, finished its work quietly, by signing the resolutions, the petition, and the addresses to Parliament, from which only two names of delegates were withheld, as dissentient from its conclusions.

America had thus found the way to create for itself, upon emergency, a fit organ of expression for the common purpose of all its different provinces. The Massachusetts Assembly, of which Samuel Adams was now a member, replied to Governor Bernard's speech of warning, and refused to quit their defence of "the just rights of this province." Their address contained a pregnant description of the crisis. "The Stamp Act," it was remarked, "wholly cancels the very conditions upon which our ancestors, with much toil and blood, and at their sole expense, settled this country, and enlarged his Majesty's dominions. It tends to destroy that mutual confidence and affection, as well as that equality, which ought ever to subsist among all his Majesty's subjects in this wide and extended Empire; and, what is the worst of all evils, if his Majesty's American subjects are not to be governed according to the known and stated rules of the Constitution, their minds may, in time, become disaffected." Massachusetts, in fact, had now said its last word upon the question of England taxing America, and it was never to be unsaid. There was nothing more for Bernard to do; but the Lieutenant-Governor of New York, Colden, who was about to be superseded by Sir Henry Moore as Governor, would make another attempt to execute the Stamp Act. He appointed his son the temporary distributor of stamps, and on the 31st of October took his oath, as did most of the other Governors of provinces, to carry the law into effect. The Provincial Government Council, as well as the town council of New York city, advised him not to enter upon so rash an engagement. The citizens were determined to let no stamps be put in use.

It was on the 1st of November that these imposts were, by the Act of Parliament, to be introduced in legal and mercantile business. On that day, neither at New York, nor at Boston, nor anywhere else in the thirteen colonies, was there any person to issue the stamps. The church bells of every town rang a muffled peal, and other signs of public mourning were made in mockery of the deceased or still-born measure of British legislation. The newspapers, each printed without a stamp, told their readers of the defeat which American civil courage had that day inflicted upon usurping statesmen in England, and upon their venal accomplices near at hand. The New York merchants had, on the preceding day, met and agreed to renounce all trade with England, at least to import no merchandise whatever, until the Stamp Act should be repealed. The New York mob, augmented by sailors dismissed from the ships in harbour, were headed by one Isaac Sears, and surrounded the Lieutenant-Governor's house, demanding the stamps, that they might burn them. Colden sent for a detachment of marines from the *Coventry* ship of war, but dared not bid them fire on the people. He retired into the fort, while the mob entered his coach-house, seized his carriages, and placed in one of them an effigy of himself, with another figure to represent the Devil, both of which they committed to the flames on the Bowling Green. Some negotiations took place next day between Colden and the town council; the stamps were given up by him to the custody of that municipal authority in the City Hall; and there was no further disturbance. The Assemblies of all the other Provinces confirmed the resolutions of the New York Congress, which were further supported by numerous town and county meetings. Every shop, farm, and private household, was bound to do without the commodities of importation from England, unless the British Parliament would repeal the Stamp Act. We shall presently see that the Americans had good reason to expect its repeal, which their unanimous resistance did in fact speedily obtain.

There had been a change of Government in England since the Americans were roused to anger by the passing of Grenville's unhappy measure. The Ministry of which the Duke of Bedford was the nominal head, but of which Grenville was the efficient director, had deeply offended King George, after his recovery from a first attack of mental disease, by its conduct in framing a Regency Bill. Some conferences with Pitt and others failing to produce any results, the Whig Marquis of Rockingham, in July, 1765, formed a new Ministry, in which the Duke of Grafton and General Conway were Secretaries of State, the latter for the Southern Department, including the American colonies, while the Earl of Dartmouth was President of the Board of Trade. These had never committed themselves to an arbitrary treatment of the colonies. On the other hand, both from Lord Northington, who continued to be Lord Chancellor, and from Charles Yorke, the Attorney-General, legal doctrines of a severe and pedantic character had been heard in support of the prerogative which the colonists denied. It was therefore uncertain how the Rockingham Ministry would proceed with regard to America; and, though Edmund Burke was secretary to the Prime Minister, his first and last approach to official power, there was no probability of his being able to influence its decisions. Still, the Americans felt sure that they would meet with sympathy from the generous Conway; and in this they were not deceived. The opinions of Lord Shelburne, though not now in office, had considerable weight in Ministerial Councils, and were consistently inclined to a liberal and moderate course, while he privately cherished the acquaintance of Franklin. But though, during the autumn months of that year, every post from America brought news of fresh troubles, disputes, and riots, occasioned by the obnoxious Stamp Act, the Rockingham Ministry still delayed coming to any resolution upon this urgent affair of Imperial Government. The Secretary of State and the Board of Trade received and replied to their American correspondence, as so much ordinary business. Neither the alarming despatches of the Governors and Crown officers, who predicted an insurrection, nor the eloquent addresses of the colonial patriots and champions of freedom, nor the memorials of London merchants, who said that America owed them millions of money, which they feared to lose by this political quarrel, had much effect on the Rockingham Ministry. A witty epigram was written in those days:—

"Tell our statesmen the truth, if you may without shocking 'em,
For the Nation's asleep, and the Minister's *rocking 'em!*"

But the voice of Pitt, long unheard at Westminster, was now to wake them up.

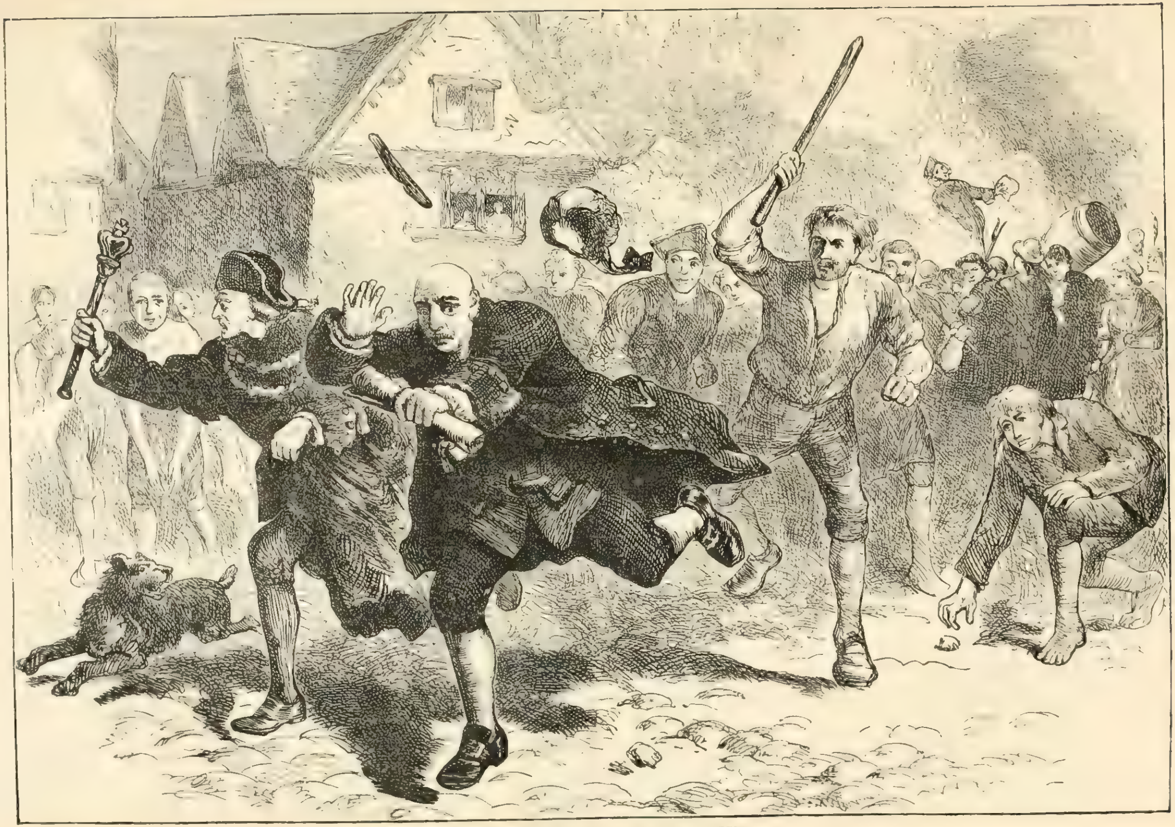
CHAPTER VI.

Parliamentary Session of 1766—Pitt's Denunciation of the Stamp Act—Concession by Ministers—Committee of Inquiry—Ministerial proposals for Repeal of the Stamp Act—Declaratory Resolution asserting the Supreme Power of Parliament—Debates on these Measures—Lord Camden and Lord Mansfield—Sullen Displeasure of the King—Changes in the Ministry—Extraordinary Behaviour of Charles Townshend—Dissolution of the Rockingham Cabinet—The New Coalition—Townshend as Chancellor of the Exchequer—Continued Disputes between the Crown and the Colonies—The Billeting Act—Compensation for Damage by the Stamp Act Riots—Suspension of the New York Legislature—Ex-Governor Pownall's Warning—Harsh feeling in England against the Colonists—Townshend's Measures of 1767—An American Board of Customs—New Import Duties—Passive Resistance, and Non-importation of English Merchandise—Government of Lord North—Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies—Proceedings of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1768—Circular inviting the Co-operation of other Provincial Legislatures—The Customs' officers and the Sloop *Liberty* at Boston—Troops ordered from Halifax—Refusal of the Assembly to rescind its former Acts—Dissolution of the Assembly.

WHEN the King reopened Parliament, in December, 1765, his Ministers had settled no measure for the restoring of peace in America. They had, in October, by an address from the Board of Trade, informed his Majesty that the Acts of the British Parliament were "treated with indecent disrespect;" while Secretary Conway had instructed General Gage, as well as the Governors, to behave with "prudence and lenity," and to use "persuasive methods." They shrank from enforcing the Stamp Act by violent means, yet were reluctant to give up the claim of a taxing power; to a deputation of merchants, they talked of suspending the Act. The King felt extreme personal resentment at the humiliating defeat of his governing representatives in America. With the aid of Charles Townshend, who was an assiduous courtier, his Majesty looked for an opportunity of compelling submission on the part of the stubborn colonists. In the debates of both Houses on their Address of reply to the Royal Speech, amendments were moved denouncing the "insurrections of open and rebellious force" in America, and promising to repress them forthwith. Ministers said nothing; they were absent from the Commons; but Shelburne in the Lords, and Beckford in the Lower House, spoke for a repeal of the Stamp Act. All the party of high prerogative and official pedantry,—Bedford, Halifax, Sandwich, Temple, and Grenville, with Chancellor Northington, and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield,—joined in a chorus of scolding menaces against the refractory colonies. Charles Townshend vowed that he would see them "reduced to their primitive deserts," sooner than yield to their pretensions.

This was the temper of powerful English statesmen towards their fellow-Englishmen abroad. But there was one, William Pitt, who reappeared in Parliament, after long absence, on the 14th of January, 1766, and spoke as follows:—"On a question that may mortally wound the freedom of three millions of virtuous and brave subjects beyond the Atlantic Ocean, I cannot be silent. When the resolution was taken to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to be carried in my bed, I would have solicited some kind hand to lay me down on this floor, to bear my testimony against it. America, being neither really nor virtually represented at Westminster, cannot be held legally, or constitutionally, or reasonably, subject to obedience to any Money Bill of this kingdom. Taxation is no part of the governing power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, his Majesty's Commons of Great Britain, give and grant to his Majesty—what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to his Majesty the property of his Majesty's Commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms. The Commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it."

The Southern Secretary of State, General Conway, rose immediately when Pitt sat down, and spoke a few words that decided the repeal of the Stamp Act. "I not only adopt all that has just been said," he remarked, "but believe it expresses the sentiments of most, if not all, the King's servants, and wish it may be the unanimous opinion of the House." Upon this, Grenville stepped forth with an indignant speech in defence of the Stamp Act, insisting that taxation was part of the sovereign legislative functions of Parliament; and that it could and ought to be exercised, as in many other cases it was, over those who sent no representatives to Parliament. He reproached "the factions in that House" for giving birth to "the seditious spirit in America, now almost in open rebellion." Pitt was ready to meet this accusation. "The right honourable gentleman," he said, "tells us that America is obstinate; that America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. If its millions of inhabitants had submitted, taxes



FLIGHT OF HUTCHINSON BEFORE THE RIOTERS.

would soon have been laid by the British Government upon Ireland, without its consent. And then, if ever this nation should have a tyrant for its King, they who had been so dead to all feeling of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." This was a signal expression of political sentiment, such as could not fail to have its effect upon the whole public life of the nation and of the age —nay, of succeeding ages and of foreign nations— far beyond the controversy on the taxation of our American colonies. It was the signal, one may consider, for the commencement of the great Liberal movement, both in England and in France, which has not yet ceased, after a hundred years, to transform the political conditions of the world.

The words spoken by Pitt on that occasion were equivalent to a battle won. The King was next day advised, by Grafton and Conway, to send for Pitt, and take counsel with him; but this was not done, nor did the attempt to make room for Pitt in the Rockingham Ministry obtain success. Yet the petition and addresses of the American Congress at New York were duly laid by the Secretary of State before the King and the Houses of Parliament. They were received, notwithstanding some opposition; and the Commons ordered a thorough inquiry, in Committee of the whole House, examining many witnesses at its bar, of whom the most illustrious was Benjamin Franklin.* It was soon understood that the Ministry would propose the repeal of the Stamp Act. But this would be joined with a requisition obliging the colonial Legislatures to provide compensation for Hutchinson, Oliver, and the other persons whose private property had been damaged in the riots of the preceding summer. And, before the Stamp Act was repealed, they would pass a declaratory Act or resolution, affirming the rightful prerogative of the British Parliament to make laws for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." This was the limit of concession; this the extent of asserted power.

The debates upon these connected proposals, from the 3rd of February to the 17th of March, in both Houses of Parliament, will always be read with interest by the student of English constitutional history, but need scarcely detain us in this narrative. The most characteristic incident was the grand controversial duel in the House of Lords between two of the most eminent and accomplished British lawyers: namely, William Murray, Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice; and Charles Pratt, Lord Camden, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, but soon afterwards Lord Chancellor. Never was a great constitutional question, of legal precedent and of general policy, discussed with greater ability, than by these two learned, acute, and eloquent men, in whose presence Lord Northington, the actual Lord Chancellor, made but a small figure. Camden had a mind superior to that of his great rival in its power of appreciating the principles of justice and sentiments of liberality belonging to a political question; while Mansfield was perhaps more completely furnished with historical and professional knowledge, and more dexterous in its application. Next to Pitt, Shelburne, and Conway, as their Parliamentary advocates, the gratitude of the colonies was fairly due to Camden, who not merely supported the repeal of the Stamp Act, but strongly disapproved of the Act declaring their subjection to the British Legislature. Five peers only—Camden, Shelburne, Cornwallis, and two others—voted against that declaratory resolution; and in the House of Commons there were less than ten members, including Pitt, Beckford, and Barré, to oppose it. The Act which embodied its purport was closely followed or accompanied by that for the Repeal of the Stamp Duties. Burke's maiden speech was made on this occasion. In the Act there was to have been a clause requiring the colonies to grant indemnities for damage done to private property by riotous mobs. The clause was taken out, but passed as a separate resolution. Several amendments and resolutions designed for the enforcement of the Stamp Act were urged in vain by the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville, with their party, Lords Lyttelton and Temple, and other sticklers for high prerogative. But the Ministry had a majority in the Commons of 275 against 167, and in the Lords, reckoning votes by proxy, of 105 against 71, the minority of peers recording a stiff protest. The King, who had wished for a modification, not a repeal, of the Stamp Act, was obliged to give his assent to its abrogation. This he lamented, in a private letter to Lord North, as "a fatal compliance, which has wounded the majesty of England, and planted thorns under my pillow."

The position of Ministers became daily more uncomfortable with their unforgiving Royal master. The Duke of Grafton resigned, and General Conway changed his post for another, to get rid of continual reproaches for his surrender to the colonies They succeeded. however, in obtaining one more boon for America—the permission to import Spanish bullion and Mexican cattle, by way of Jamaica and Dominica, which were constituted free ports. It was hoped that the agitation in America would presently subside. The colonists, indeed, had rejoiced at the news of the Stamp Act being repealed; and some provinces had voted for purchasing pictures or statues of their great friends in the British Parliament. But their fears of renewed attempts to overbear the provincial Legislatures were kept alive by the Declaratory Act, interpreted by such Government men as Bernard and Hutchinson. They were still further alarmed and irritated by the presence in the Ministry of Charles Townshend, and by the extraordinary manner in which he was permitted to talk about them.

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* Works of Franklin, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. IV. His evidence, reported in question and answer, deals with a variety of facts and arguments which have been detailed in the last three chapters of this History. It deserves careful perusal as an exposition of the domestic affairs of Pennsylvania and other provinces, as well as of the sentiments with which their people then regarded the taxing measures of British legislation.

That remarkable politician, a man of rare talents for conversation and social intrigue, as well as of smart and showy rhetoric in the debates of the House, was encouraged by the King's favour, and by the support of some influential peers, to behave as though he alone were to be leader of the Government. Whenever his colleagues, or even their chief, remonstrated with him for these egotistic displays, he would say that they dared not dismiss him, and he would do whatever he liked. There was a motion, on the 3rd of June, 1766, brought on by the Opposition party, to ask the King not to prorogue the session till they should have got satisfactory assurances that the rebellious dispositions of the colonists were altered. Charles Townshend, the Army Paymaster, replying from the Ministerial benches, took upon himself to promise that they would, in the coming recess, devise measures to supersede the Provincial Government Charters of America, and to provide a fixed revenue, so that its Royal Governors, judges, and attorneys might be rendered independent of the popular Assemblies. He contemptuously reprobated the "distracted madness," and the "odious, unpardonable resolves," of those subordinate colonial Legislatures. He hoped and intended to pursue a new system with regard to them; and if in this he should differ from the other members of the Administration, they must now take notice that he should withdraw from any further co-operation with persons of such narrow views in government.

The Rockingham Ministry, discredited by want of consistency and unity, fell to pieces in August. There was a new official combination. of which the Duke of Grafton was nominal head. William Pitt, "the Great Commoner" of former years, accepting an Earldom of Chatham, now lent the name and shadow of his grand personality, with no active direction or control, to an Administration partly composed of men who differed from himself in the most important respects. It was an inglorious and a disastrous passage of his career, and of English political affairs. That Charles Townshend, of all persons at that particular juncture, should thus become, with Pitt's apparent sanction, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, thereby giving him the opportunity of striking another blow against the liberties of America—this was one of the strangest and saddest turns in the history of the times. It is true that the new Ministry included Lord Chancellor Camden, General Conway, and Lord Shelburne, the last-named as Secretary for the Colonies; but whenever Townshend broke loose, as he did in the following year, his reckless and insolent self-conceit was sure to endanger the peace of the Empire. Lord Chatham, and those who thought with him, should never have allowed such a man to be in office with themselves.

But there were, in the meantime, still two existing causes of strife between the Crown and the American colonies, besides the Declaratory Act, which might have remained a harmless dead letter. These were, the clause in the Mutiny or Billeting Act, compelling the Legislatures of the provinces to supply particular articles for the use of troops in barracks; and the Parliamentary resolution ordering those Legislatures to give compensation for the damage of the late riots. Had a Royal Message been addressed to any of the Provincial Assemblies, in the old customary form, like those usually sent to the British House of Commons, asking either these small matters or anything else from their free suffrage, in the spirit of voluntary loyal service, it is possible that American tax-payers would have voted and paid a hundred times the sum required. It was the King's birthday, and the New York Assembly resolved to put up an equestrian statue of George III. in their city Bowling Green; while that misguided King and his evil counsellors in London were sullenly brooding over the check they had just encountered in their haughty attempt to snatch by force the subsidies which, on a frank appeal to loyalty and patriotism, might have been amply and instantly given. False pride was the ruin of their government in America, as it is apt to be the ruin of most human affairs.

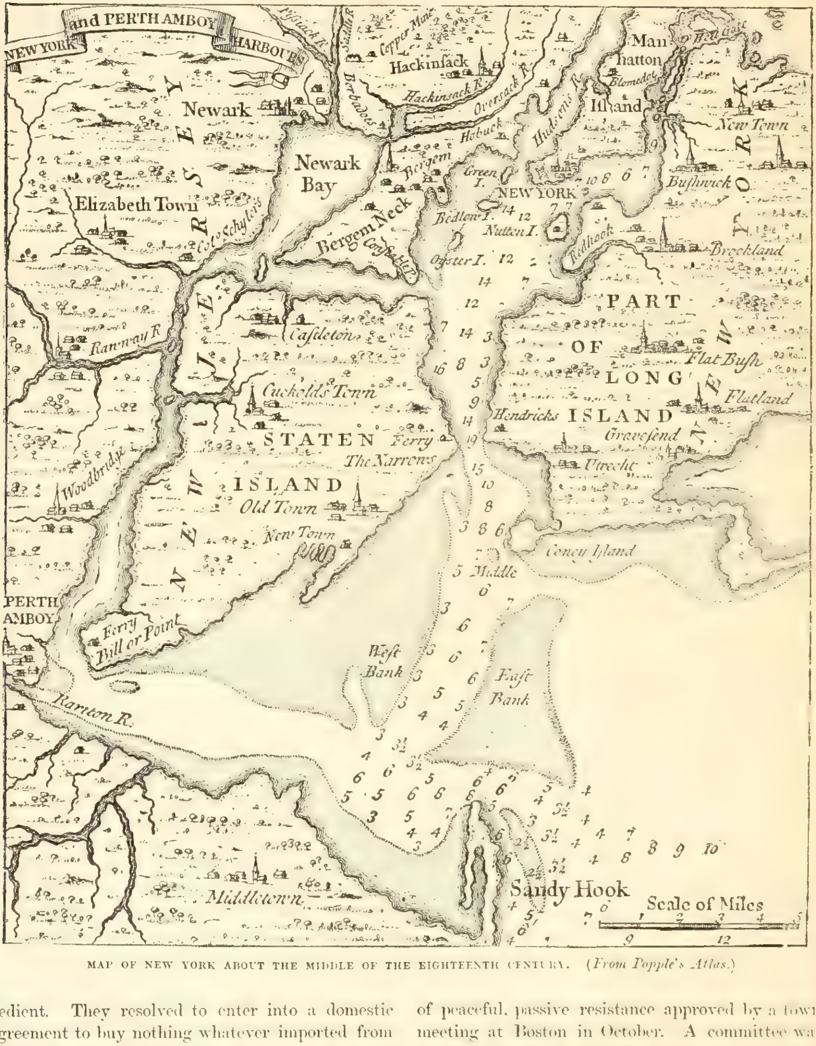
The catastrophe was hastened by Governor Bernard in Massachusetts, of whose vexatious conduct we have already seen too much. Bitter disputes between him and the House of Representatives, upon various points of business and ceremony, were inevitable when they met, year after year, with mutual distrust. In the annual joint nomination of the Council, were now excluded Judge Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, as being officers of the Crown; for which the Governor retaliated by disallowing several of the popular party whom the Assembly had chosen. This provoked an altercation, in the heat of which Bernard thrust upon them, on the 3rd of June, the Government order to indemnify the sufferers by the riots. It was founded, he maliciously observed, upon a resolution of the House of Commons, "whose authority would preclude all disputation about complying with it." The Assembly put off their decision till their adjourned session in October. There were fresh troubles, in the autumn months, concerning the Admiralty Courts' jurisdiction in revenue cases, and the execution of their writs by the ordinary constables. The Governor sent Charles Paxton, Admiralty Court Marshal, to represent all the complaints of the Crown officials in London; and this man became the confidential informer of Charles Townshend, and of Lord Hillsborough at the Board of Trade. When the Assembly met again, in October, they resolved, upon the motion of Joseph Hawley, to couple with the vote of compensation for the riots a grant of amnesty to the rioters, and to state, in the preamble of their Act, that it was passed "of their own free and good will," not upon the Government requisition. This Act, being transmitted to London, was disallowed by the Privy Council, as a manifest infringement of the King's prerogative to pardon criminal offenders. The chief sufferers by the riots at Boston, Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver, were not the men to go without their compensation; and it was secretly provided for, a twelvemonth later, by annuities to be paid under a Treasury warrant out of the Customs' revenue. When this arrangement was discovered, so late as May, 1768, it furnished ground for again excluding Hutchinson, as a Crown pensioner, from the Provincial Council. As Chief Justice and *ex officio* Lieutenant-Governor, he was not legally disqualified. Such were the quarrels constantly recurring in Massachusetts. The Assembly there had, since the Stamp Act, discarded its old provincial agent in London, the untrustworthy Mauduit, whose post was now held by Denis de Berdt.

The other questionable exaction above referred to, namely that prescribed by the billeting clauses of the Mutiny Act, was to be contested in New York, the headquarters of the British military forces. In June, 1766, upon a requisition from General Gage, the Governor, Sir Henry Moore, desired the Legislative Assembly to vote the barrack stores, of which a list was specified by the Act of Parliament. But the Assembly, while readily performing most part of this demand, thought fit designedly to omit certain articles, firewood, beer or cider, salt, and vinegar, which they found were not usually provided for troops in barracks in England by the local authorities. They also took care to avoid, in their Act for this purpose, any citation or acknowledgment of the Act of Parliament. These legislative derelictions were brought under the notice of his Majesty's Government; and Lord Shelburne, as Secretary of State, instructed the Governor to tell the Assembly that they must comply with the Act as it stood. They deliberately refused to do so, holding that the point was one of constitutional privilege, which fidelity to their constituents forbade them to yield. The Ministry hereupon, in May, 1767, introduced a Bill to suspend the New York Legislature till its members should have satisfied the Governor of their disposition to comply. This harsh and injurious procedure, unworthy of a Government to which several Liberal statesmen were attached, did not tend to appease colonial discontents, still less to overawe their expression by the other Provincial Assemblies, though each might expect a similar treatment. In the House of Commons, their cause was now most warmly upheld by Pownall, formerly the Governor of Massachusetts, who knew that those Assemblies could not be safely used as if they were mere local assessors and collectors of taxes ordered by the Imperial Government. He warned the Parliament of Great Britain that these attempts to coerce America would never succeed. "You may levy taxes," said he, "if you will, by military force; but that is not government—it is war. The people there are husbandmen and tradesmen, unaccustomed to arms; yet, if you attempt to force them, you will find, perhaps too late, that they have a spirit to resist all force, a spirit to grow the stronger for being forced. And if this temper which is in them be inflamed by a sense of persecution, like that which has so much heightened their religious enthusiasm or fanaticism as Puritans in a former age, then will their love to the mother country be turned into the bitterest hate." Such was the prophecy of ex-Governor Pownall, in February, 1768; but its solemn utterance was more immediately occasioned by new projects of arbitrary exaction, the fatal legacy of Charles Townshend.

Throughout the year 1767, which was the last of his brief and brilliant, yet vain and even mischievous life, Charles Townshend had been left to speak and act pretty much as he pleased in the Ministry and Parliament. The only one of his colleagues (the Earl of Chatham keeping aloof and inert) who would ever oppose this audacious Chancellor of the Exchequer, was Lord Shelburne; and him the King disliked. On the 26th of January, in replying to one of Grenville's frequent attacks of taunting censure on the repeal of the Stamp Act, Charles Townshend declared himself, on principle, still in favour of the Stamp Duty, and contemned the American colonists' distinction between external and internal taxation as "perfect absurd nonsense." He said he thought England would be undone if her claim to tax America were given up. "But you are such cowards," remarked Grenville, "you dare not tax America." "What!" returned Townshend, "you say that I dare not? I say that I dare tax America, and I will do it." He then promised to bring in some proposals for obtaining a revenue from America by a mode which he knew of, without giving offence to the colonists. It was of no avail that Conway and Shelburne, at the next private meeting of the Ministry, remonstrated with their headstrong colleague. A month after this, upon a motion for reduction of the land-tax, their opponents again reproached the Government for sparing America its due share of taxation, and there was an adverse majority of votes. At a meeting of the Cabinet on the 12th of March, Townshend insisted upon their adoption of his views of fiscal policy as applied to the colonies. The Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden were overborne by his vehement pertinacity, and yielded an unwilling consent. The Opposition party in both Houses lost no opportunity of driving Ministers into that course which Townshend was eager to pursue. On the 30th, when news had arrived of the Americans' resistance to the Billeting Act, there was a debate in the Lords, and the harshest language was used, branding the Americans as rebels and traitors. On the 10th of April, a motion was made by the Duke of Bedford for an address to the King to nullify the Massachusetts enactment of an amnesty for the Boston rioters. Much was said, by Lord Mansfield and other speakers, about the "folly and wickedness" of the colonists in their recent behaviour. Parliamentary opinion was thus ripened for Townshend's proposals, which were brought forward on the 13th of May.

He seemed rather to glory, for his own part, in connecting the fiscal measures he had devised with other measures of restraint and chastisement. The New York Legislature was to be suspended for its disobedience; and he reproached the Assemblies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Jersey, with severity proportioned to their imputed offences. He now proposed to establish an American Board of Customs, and to levy import duties on several articles of consumption; the revenue so collected to be placed at the disposal of the Crown, for the payment of salaries and pensions to the Governors, judges, and other officials of the colony, to be specified in a civil list prepared by the Ministry. This would effectually remove the colonial Administrations from the control of the Legislative Assemblies. It was, in that respect, a scheme much more objectionable than any before devised; but it did not go far enough to satisfy Grenville. He recommended that the Governor and Council of each province should be empowered, without the consent of its representative body, to draw bills for money on the provincial treasurer. If that public servant refused to pay such bills, he should be sent to England to be tried for the crime of treason. Every person admitted to any public office in the colonies should thenceforth be required to sign a test-declaration, acknowledging the sovereign powers of the British Legislature. Such was George Grenville's final prescription for the cure of that political uneasiness which he had been the first to provoke. Townshend's measures, however, were speedily embodied in two or three Acts of Parliament, which after the Whitsuntide holidays passed through both Houses with little opposition. Alderman Beckford and Edmund Burke were among the few speakers against them. The articles subjected to the new Customs' duties, by this Act of the 7th George III., chapter 46, were glass, red and white lead, painters' colours, paper, pasteboard, and tea. The duty on tea, imported exclusively from Great Britain, was indeed very small (only threepence a pound), and its imposition in America was accompanied by the remission, in the case of tea sent to the colonies, of the shilling duty which was charged upon tea brought to England, so that the American purchaser would actually be saved ninepence a pound. This was Charles Townshend's notable contrivance for making his scheme of taxation acceptable to the people of America; but it was precisely this duty on tea, refused and resisted on principle, that was eventually to become the fatal occasion of a final quarrel. Together with the Customs' Acts, including that for the establishment of a Crown Board of Customs at Boston, was passed the Act for suspending the New York Legislature; and an address was voted requesting the King to order compensation to Hutchinson and Oliver, Ingersoll and Martin Howard, for their private injuries in the Stamp Act riots.

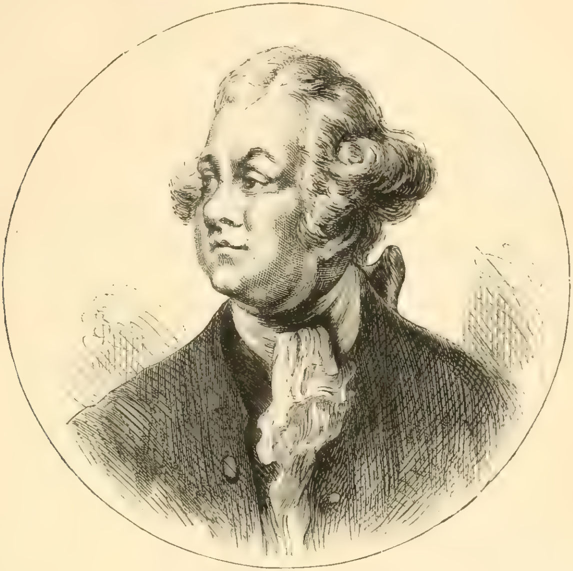
These enactments of the British Parliament, when fully made known to the colonists in July and August, were met with a calm determination to nullify the objectionable policy by one simple expedient. They resolved to enter into a domestic agreement to buy nothing whatever imported from Great Britain, so that British merchants would be compelled to use their influence with the King's Government in London for a reversal of that policy. In the meantime, the new Commissioners and Collectors of Customs were to take their appointed posts; they should have no revenue to collect, for there should be no import trade. This was the method of peaceful, passive resistance approved by a town meeting at Boston in October. A committee was deputed to get it adopted throughout the other provinces; and both at New York and Philadelphia its adherents commanded the popular assent. The published letters of "A Farmer," written by John


NEW YORK and PERTH AMBOY HARBOUR
Newark
Newark Bay
Elizabeth Town
Hackinſack
Hackinſack R.
Barbadoes
Overſack R.
Hudſons R.
Man hatton Iſland
Blomedal
New Town
Buſhwick
Bergem
Bergem Neck
Green I.
NEW YORK
Bedlow I.
Nutten I.
Oyſter I.
Redhook
Brookland
PART OF LONG ISLAND
Flat Buſh
Flatland
Hendricks
Graveſend
Utrecht
Caſtleton
Cuckolds Town
STATEN ISLAND
Ferry
The Narrows
Old Town
New Town
Coney Iſland
Middle
Rawway R.
Woodbridge
PERTH AMBOY
Ferry Bill or Point
Rariton R.
West Bank
Eaſt Bank
Middletown
Sandy Hook
Scale of Miles
NEW JERSEY
NEW YORK

MAP OF NEW YORK ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. (*From Popple's Atlas.*)

Dickinson of Pennsylvania, had a powerful effect at the moment. But all went on quietly, and, when Parliament reassembled towards the end of November, the Ministry had heard nothing to alarm them. Charles Townshend had died in September, and his place as Chancellor of the Exchequer was filled by Lord North, with Jenkinson for his chief assistant. Conway had resigned office, and Shelburne had relinquished the administration of the colonies (now erected into a distinct Secretaryship) to Lord Hillsborough—a bad exchange for the interests of American freedom. As for Lord Chatham, his head was hidden in the clouds, and not a word or sign of disapprobation came from him, while the Ministry seemed bent on enforcing Townshend's measures.

The next year, 1768, began with a series of perfectly constitutional resolutions adopted by the Massachusetts House of Assembly. They furnished their London agent, Mr. De Berdt, with a temperate statement, drawn up by Samuel Adams, of their objections to the recent Acts of Parliament; they also petitioned the King, appealing to his "wisdom and clemency" against those Acts; and they memorialised the Lords of the Treasury and the Secretary of State, but refrained from addressing either the House of Lords or the House of Commons. Letters were written to Chatham, Rockingham, Camden, Shelburne, and Conway, in the name of the Provincial Assembly, soliciting their continued advocacy of its rights. It was impossible to find fault with these proceedings so far; but in the first week of February they were followed by a new resolution, to send a circular letter from the Massachusetts Assembly to those of the other provinces, inviting them to follow its example. The circular, which, like the preceding documents, was composed by Samuel Adams, contained nothing but an argumentative statement of their political case, mentioning as grievances the imposition of taxes without their consent, the provision of a civil list independent of the colonial Legislatures, the establishment of the Crown Board of Customs, and the billeting clauses of the Mutiny Act. It was, however, the approach to federal action, in communicating these views to the other provincial Legislatures, that now again exposed Massachusetts to the severest Ministerial displeasure.


LORD NORTH.

Governor Bernard, in his chronic strife with the representatives of the people at Boston, found an ally in the members of the new Board of Customs there, which had little else to do. They mutually supported, by exaggerated and distorted reports sent to London, the complaints with which each official authority ceased not to beset the Home Government, and to call for the aid of a military force against the dangerous agitators of colonial society. Some misrepresentations of facts in the letters of Bernard having become known to the popular leaders at Boston, the Assembly was moved to petition for his removal from the Governorship; and while this question was pending, his Excellency thought fit to call their attention to a gross and virulent libel on his character in the *Boston Gazette.* The language of that article was quite indefensible, reviling the Governor as a monster of "treachery and wickedness," inspired by a "diabolical thirst for mischief." But the House of Representatives declined to order a public prosecution; and when the Governor appealed to the criminal law against the printer of the paper, the bill was thrown out by the Grand Jury. On the 18th of March, the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, there was a procession and feast of the "Sons of Liberty," who indulged themselves by hanging the revenue officers in effigy on the Liberty Tree, and by hooting or groaning before the Governor's house. This was represented by Bernard and his friends as a formidable riot: he sent to Commodore Hood, the naval commander at Halifax, for the protection of an armed force, and wrote also to Lord Hillsborough, in London, that troops should be despatched to Boston. Hillsborough, before the arrival of that request, had instructed General Gage, the Commander-in-chief at New York, to be in readiness to use the military forces, in case of need, for the maintenance of order at Boston or elsewhere.

This being the painful and precarious state of relations between the people of Massachusetts and the representative of the Crown, Midsummer brought them fresh materials and incentives of discord. Lord Hillsborough, on the 22nd of April, sent out to Governor Bernard his positive orders to require the Assembly to rescind its resolution of February, which originated the circular addressed by Massachusetts to the sister provinces. In letters simultaneously written by the Secretary of State to all the Colonial Governors in America, that circular was denounced as a factious and seditious attempt to inflame the minds of the people, and to procure a dangerous combination against the British Parliament. The Governor of Massachusetts, in case of the House of Representatives refusing to undo what it had done in February, was enjoined to dissolve that House immediately. No consideration was allowed for the fact that an interval of four months would have elapsed, during which the circular had been formally received and proceeded upon by the other provincial Legislatures, so that Massachusetts could not withdraw and disavow its initiative without miserable desertion and self-stultification. It had been cordially responded to, in April, by the Council and Assembly of Virginia, and by the Connecticut Assembly in May; those of New Jersey and of Georgia were the next to act upon its proposals, which amounted to no more than the petitioning of the Home Government against certain grievances. His Majesty's Ministers, while declining to receive those petitions, might have expressed a disapproval, *ex post facto*, of the manner in which they were got up by the joint action of the provinces; but it was a harsh and impolitic demand that the leading provincial Government should annul its past invitation to the others.

Again, the popular agitation and excitement of feeling at Boston had been much increased by the behaviour of the new Customs Board and its officials there, who were emboldened by the presence of the frigate *Romney*, under Captain Conner, lying in that port. On the 10th of June, a sloop named the *Liberty*, owned by John Hancock, one of the most active and zealous champions of colonial rights, was seized by Hallowell, the Comptroller of Customs, upon the allegation that a false entry had been made respecting her cargo or destination. The owner was just then absent; but some of his friends interfered when the Customs' officers, aided by seamen and marines from the *Romney*, were about to take the sloop away from her moorings beside the wharf. A violent altercation ensued, and rash threats were uttered on both sides, but there was no actual conflict. The Customs' officers were pelted with mud, and the windows of Hallowell's house were broken. This affair, magnified to the outbreak of a revolt or insurrection, was reported to the British Government by its representatives at Boston. Despatches from Bernard, letters from Hutchinson, and the personal evidence of Hallowell, who sailed for England on purpose to tell his tale of the colonial insults, were plied to the same effect. Even the captain of the *Romney* had to complain of resistance to the impressment of New England sailors for service on board his ship. The men of Boston were meantime assembled in their town meeting, on the 14th of June, to request that the *Romney* might be sent away, contending that every man-of-war in their harbour ought to be under the authority of the provincial Legislature. They further resolved that any person who should seek to bring bodies of soldiery into

Boston was to be deemed a traitor, and a disturber of the peace. These resolutions were carried by a numerous deputation, riding in a line of coaches up to the Governor's house, and Bernard received them with a show of respectful deference. But the citizens of Boston were not easily deceived: they met again on the 17th, and instructed their representatives in the Assembly to persist in the defence of their liberties "at the utmost hazard of their lives and fortunes." It was a fact that Lord Hillsborough had already ordered a regiment to Boston, at the urgent request of Bernard.

The Provincial House of Representatives and the Provincial Council now met for their ordinary session. They appointed a joint committee of investigation to find out what measures had lately been taken, or were then in hand, for the execution of the recent unconstitutional Acts of Parliament by the aid of the naval or military forces. At this critical moment, Governor Bernard received from Lord Hillsborough his instructions to demand that the Assembly should, on pain of instant dissolution, rescind its February resolution to send the circular to the neighbouring provinces. Having consulted with Hutchinson and Oliver, the Governor put this demand to the House of Representatives on the 21st of June. It occasioned a warm debate, in which Otis and other members expressed their ardent hopes of another Congress of the American Colonies to maintain their common cause. A majority of 92 votes to 17 resolved not to comply with the demand of the British Government, and a firm but respectful and temperate exposition of their motives was addressed to the Secretary of State. Governor Bernard thereupon, at the end of June, dissolved the Assembly, but continued his efforts to persuade the Council that they might yet expect some concessions from the Royal indulgence. He was rewarded with a baronetcy, and with the promise of another colonial government.

The chief city of New England, and the important province of which it was the capital, now lay under daily apprehension of a complete suppression of their inherited and chartered liberties by military force. They were, like New York, deprived of the exercise of representative self-government; but the people still came together in Faneuil Hall, or in the Old South Meeting-House, to renew their mutual pledge that they would use no English merchandise, and to forbid the notion of a feeble surrender. On the other hand, the English Ministry determined to make a signal example of the rebellious city of Boston.

CHAPTER VII.

Excitement in Boston at the Report that Royal Troops were to be sent there—Republican Sentiments of Samuel Adams—Meetings for the Redress of Grievances—Assembling of a Convention from Massachusetts Towns and Districts—Petitions to the Governor and the King—Refusal to receive them—Alarm of Governor Bernard—Refusal of the Council to Billet the Troops—Arrival of Two Regiments in Boston—Difficulties as to Quartering the Soldiers—Desertions from their Ranks—Opinion in England—Determination to crush the Colonies—Views and Designs of France and Spain—The Colonial Agents in London, and Lord Hillsborough—Proceedings in Parliament—Events on the Mississippi—Dissolution of the New York Assembly, and New Elections—Representations of American Officials—Information against Samuel Adams—Debates in the English House of Commons—Attitude of France and Spain.

THE news that Royal troops were shortly to be expected at Boston, added fresh fuel to the fire now raging in so many of the North American colonies. Indignation was expressed without reserve, and to many it appeared that civil war had actually begun. Samuel Adams, in particular, denounced with the utmost boldness the policy of the British Government, and the complicity of Bernard, Hutchinson, and the Commissioners of Customs, in the designs of the King and his Ministers. He denied that England had any right to send troops to America. He affirmed that, if they came, they would come as foreign enemies; and he argued that it would be justifiable to destroy every soldier whose foot should touch the shore. Moving to and fro with unresting activity, addressing public meetings, and talking to every knot of men whom he could find in the streets or about the dockyards, he insinuated his views into hundreds of minds already well-disposed to receive such counsels. He vowed that the people would take up arms, and shed their last drop of blood, before the King and Parliament should usurp power over them. Kings, he contended, were not essential to the well-being of a State:

Rome was never in a more prosperous condition than when she had no monarch. These teachings helped to deepen the Republican sentiments which had long existed among the New Englanders, and which were indeed a legacy from the original colonists—the Puritan Fathers, who had fled from the tyranny of James and Charles. Adams found many seconders. The *Boston Gazette* of September 5th, 1768, contained an article, recommending the calling together of a General Assembly, with instructions to pray for an enlargement of privileges to the extent of the original charter, which gave to the colony almost entire independence of the mother country. If, however, an army should be sent to reduce the people to slavery, an appeal to arms, and to the Supreme Judge, would, in the opinion of the writer, be the necessary consequence.

In the principal city of Massachusetts, the popular discontent increased with every day, and was rendered all the more suspicious and angry by the sailing of two ships from the port of Boston, which, it was said, had been despatched to Nova Scotia to fetch three regiments. Numerous meetings were held, and, on the 12th of September, the arms belonging to the town, which consisted of four hundred muskets, were deposited in boxes on the floor of Faneuil Hall, in the midst of a large gathering. On this occasion, a committee was appointed, with instructions to inquire of the Governor the grounds of his apprehension that regiments of his Majesty's troops were daily to be expected, and to request him to issue precepts for a General Assembly, in consequence of the precarious situation of affairs. Bernard refused to call an Assembly: it was evidently part of his scheme to coerce the people by postponing to an indefinite period the summoning of the popular representatives. The citizens hereupon declared in public meeting that "it is the first principle in civil society, founded in nature and reason, that no law of the society can be binding on any individual without his consent, given by himself in person, or by his representative, of his own free election." After appealing to the Revolution of 1688, to the Bill of Rights, to the principles on which the House of Hanover succeeded to the throne of England, and to the charter which they had themselves received from King William III., the Bostonians declared by a solemn resolution that they would, at the utmost peril of their lives and fortunes, maintain and defend their rights, privileges, and liberties; and at the same time they affirmed that money could not be levied, nor a standing army be kept up in the province, but by their own free consent. Another vote, carried by a great majority, was to the effect that every one of the inhabitants should provide himself with fire-arms and ammunition; but it was considered prudent to connect this resolve with an alleged impression that a war with France was likely to break out. The reason was an obvious pretence, and it annoyed many, even of the patriotic party, by its disingenuousness. It was also considered by the more cautious that so irritating a menace was ill-judged; and certainly it amounted to little short of a direct invitation to that civil war which, as against the parent State, was deprecated.

The next step was to create a deliberative body that should really represent the province. The select-men of Boston issued a circular, inviting every town in the colony to send a committee to a general Convention; and the suggestion was widely adopted. Ninety-six towns and eight districts of Massachusetts despatched their representatives to Boston, and a species of Parliament, the functions of which, however, were confined to discussion and advice, was speedily sitting on the classic ground of American democracy. The step was a bold one, and it excited considerable alarm amongst the timid. Some even considered it tantamount to high treason. The Convention, however, preserved at least a show of loyalty. It disclaimed all legislative authority. It made warm professions of devotion to the King; expressed as much aversion to popular tumults as to standing armies; offered to assist in preserving the peace; and recommended patience and good order to the people. The real intention of the leading men was too obvious to be concealed by any such array of words; but it is very possible that others may have sincerely desired conciliation. The Governor refused to receive a petition prepared by the Convention, and declined to recognise the body as a legitimate assemblage. As a friend of the province, he said, he must implore the malcontents to desist from the dangerous and criminal course on which they had entered. It was accordingly resolved to present a similar petition to the King; and, this having been drawn up, the Convention dissolved itself. The address to the throne, though expressed in very respectful language, was rejected equally with that to the Governor. The representatives of authority wilfully shut their eyes to the grievances which the Americans had to allege, and, for the sake of technical forms, which had doubtless been violated, denied the right of the colonists to meet for the discussion of matters gravely affecting their interests as a community. The proceedings and opinions of several of the popular leaders may have been rash and regrettable;

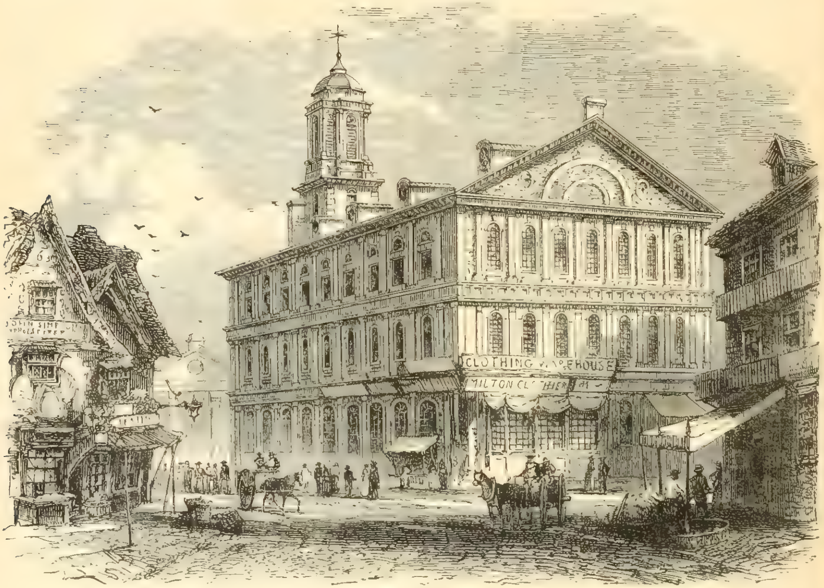
but the acts of the English Government, and of its officials in America, were calculated to exasperate the existing disaffection to the pitch of madness.

Even before the meeting of the Convention, Bernard was alarmed at all he heard and saw; and well he might be. He even feared for his life. He looked every day for the breaking out of an armed rebellion, and owned that he wished he were away. But, although he had an offer of the vice-government of Virginia, and thankfully accepted it, he found himself unable for the present to leave Boston. Matters were hastening to a crisis; the troops were expected every day; and it was necessary to make arrangements with the townspeople. The Council were desired to find quarters for the soldiers: they answered that the Castle was sufficient for that purpose. Bernard produced a letter from General Gage, directing that one of the regiments should be quartered in the city itself. It was replied that such a proceeding would be contrary to the provisions of the Act of Parliament regulating these matters; that the presence of troops in the town would be needlessly irritating; and that the peace would thus be endangered. Mortified at finding his arguments so well met, Bernard wrote to Lord Hillsborough, the Colonial Secretary, that the Government was entirely subdued, and that the forfeiture of the charter was a thing devoutly to be wished. When the Convention met, on the 22nd of September, his fears and perplexities increased. He commanded the members to break up immediately, on pain of being made to repent of their rashness; but his orders were scornfully disregarded. Pending the arrival of the troops, he had no power to enforce his will, and he keenly felt the degradation of his office and of himself. The existing difficulty was enhanced by a paper issued by the Council, which concisely stated the reasons of their conduct with respect to the billeting of troops, and asserted the legality of the position they had always assumed. Bernard shortly afterwards reported to Lord Hillsborough that the publication of this document was the greatest blow that had been given to the King's Government. Most of the Council were men of emphatically loyal principles; and the views they ordinarily held gave additional force to the strictures they now put forth.

The Convention broke up on the 27th of September. At noon next day, the squadron from Halifax arrived in Nantasket Bay. On board were two regiments, with artillery, for which Bernard had made a special request. The dispute with respect to quarters was renewed, but the Council refused to give way. On the 1st of October, the troops landed on the Long Wharf, each man carrying sixteen rounds of shot, and the whole marching with fixed bayonets. After proceeding through the town, with colours flying and drums beating, they paraded in the afternoon on Boston Common. At the same time, eight ships of war, accompanied by tenders, drew up off the wharfs, with loaded cannon pointed against the city. Bernard, with deplorable want of spirit, had made his way into the country, so that the conduct of affairs was solely in the hands of the commanding officer of the troops, Colonel Dalrymple. He encamped the 29th Regiment on the Common, persuaded the Sons of Liberty to let the remainder of his soldiers pass the night in Faneuil Hall, and in this way gained possession of the arms that had been piled up there. Next morning, the State House was opened, by order of the Governor, for the reception of the soldiers, and two field-pieces, together with the main-guard, were stationed in front. Other public buildings, including the chamber of the Assembly and the Court-house, were occupied by the military, and the members of the Council, in proceeding to their place of meeting, were compelled to pass through guards placed at the doors. Martial spectacles and martial sounds filled the streets; the citizens, as they went to and fro at night, were challenged by the sentries; and Boston presented all the appearance of a conquered town. But the Council still maintained their refusal to provide quarters for the troops until the barracks were full, and it was at length found necessary to hire private houses for the accommodation of the men. Had the officers put them into quarters on their own responsibility, they would have violated the Act of Parliament, and would have been liable to be cashiered on conviction before two justices of the peace. The military authorities had made their demonstration, but it had produced no other effect than to increase the exasperation of the citizens.

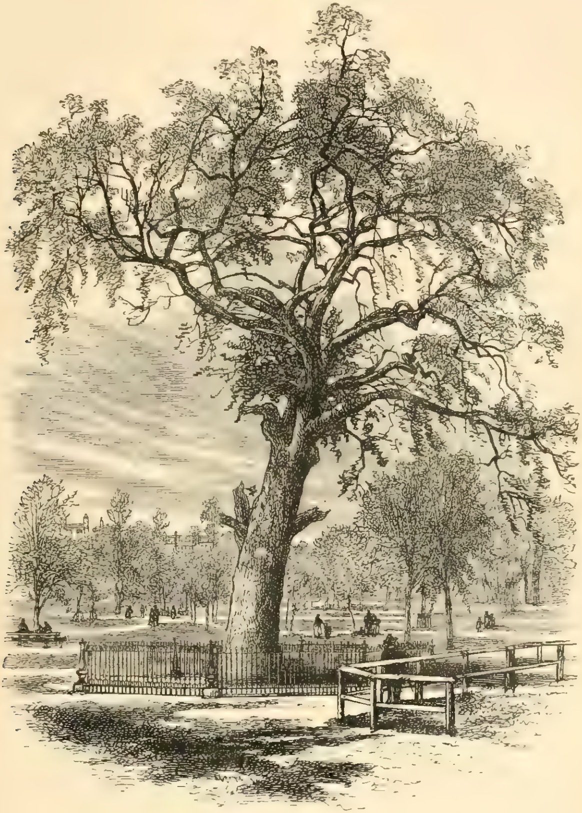
General Gage, the Commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, was soon afterwards convinced, from inquiries he had set on foot, that the disturbances in March and June, on which the demand for troops had been founded, were trivial, and quite insufficient to justify the steps that had been taken. Yet those steps were not retraced, and Gage even advised the erection of barracks and a fort on Fort Hill, to command the town. The two parties to the quarrel had indeed got into so difficult a position towards one another that retreat was almost impossible to either. The authorities were especially embarrassed, and their troubles were soon enhanced by numerous desertions from the regiments stationed at Boston. Soldiers are seldom so entirely reduced to the condition of machines that they are beyond the reach of popular influences. Those who were now in Massachusetts found that the fresh New World, with its countless openings for industry and adventure, presented many attractions, which some were unable to resist. Still, these were only the exceptions, and the majority were in a little while on the worst of terms with the townspeople. They were accused of profligate and irreligious ways, and the Bostonians, who still retained a good deal of the old Puritan strictness, were much scandalised by the playing of military music on Sundays. Notwithstanding the desertions of individual members, the army, on the whole, continued staunch, and Governor Bernard felt more easy under the protection he now enjoyed, though he saw plainly that nothing but the deprivation of political privileges and powers would ever lay the people entirely at the mercy of the parent State.

New York joined with Massachusetts in the resolve of that province to cease importing British goods until the redress of grievances. This measure, not unnaturally, excited great indignation in England. The House of Lords, in December, passed a censure on all such agreements as factious and menacing combinations. Yet America was not without supporters in the old country. Chatham and Edmund Burke advocated her cause with all the strength of their eloquence and their reasoning; and Wilkes used her name as a weapon against the Ministry of the day. Still, the most prevalent feelings of the English people were a sense of anger at being defied by a body of provincials, and a determination to spare no effort for the re-establishment of Imperial authority. Hillsborough unquestionably spoke the sentiment of the greater number when he said to the agent of Connecticut, who had laid before him a petition from that colony:—"Depend upon it, Parliament will not suffer their authority to be trampled on. We wish to avoid severities towards you; but if you refuse obedience to our laws, the whole fleet and army of England shall enforce it." To the same effect the King addressed the Lords and Commons, at the opening of the session on the 8th of November. "Boston," he said, "appears to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government, and has proceeded to measures subversive of the constitu-



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

tion, and attended with circumstances that might manifest a disposition to throw off its dependence on Great Britain. With your concurrence and support, I shall be able to defeat the mischievous designs of those turbulent and seditious persons who, under false pretences, have but too successfully deluded numbers of my subjects in America." The concurrence and support were not wanting. In the debate on the Address, a few speakers, including Burke, were found on the American side; but the general sense was against yielding to the menace of rebellion. Some even of those who disapproved the policy of the English Government were nevertheless strongly impressed with the necessity of putting down sedition. They would have subdued the Americans first, and conciliated them afterwards. This may have been a mistaken view, but it should be recollected that it is never easy for a powerful and high-spirited nation to recede before a threat. The views of the Ministry were clearly expressed by Lord North, who said:—"America must fear you before she can love you. If America is to be the judge, you may tax in no instance,—you may regulate in no instance. Punishment will not be extended beyond the really guilty; and if rewards shall be found necessary, rewards shall be given. But what we do, we will do firmly: we shall go through our plan now that we have brought it so near success. I am against repealing the last Act of Parliament securing to us a revenue out of America. I will never think of repealing it until I see America prostrate at my feet." Such



BOSTON COMMON.

was the feeling of the immense majority of both Houses. The Address was carried without a division, and the country, in the main, ratified the resolve that had been come to by its representatives and hereditary legislators. As a consequence of this unanimity, the remonstrant provinces were reprimanded by the Home Government, and assured that the King would not listen to the representations of men who were so wicked as to question the supreme authority of Parliament.

In the colonies themselves there was a considerable agreement of opinion. The circular letter of Massachusetts was supported by provinces holding very divergent ideas on many subjects, and it was generally felt that the chief New England settlement was standing in the van of American liberty. The regiments at Boston had failed to crush disaffection: it was now sought to cripple trade. An order was issued by the three Secretaries of State to the ministers, consuls, and agents of the British Government in the ports of Europe, Madeira, and the Azores, to keep watch on the merchant-vessels of America, so that they should not establish with France and Spain a commerce in those articles which the provincials had refused to take from or through England. The French Government was particularly desirous of developing such a trade, as being lucrative in itself, and of a nature to injure the prosperity of Great Britain. But the King of Spain did not care to take any active measures of this kind, and nothing was done, though Franklin was consulted on the subject, and gave to it all the penetration and experience of his sagacious and ever-active intellect.

The colonial agents in London did the utmost they could to advance the cause of their several provinces; but the position of defiance, not far removed from actual rebellion, which had been taken up by the popular leaders at Boston, made compromise almost impossible. The denial by the colonies of any jurisdiction inherent in the English Parliament, compelled that body to assert its power, or give up the colonies altogether. If the patriotic leaders in America really desired, as they sometimes professed, to retain some degree of friendly connection with England, they acted in the worst way for promoting such an object. If, on the contrary, their wish was to foment a quarrel, to take every advantage of a provocation, in order that they might find or create an opportunity for establishing complete independence — a supposition rendered probable by the whole tenor of New England history—then, indeed, their policy was admirably adapted to the end in view, and its success, under the circumstances of the case, is not surprising. England often behaved capriciously and unjustly to her plantations; and the desire for independence on their part was very natural, all things considered. But it is essential to a complete view of the facts to bear in mind that the Americans were frequently defiant even of a just jurisdiction; that they sought occasions of rupture; and that they advanced pretensions which no parent State was likely to acknowledge. In one breath they claimed the privileges of Englishmen, and rejected the rule of England.

When giving an audience to the colonial agents in a body, on the 6th of December, Lord Hillsborough said:—"Administration will enforce the authority of the Legislature of Great Britain over the colonies in the most effectual manner, but with moderation and lenity. All the petitions we have received are very offensive, for they contain a denial of the authority of Parliament. We have no fondness for the acts complained of: particularly, the late Duty Act is so anti-commercial that I wish it had never existed; and it would certainly have been repealed, had the colonies said nothing about it, or petitioned against it only on the ground of its inexpediency. But the principle you proceed upon extends to all laws; and we cannot, therefore, think of repealing it, at least this session of Parliament, or until the colonies shall have dropped the point of right. Nor can the conduct of the people of Boston pass without a severe censure." The argument of Lord Hillsborough on this occasion was not unreasonable. The particular objections of the Americans to particular acts of the English Legislature might have been met and satisfied. It was the denial of all Parliamentary jurisdiction that made the struggle as inevitable as, on the part of many of the Americans, it was evidently desired.

The friends of America made a gallant stand in Parliament, but were completely outvoted. Alderman Beckford, in the Commons, demanded a general inquiry into the affairs of the colonies, with a view to measures of relief; but, in a House of two hundred, a hundred and twenty-seven voted in favour of the Government, who were for confining the inquiry to a consideration of the conduct of Massachusetts. The Ministry were determined to follow without flinching the path on which they had entered. Lord Hillsborough, in the House of Lords, said that legislation and taxation must stand or fall together, and added that, if pacific measures proved insufficient, the whole force of the country would be exerted to bring the colonies into subjection. He then introduced a series of resolutions condemning the acts of the patriotic party in Massachusetts, approving the resort to military force, and indicating various approaching changes in the charter of the province, and in the local government of the towns. In addition to these resolutions, the Duke of Bedford moved an address to the King, praying him to bring to condign punishment the chief authors and instigators of the recent disorders, and, on sufficient grounds appearing, to put them on their trial for treason before a special commission in England, pursuant to the provisions of a statute passed in the reign of Henry VIII., the object of which was to punish treason committed "abroad." To revive so obsolete a statute—one, moreover, which could not possibly have been intended to apply to circumstances at all resembling those which had arisen under George III.—was a most injudicious and despotic exercise of power; but the resolutions and address were carried with scarcely any opposition, and the Government of the day had made another step towards the inevitable crisis. Every move on one side of the ocean was seconded by a similar move on the other side. The representatives of authority in New England threatened to send the popular leaders to the old country for trial; but they seemed afraid to carry out their own menaces. Samuel Adams was more violent than ever in his opposition to the Royal Government and its agents; yet no attempt was made to restrain him. At his suggestion, the justices at quarter-sessions found various soldiers and officers guilty of disorderly conduct. The higher courts sometimes set aside these convictions, but nothing more was done.

In these irritating discussions and acts, the year 1768 came to a close. But events of another kind had been occurring in the direction of the Mississippi, which it will be fitting to relate in this place. After the Peace of 1763, Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain. The people of that province objected to the cession, and, calling together an Assembly, entreated the French King not to desert them. They were told that France could not support the charge of her once-favoured colony; and in 1766 the Spaniards took possession of New Orleans, but were received with so much opposition that Ulloa, the new Governor, after remaining a few months, found it advisable to quit the city in September of the same year. An independent Government was then formed, and it was resolved once more to seek the protection of France, or, failing that, to establish a Republic. Louis XV. still refused to reclaim his former possession, and the species of self-governing Commonwealth which was found existing there in 1768, but which in the following year was put down with a high hand by the Spaniards, served to stimulate in the Anglo-Americans a desire for similar political conditions. This was especially the case in the west. The people in the settlement of Illinois were dissatisfied with their state. The towns in that province were very thinly populated, and were even declining in numbers; for it was the policy of Hillsborough to prevent the colonisation of the west, and to create a long line of Indian frontier at the back of the old colonies. One of the consequences of this policy was to detach from the jurisdiction of Virginia the whole of Kentucky, and all lands north-west of the Ohio. Virginia of course objected to so serious a loss of territory; but the agent of the English Government, one Stuart, was instructed to disregard all remonstrances, and to carry out the ideas of his principal. On the 14th of October, 1768, Stuart met the chiefs of the Upper and Lower Cherokees at Hard Labour, in the western part of South Carolina, and concluded a treaty, by which the Indians ratified their former grants of land, and established a western boundary to Virginia, such as excluded the territories to which she laid claim. At the same time, the Virginians held a congress at Fort Stanwix with the Six Nations, which was attended by Sir William Johnson, Indian agent for the northern district, by Thomas Walker, commissioner for Virginia, and by William Franklin, the only son of Benjamin, who represented New Jersey. Very nearly three thousand of the savages were present, and sumptuous presents were made them, to obtain their favour. The result, however, was an agreement by which the Tennessee was constituted the western boundary of Virginia. In making this arrangement, Johnson disregarded his instructions; and the general issue of both congresses was displeasing to the Virginians, who looked with all the more admiration on the virtual independence of the people of Louisiana.

The Assembly of New York was dissolved early in 1769, after having, at the close of the previous year, unanimously asserted its legislative rights, and appointed an intercolonial committee of correspondence. The new elections were in favour of the Government party, and in some respects the principles of the official candidates were more liberal than those of their opponents. For instance, they supported the introduction of the ballot, which the tenantry greatly desired. In other ways they conciliated particular interests, sometimes with more of policy than of wisdom; and they reaped the advantage of their clever management. Affairs in Massachusetts continued in a very unsatisfactory state. Governor Bernard still advised measures of repression; Chief Justice Hutchinson recommended an abridgment of English liberties as regarded the colonists; and Hutchinson's brother-in-law, Oliver, hinted that the malcontents should be got out of the way. Affidavits against Samuel Adams were sworn to before Hutchinson, with a view to his being sent to England under the statute of Henry VIII.; and others were similarly threatened. The violence of party increased with these acts. The official newspapers and the patriotic newspapers reviled each other with every ingenuity of virulent accusation. A storm of recriminations clattered up and down the columns of the press, and the voices of moderation, of fairness, and of reason, had little chance of being heard in the midst of so angry a roar. In England, Lord North, unfortunately, took his stand on the most absolutist principles. He rejected, without reply or examination, petitions which set forth the grievances of the colonists, and prayed for their removal; and on the 26th of January, 1769, he introduced into the House of Commons the resolves and address which had been previously affirmed in the Lords.

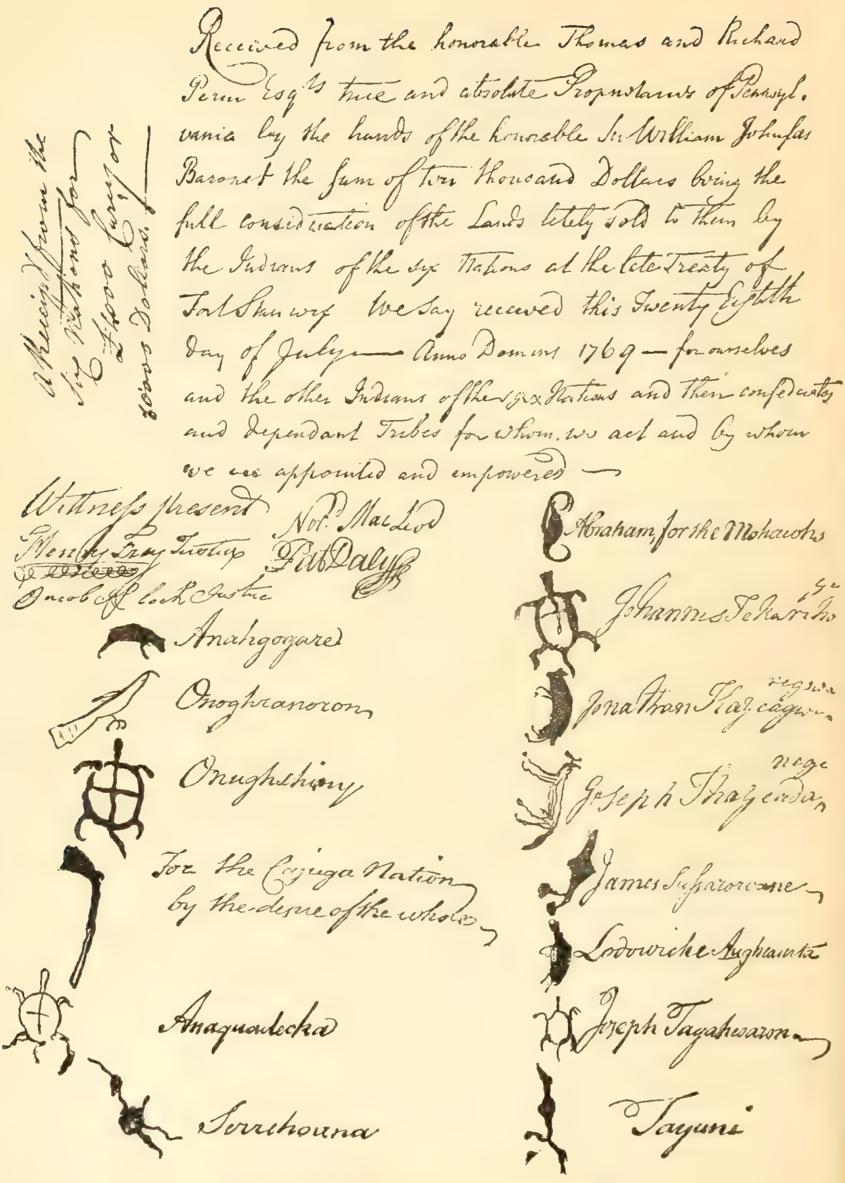
These were strongly opposed by Pownall, the late Governor of Massachusetts, by Colonel Barré, by Burke, and by a few other members of liberal views. Barré, with rather doubtful wisdom, told Ministers that, if they were resolved to oppose the colonists, they had better do so with open violence, rather than with a pretended moderation. "Away with these partial, resentful trifles!" he exclaimed; "trifles calculated to irritate, not to quell or appease—inadequate to their purpose, unworthy of us. Why will you endeavour to deceive yourselves and us? You know that it is not Massachusetts only that disputes your right, but every part of America. From one end of the continent to the other, they tell you that you have no right to tax them. My sentiments on this matter you know. Consider well what you are doing. Act openly and honestly. Tell them you *will* tax them, and that they *must* submit. Do not adopt this little, insidious, futile plan. They will despise you for it." He warned the Government that the Americans would not be easily humbled, and that, even if this could be effected, the result would be disastrous to the old country. Unless the attempt to tax the colonists were abandoned, England would run the risk of losing America. To the same effect testified Pownall. Speaking from his experience of the Americans, he affirmed that they would undoubtedly contend for their rights until either they recovered them, or were annihilated by superior force. Notwithstanding these representations, the House of Commons sanctioned the resolutions of the Lords, and the joint address of both Houses was then sent up to the King. It expressed the perfect satisfaction of the Legislature with the measures which his Majesty had pursued, and tendered the strongest assurances of effectual support to him in such further steps as might be found necessary to maintain a due execution of the laws in Massachusetts. It besought him to direct the Governor of that province to take the most effectual methods for procuring information of all treasonable offences committed within his jurisdiction since the 30th of December, 1767, and to transmit the names of the offenders to one of the Secretaries of State, in order that a special commission might be issued for bringing them to trial in England, in conformity with the provisions of the statute previously described. The determination thus arrived at was a fatal error. Du Châtelet, the French Ambassador at London, saw how full of evil omen for England was the path on which an incapable Administration had now entered. Some of the best members of the House of Commons earnestly protested against the tyranny of bringing the offenders to England for trial. It was fairly and justly pointed out that in England the accused would not be able to call witnesses in their defence, and, if condemned, would be condemned on a one-sided statement. Moreover, it was very doubtful whether the statute of the 35th of Henry VIII. was applicable to America. Sir William Meredith, in the House of Commons, bluntly denied its applicability, and added that, if *he* were an American, he would not submit to it. Nothing, however, could prevail against the infatuation of the Ministry and their supporters.

France and Spain looked on the growing quarrel with different feelings. To Du Châtelet it appeared that free trade should be established with the Anglo-American colonies, as a means of supporting them and of crippling England; and proposals to this effect were made to Spain. But the latter Power saw that the removal of restrictions on commerce would injure her own monopolies, and she dreaded the creation of a Republican Government on her colonial frontiers. "The cession of Canada," wrote Du Châtelet to Choiseul from London, on the 17th of February, 1769, "will one day be amply compensated for, if it shall cause the rebellion and independence of the English colonies, which become every day more probable and more near." Spain had not such serious cause to desire revenge against England; and she felt uneasy at the new principles which were rising in the world of politics.

CHAPTER VIII.

Public Opinion in America—Progress of Republican Principles—French Influence—Fate of New Orleans when ceded to Spain—The British Government in 1769—Lord North and King George—Policy of repealing Townshend's Revenue Acts of 1767—State of Parties—The Opposition Cliques—The Independent Liberals—The Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden in the Cabinet—Growth of a Common Sentiment between the Colonies—Alternate support of each other—Delaware and Pennsylvania—New York Non-Importation Agreement—Re-assembling of the Massachusetts Legislature—More Disputes with Governor Bernard—The Troops at Boston—The Adjournment to Cambridge—Departure of Sir Francis Bernard—Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson—His Sons in the Tea Trade—Quarrels with the Revenue Officers and the Soldiers—Fall of the Ministry in England, 1770—New Government of Lord North—Continued Troubles in Boston—The Hutchinsons' Tea Store—Soldiers, Workmen, and Street Boys—Affray with the Military—The 5th of March—Firing on the People—A Night of Alarm—Hutchinson in Council—Town Meeting—Demand for Removal of the Troops—Captain Preston sent for Trial—Parliamentary Debates—Tea-duty the Symbol of Contention—Reopening of Trade with England—Royal Orders in Council for the Coercion of Boston—Military and Naval Occupation of Boston—The Provincial Fortress, Castle William, delivered up to Colonel Dalrymple—Constitution of the Provincial Council altered—Franklin sent to London for Massachusetts—The western territories, Kentucky and Tennessee—Oppression in North Carolina—The Regulators—Herman Husbands—Riots at Hillsborough—Governor Tryon's Vengeance, 1771—His expedition to Orange County—A local Reign of Terror.

It is not difficult to trace the process by which, in the popular sentiment of English America, during the protracted strife with the British Government, zeal for provincial rights and interests at length took the form of enthusiasm for a Republican system. The descendants in New England of those seventeenth-century Puritans who shared every religious and political conviction of the Commonwealth-men, were predisposed to accept the abstract notions of an ideal civil union, the doctrines of a social compact among freemen to constitute the State, which French metaphysical writers had begun to promulgate. A tendency to this association of principles had been manifested a hundred years before in the speculations of such men as Vane, Harington, and Sydney; and the mental habits of the colonists were favourable to active free-thinking beyond the ordinary scope of public discussions at home. They had remained almost wholly exempt from those influences of a political reaction, in a great measure due to the Episcopalian Church Establishment, which were so powerful about the commencement of George III.'s reign. In the controversy between Dean Tucker and Dr. Franklin, for example, and in other pamphlets or speeches of that time, America was reproached for cherishing "a factious Republican spirit;" while those who stood the brunt of this accusation confessed their misfortune "to be Whigs in a reign when Whiggism was out of fashion, besides Protestant Dissenters and lovers of liberty." But their old-fashioned maxims of civil and religious freedom had become largely modified by the precepts of the new French philosophy, conveyed in a rhetorical language then beginning to prevail. It is remarkable that the authors and expounders of that universal solvent for the removal of social obstructions and incongruities were, to a certain extent, patronised and assisted by the despotic monarchy of Versailles, more especially with a view to loosening and weakening the bonds of political strength in rival communities. Germany and England were to be rendered less formidable opponents of France by the insinuating effect of such teaching as that of Rousseau and other apostles of a bare individualism, one development of which lay in a scheme of unmixed democracy and the absolute Sovereignty of the People. The Ministers of Louis XV. and his unfortunate successor perceived an opportunity for the use of this weapon in the disturbed and excited condition of the public mind throughout the English-American colonies, which they studied far more diligently than the Ministers of King George ever did. In the correspondence of Du Châtelet with the Duc de Choiseul, towards the end of 1768, it was urged that France and Spain ought now to get their revenge for the recent loss of vast territories in America, by seeing the result of British mismanagement in the speedy assertion of American independence. As a practical example contributing to this object, it was proposed by the French Government that the King of Spain should forego his sovereignty over the French colony at New Orleans which had been ceded to Spain, and that a free State of Louisiana should be formed under their joint protection. The Spanish Government, however, preferred to enforce its legal title, by sending a squadron and a body of troops from Cuba, under Alexander O'Reilly, taking possession of New Orleans without resistance, and cruelly putting to death the patriotic French citizens who had led the brief revolt against their compulsory transfer to a foreign Empire. This event, which took place in 1769, was certainly not an example calculated to make the English colonists of the Atlantic coast



A Receipt from the Six Nations for £1000 Curr.y or 10000 Dollars.

Received from the honorable Thomas and Richard Penn Esq.rs true and absolute Proprietaries of Pennsylvania by the hands of the honorable Sir William Johnson Baronet the sum of ten thousand Dollars being the full consideration of the Lands lately sold to them by the Indians of the six Nations at the late Treaty of Fort Stanwix We say received this Twenty Eighth day of July — Anno Domini 1769 — for ourselves and the other Indians of the six Nations and their confederates and dependant Tribes for whom we act and by whom we are appointed and empowered —

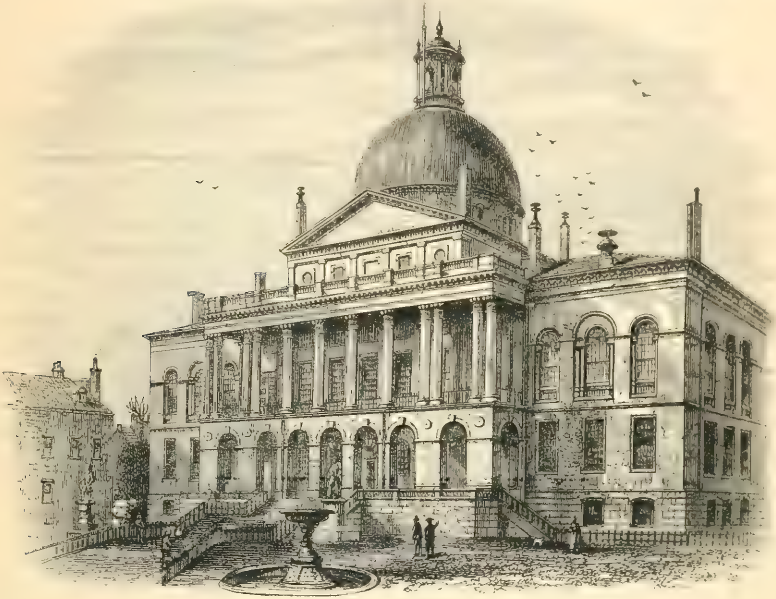
Witness present
Henry Frey Justice
Nor.d MacLeod
Pat Daly
~~[illegible]~~
Jacob Klock Justice

Anahgogare
Onoghranoron
Onughshiony
For the Cayuga Nation by the desire of the whole
Anaquadecka
Serrihouna

Abraham, for the Mohawks
Johannes Tekarihoga
Jonathan Kayeaquaregwa
Joseph Thayeadanege
James Sussarowane
Lodowicke Aughnaunta
Joseph Tagahsaron
Tayuni

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TREATY WITH INDIAN TRIBES, 1769.

more disposed than they already were to give up their connection with Great Britain; but the artful politicians of France hoped, and not without good grounds, that the folly and harshness of the English Government would in the end bring about the result which they so ardently desired. It need scarcely be said that the advisers of Louis XV. had no real sympathy with freedom. They probably hoped that it would suffer in the approaching collision; but they were willing to use its principles as a means of sowing discord between different portions of the English Empire, and thus weakening the power of England.



STATE HOUSE, BOSTON.

The advisers or subservient Ministers of George III. were still doing all they could, though with an opposite intention, to bring about in the colonies that total revulsion of feeling against the mother country which the French Ministry, with the most hostile views, desired to procure. In general, it is by mistakes and want of address or tact in the Government, more easily than by the talents and industry of the opposition party, that revolutions are produced; and this is yet more likely to happen in a distant province beyond seas, of which the ruling class can have but a very small knowledge. In the Parliamentary session of 1769, while the affairs of America engaged a slight degree of attention compared with the disputed election of Wilkes for Middlesex, there was not statesmanship enough to see the propriety and expediency of simply repealing Townshend's Revenue Acts of 1767. Lord North, who piqued himself on understanding and regarding "a commercial policy," was quite willing to give up the duties which Townshend had imposed on articles of British manufacture,—glass, paint, cardboard, and paper; but he would not give up the duty on tea, though it yielded only £300 to the revenue, since the Americans declined the use of tea. The fact is that Lord North, in this petty piece of Ministerial obstinacy, was not acting upon his own judgment or feeling, but was doing what King George desired him to do. It was the fixed idea of his Majesty, throughout these discussions, which were swayed by his private interference in the closet, "that there must always be some one tax, to keep up the right to tax at all." On the other hand, it was the unanimous determination of two millions and a half of people in America, that this "one tax" should never be allowed, precisely because it was designed "to keep up the right" of Imperial taxation in the colonies, which they denied as an act of usurpation, and dreaded as a possible instrument for the subversion of their local self-government. Hence it came to pass that this paltry tax on a trivial article of domestic comfort—a matter in itself quite unimportant to the exchequer and to the wants of the people—was chosen by both conflicting parties, the Court and the American colonies, for the symbol of their grand political contention; behind which came on the opposing principles of arbitrary rule and popular suffrage, of Royal prerogative and Republican freedom. The Earl of Hillsborough, as an official spokesman of the former party, was quite consistent in saying, not indeed in public debate, "We can grant nothing to the Americans, except what they may ask with a halter round their necks." It is just, however, to remark that, in the Parliamentary discussions of this time, the conduct of different sections of the Opposition, that is to say, of those headed respectively by Rockingham and by Grenville, was characterised by an utter lack of principle. If they taunted the Ministry for its hesitation to repeal Townshend's Acts, it was to gain a party triumph, not to prescribe the means of extricating the nation from its difficulties. Independent members of the House of Commons were then but few; and their exhortations, like those of Alderman Beckford, Alderman Trecothick, and ex-Governor Pownall, had no effect upon the votes of a venal phalanx of Ministerial partisans, or upon those of the great borough-holders' nominees, the deputies of a wealthy patron, the mere tools of an oligarchical faction. Such was the composition of that House; and, as its debates could have no issue but that which had been predetermined in the councils of the official rulers, they shall henceforth not occupy a large portion of our space. Within those Ministerial councils were yet remaining two or three men, whose sagacity and liberality of sentiment might have averted the fatal conclusion. But their constancy of purpose was not equal to their enlightenment; they were not always true either to themselves or to one another. The Duke of Grafton and Lord Camden, while in the Cabinet, which discussed this question just before the prorogation in May, earnestly recommended, with General Conway and others, that Townshend's Acts should be totally repealed; yet they were deterred by fear of the King's displeasure from an open and resolute maintenance of their opinion. They had weakly, perhaps selfishly, consented to the removal of a Liberal colleague, namely Lord Shelburne, whose character and ability would have lent most efficient support to the cause which they felt to be right. But it is the curse of an exacting, prying, meddling employer who will not trust the men appointed to serve him, that he loses every one whose service is worth having: the honest and high-minded retire in disgust, while those of less strict integrity dare not perform their best resolutions. King George III. was fated to experience this retribution for the common fault of fussy and suspicious masters.

It is far more interesting to contemplate the steadfast attitude which the colonial champions of English self-government presented to the view of an expectant world. They now formed, in heart and mind, a single community with several distinct centres of action; one body with many heads, which were the different provincial capitals, whether or not left in the regular exercise of their legislative powers. If New York or Massachusetts suffered a temporary political decapitation, by the Government dissolving its House of Representatives, or even by an Act of Parliament suspending the functions of its chartered constitution, the same life and spirit would move another limb of the American hydra, raise another head, open another mouth, and speak in like accents with another tongue, in some one of the sister provinces. The Union of States, the Federal Republic that was to be, grew up under this invigorating discipline of successive blows dealt at its most prominent parts, with angry purpose of chastisement, but with a blind disregard of their real nature. Whenever any one province, as we have seen, was for a moment put down, there was one just ready to rise up again, with a renewed demonstration against some form of official encroachment, or some unconstitutional impost. It is no wonder that the prerogative men in England lost all patience with these troublesome colonists, and said they ought to be hanged. In May, 1769, the turn of Virginia had arrived to come to the aid of Massachusetts in their common field of combat. Its Council and House of Burgesses met at Williamsburg, convened with great pomp and solemnity by the new Governor, Lord Botetourt, who rode through the little rustic town in a coach with six white horses. They took into consideration the Parliamentary resolutions of January, and the address to his Majesty, promoted by Ministers, which had sanctioned the suppression of the Massachusetts Assembly, and the employment of military force at Boston, and had recommended fetching the Boston leaders to be tried in England for treason under the old law of Henry VIII. As an indirect response to this action of the British Legislature, it was once more unanimously resolved by the Legislature of Virginia that the Provincial Assembly had the sole right of imposing taxes there; and that it was lawful, as well as expedient, for the provinces to correspond and confer with each other, to defend in common their violated rights. It was further resolved that no subject of his Majesty in America could lawfully be carried beyond sea for trial, under the obsolete statute which had been cited; and that "dangers would ensue" if such an attempt were made. These resolutions were ordered to be communicated to every other Provincial Assembly; an address of similar purport was to be sent to the King. Lord Botetourt, however, did not wait for the presentation of them to himself as Governor, but at once dissolved the Assembly. The resolutions were hailed with great satisfaction throughout America; they were speedily adopted by the Assembly of Delaware, and were approved by a public meeting in Philadelphia. But, in the meantime, Virginia, using the non-importation scheme as a political weapon, was following the lead of Pennsylvania and New York. This matter was made in April the subject of correspondence between Washington and his friend George Mason,* and they prepared a scheme for the Assembly to consider. The Assembly had not time for such formal resolutions on the subject as those which the New York Assembly had passed a month before. Its members nevertheless met after the dissolution, and signed the agreement, proposed by Washington, to purchase no English wares, to which they added a special covenant against slave-trading. These papers were sent through the province, and all the southern provinces, to obtain many thousand signatures. By such means the ball was kept rolling over that continent, till the re-assembling of the Massachusetts Legislature, with its newly elected House of Representatives, could no longer be deferred. This event took place at the beginning of June.

The very first step was to remonstrate with the Governor against the presence of the naval and military forces at Boston, under orders independent of the Provincial Government. The main guard was actually posted opposite the State House, with two guns pointed at its doors, while the Assembly sat within. Some of the troops there stationed were consequently sent to Halifax; but the Governor and his deputy, Hutchinson, would not dispense with the two regiments still left. As the House of Representatives complained of having these troops at its doors, Bernard adjourned the sittings to Cambridge, which is almost a suburb of Boston. Sir Francis had already got letters of recall, and was preparing to depart for England, much disappointed that the Governorship of Virginia was given to another man. His immediate care was to pocket the grant of a year's salary before his departure. But the House of Representatives, ere voting the supplies for the civil service, adopted a petition to the King for Bernard's removal, for they had not yet got any official intimation of his actual recall. An amusing game of wilful cross-purposes was played between the crafty old Governor and the sturdy guardians of popular interests. Sir Francis gave them to understand that he would assent to no act they might pass till they paid him his year's salary in advance; of which they chose to take no notice. They took up the resolutions of the Virginia Legislature, concerning the questions of taxation, the joint action of provinces, and the sending of Americans to England for trial, which resolutions were now fully adopted by the Assembly of Massachusetts. They further resolved that "the establishment of a standing army in the colony, in a time of peace, without consent of its General Assembly, is an invasion of the natural and chartered rights of the people." In spite of this resolution, it was officially incumbent on Bernard to demand the appropriation of those sums which were required to provide for the troops, under the billeting clauses of the Mutiny Act. The House of Representatives at Boston did not, like that of New York in 1766, meet this demand with a partial compliance, omitting certain articles, but flatly declared that they would never make provision for any such purposes. There was, indeed, a difference between Boston and New York, inasmuch as the latter was the ordinary headquarters of the King's military forces in America, whereas the troops at Boston were specially sent, against the protests of the Assembly, to enforce unconstitutional laws and decrees. The Governor, however, could do neither more nor less than prorogue the Assembly to the next year, warning them that the King and Parliament of Great Britain would judge of their acts, and deal with them accordingly. Sir Francis Bernard, on the last day of July, finally sailed from America; and his deputy, Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson, was made Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts in his stead.

* Letter of George Washington, April 5th, 1769. "Our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom. Something should be done to maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. No man should hesitate a moment to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing; yet arms should be the last resource. We have already proved the inefficacy of addresses to the Throne and remonstrances to Parliament. How far their attention to our rights and privileges is to be awakened or alarmed by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried."

This person, of whom we have already seen much, was a native of the province, intimately versed in its affairs, author of a book on its earlier history, a learned lawyer, and a diligent man of business. His uncommon abilities were rendered mischievous to his country by a want of moral integrity; he was extremely avaricious and unscrupulous in the pursuit of gain, a cunning dissembler and double-dealer, and a man destitute of courage. He and his sons were thought to have made money by the illicit importation of goods prohibited, or liable to duties which the revenue officers could never get paid; and they were now importing tea and other lawful merchandise, contrary to the resolutions passed by their neighbours. A son of Sir Francis Bernard was at Boston, engaged in the same traffic. It may well be imagined that Hancock and other Boston merchants, who, after suffering much annoyance from the revenue laws, had renounced trade for the sake of putting a pressure on their British political antagonists, were hardly disposed to tolerate this behaviour. The offenders were called to account by a Faneuil Hall meeting; harsh things were said, and the revenue officers were insulted in the street. One of them, named Robinson, came to blows with James Otis, who got a knock on the head at a time when he was afflicted with approaching insanity. But when, in the month of October, two vessels arrived with tea and other goods consigned to persons in Boston, the people assembled, and insisted on sending away those cargoes. The consignees were obliged to submit, as Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson did not venture to call upon Dalrymple, the military commander, to disperse the people by force of arms. These proceedings were not the act of a mere mob, but of the more respectable class of townsfolk, and were approved by a town meeting which the heads of the municipality duly convened. The same meeting passed resolutions upon the recent proposals of the Ministry in England to repeal a portion only of Townshend's Acts, the taxes on paper, glass, and paint, leaving that on tea; which was rejected as an unsatisfactory measure. Some days later, a detested informer was seized by the populace, tarred and feathered, and carted through the town. A printer also, who had issued libels or caricatures deriding the leaders of the movement, was chased out of his house, and compelled to fly from Boston. The non-importation agreement, which some of its managers at New York would have extended till the complete repeal of all the Revenue Acts had been obtained, was now signed perforce by every one in business. The soldiers and their officers at Boston were greatly exasperated by feeling themselves the occasion of so much popular displeasure. Quarrels now and then occurred, and the magistrates inflicted the ordinary punishments for such offences; but this was resented as an affront to the military uniform. More than one officer was indicted for language provoking a breach of the peace.

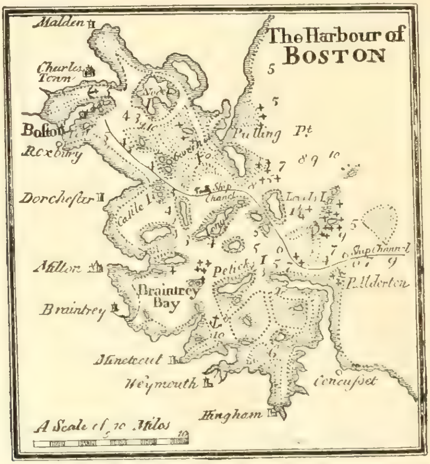
The autumn and winter of 1769 passed thus in the capital of Massachusetts, while different conditions prevailed in other provinces. A tendency to conciliation was shown in New York, where Lieutenant-Governor Colden, now once more ruling in chief since the death of Moore, concurred in the proposal of the Assembly that all the provinces should elect delegates to a congress for the regulation of trade with the Indians. The New York Assembly was also permitted to issue bills of credit, and was persuaded by these concessions to relax its opposition to the billeting clauses. In Virginia, too, some effect was produced by the assurances of the Governor, a nobleman and a friend of the King, that all further taxation of America would be foregone. Lord Botetourt, indeed, had now given his own advice, and so had other Governors, for the abolition of the tea-duty. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in Maryland, and in North and South Carolina, though each province had its special grievance or cause of anxiety (that of the last-named province being the renewal of the slave-trade), there was yet an apparent pause to watch the result of the more urgent conflict still impending at Boston.

The opening of the year 1770 was marked by a signal change in the political situation of the King's Government at home. The Ministry over which the Duke of Grafton had presided, with little real influence or credit, was assailed in both Houses of Parliament so vigorously and pertinaciously that it was forced to resign. But neither the Marquis of Rockingham nor the Earl of Chatham was permitted by George III.'s personal determination of the crisis to obtain the reversion of Ministerial power. The King chose rather to make Lord North the head of a new Government and of a new Tory party, devoted to the assertion of high prerogative doctrines, and to the increase of monarchical authority. Thurlow, a legal bully for the Crown, was chosen to supersede Camden on the Chancellor's woolsack, since Charles Yorke had died by his own hand, in a fit of remorseful shame, when about to grasp that very prize which he had striven to reach through unworthy tergiversation. Hillsborough continued to be the Secretary of State dealing with the Colonies. The American cause, however, was now taken up more frankly and unreservedly by the Whig party. It was again supported by the eloquence of Chatham and of Burke, and came now to be associated with the claims of Ireland, and with the English popular demand for a measure of Parliamentary reform. It was a significant token of this movement that South Carolina sent a contribution of £10,000 to the London Society for maintaining the principles of the Bill of Rights. Colonel Barré, in one of his House of Commons speeches, exclaimed, with great point, "The people of England know, the people of Ireland know, and the people of America feel, that the iron hand of Ministerial despotism is lifted against them."

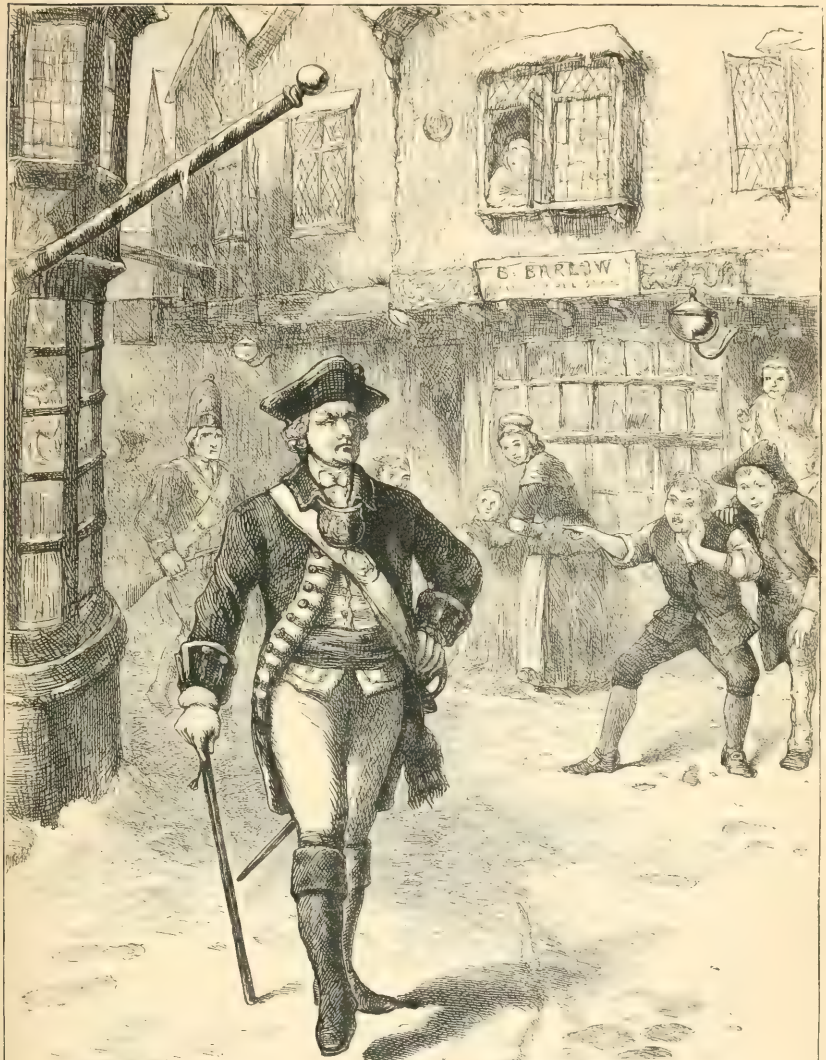
The people of America, whose case alone is our concern in this narrative, were not yet so generally exasperated but that their feelings might have been appeased by a wiser Government than that of Lord North and King George. New York, a mercantile community, was already disposed to give up the non-importation league, after waiving its objections to the Billeting Act. It was Boston, as we have remarked, that still resented with increasing bitterness the presence of a military garrison, and the enforcement of the Revenue Acts, more especially the duty on tea. The price of that article having doubled at Boston, the sons of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, breaking a pledge they had given to the associated townsmen at the surrender of their tea-chest keys, secretly made a few sales of tea. They were detected and exposed to popular indignation; a meeting was held, in which magistrates, members of the Assembly, and other respectable citizens, took part; and the Hutchinsons' house was beset by a multitude who threatened no violence, but who sternly demanded satisfaction. The Lieutenant-Governor spoke to them from his window, but the parley resulted in his surrender next morning, for fear of a riot, and the tea which had been sold was brought back. The Council, to which he appealed, would not sanction the employment of the troops to put down these proceedings by force; and Hutchinson, a man of peace with no sort of courage, hesitated to do so by his sole authority. Dalrymple and all the military chafed at this holding of them back, and seem to have wilfully provoked a more serious outbreak. But it was at New York, before it came to pass at Boston, that the soldiery and the people were brought into violent collision. The "Liberty Pole" in the Park was cut down by a party of soldiers, which occasioned a riotous conflict of two days; but, no deadly weapons being used, the populace got the upper hand. A new pole was erected by the "Sons of Liberty" at the junction of the Battery with the Broadway; and this was claimed as a popular triumph. It had its effect on the state of feeling at Boston, where much anger had been excited, about this time, by another affray, in which the soldiery were not concerned. An informer named Richardson, pelted with stones by a crowd of boys, fired his musket among them, and killed a child eleven years old. The poor little fellow's funeral was attended by five hundred schoolfellows, and by a procession of indignant townsmen. Some days later, there was a brawl at a ropewalk between the workmen there and one of the 29th Regiment. The latter called in the aid of some comrades, and they fought with cutlasses against clubs, but were beaten off by the workmen. These disturbances, and the frequent interchange of insulting words and threats, prepared for a worse conflict.

It happened in the evening of the 5th of March, that a barber's boy in King Street saw an officer passing by, and cried after him, "There goes a mean-spirited fellow who hath not paid for dressing his hair." The sentinel at the Custom-house, hearing this insult, left his post, and struck the boy on the head with his musket. A noise was made, a crowd gathered, and a party of soldiers issued from the barracks, challenging the townspeople to stand against them. Ensign Maule and other young officers invited their men to turn out. The boys in the street meantime annoyed the sentinel with opprobrious language and irritating gestures; and the man then loaded his musket, and threatened to fire. A servant of the Custom House ran to the main guard, and reported that they were killing the sentinel. Captain Preston, that day in command of the guard, formed a party of six, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, with whom he forced a way through the people. The sentry had not really been attacked, but it was time, no doubt, for some interference on his behalf. The mob had sticks, with which they beat down the raised muskets of the soldiers, and still defied them, as "lobster scoundrels," to come on if they dared. Two of the soldiers, Kilroy and Montgomery, who had been worsted in the fray at the ropewalk, were now eager for revenge. They fired when hit by the sticks and stones thrown at them; Samuel Gray, master of the ropewalk, and a mulatto named Attucks, were killed. Preston then ordered or allowed the other soldiers to fire; a third person was killed on the spot, and eight were wounded, two of them mortally. The dead bodies lay in pools of blood on the snow that covered the streets. It was a night of wild alarm; the beating of drums, tolling of bells, and other signals of public warning, kept all the town awake. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, blaming the soldiers and their officer, got the regiment confined to its barracks and guard-room. Captain Preston surrendered to the sheriff, that he and the others might take their trial for murder. The Council of the province, with Hutchinson presiding over them, met early next morning; when the two commanding officers, Colonel Dalrymple and Colonel Carr, were present by invitation. At the same time, a solemn meeting of townspeople in Faneuil Hall was adjourned, for want of room, to the Old South Church. It was resolved that nothing but the immediate removal of the troops could prevent further carnage. Deputations from the neighbouring towns upheld this demand, and three thousand assembled citizens unanimously agreed in enforcing it. A committee, of whom Samuel Adams, Hancock, and Molineux, were the chief members, bore their resolution to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Council, and the military commanders, at the State House. In reply to their first call upon him, Hutchinson offered to send the 29th Regiment to Castle William, keeping the 14th in the town. But they came again in the afternoon, and insisted upon the total removal of the troops. The Council debated the matter, and agreed that it was better to comply: Hutchinson yielded to their opinion, and Dalrymple obeyed his order. Both regiments were sent to Castle William, a guard of the town militia keeping watch over their departure, under the authority of the local magistrates. The soldiers who had fired, with their officer, Captain Preston, were brought to trial, when the professional counsel who defended them were John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two leading patriots of Boston. Preston obtained a verdict of acquittal; but the soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter.

When the time came, in that month of March, for the session of the Massachusetts Assembly to recommence, it was convened by the Lieutenant-Governor at Cambridge, despite the remonstrances of its members. But its first action was to declare that no military force should in time of peace be maintained at Boston above the civil Government, or without the consent of the provincial Legislature. In this constitutional maxim, the leaders of the British Parliament, not excepting Grenville, expressed their concurrence when the affair became a topic of discussion at Westminster. But the Ministry, under the King's personal direction, was bent on pursuing the same course towards America. Motions for the repeal of the tea-duty were supported in the Upper House by Chatham, Shelburne, and others; in the House of Commons, by General Conway, Colonel Barré, Dowdeswell (an ex-Minister), Edmund Burke, Thomas Pownall, Aldermen Beckford and Trecothick, Sir George Saville, the great Yorkshire county member, Dunning, the late Solicitor-General, and Wedderburn, another Crown lawyer. Gren-



PLAN OF THE HARBOUR OF BOSTON AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 18TH CENTURY. (*From "Neal's History"*)


B. BARLOW
W. L. J.

THE OFFICER AND THE BARBER'S BOY.

ville himself was not averse to the motion. But Lord North replied, with airy complacency, that he would never yield to the "insolent and illegal" combinations of America, or give up the supremacy of Parliament. The duties upon British manufactures imported into America were "uncommercial," and should be taken off; but tea was, of all commodities, the most fit to be taxed, and it should be. The women of Boston were at that moment forming associations to pledge themselves not to drink tea. This article was to remain as the symbol of contention on both sides. The more general bond of agreement, not to import or consume any goods brought from England, could no longer be maintained. In May of this year, its abandonment was the subject of much discussion between the New York and the Philadelphia merchants. Those of New York, whose position made their resolve more important than all the rest, decided by a large majority, in unison with the tradesmen of that city, to confine the non-importation to tea. People of other towns and provinces derided and denounced the recreant behaviour of New York.* They made a cheap display of superior patriotic virtue, not being in the same position with that leading commercial port. The news of its readiness to re-open the trade was of course hailed in London, and in all the British seaports and manufacturing districts, with the liveliest satisfaction. It would have been an excellent opportunity for Lord North, Lord Hillsborough, and their Royal master, to begin a thorough policy of conciliation. But they were more than ever intent upon inflicting severe punishment on the sturdy rebels of Boston Bay.

While the Orders in Council, prepared on the 6th of July, were on their way across the Atlantic, Hutchinson once more conducted himself towards the Massachusetts Legislature in a manner to provoke continued strife. He again summoned them to Cambridge, instead of Boston, to their personal inconvenience and the disparagement of their capital city. He reminded them of the order, "from the King himself," with which they had not complied, requiring them to rescind a former resolution. They had treated that order as "an impudent mandate," of no constitutional authority, conveyed through Bernard from an individual Minister. It was on the 8th of September that the Lieutenant-Governor received from London the new orders for transferring the custody of the Boston fortress to officers under General Gage. This was plainly a violation of the constitutional rights of Massachusetts; for that province, under the express authority of its existing charters, had built and maintained Castle William, and the colonial militia should have supplied its proper garrison, as in former times. Hutchinson was in administrative trust for the province, as well as for the Crown, and was certainly not justified in giving up to the one that which belonged of right to the other, without any legislative sanction for his act. But, though an accomplished lawyer, and professedly scrupulous in these matters, he chose to put in execution, by his personal agency, the Royal Order in Council, rather than displease the King or the Minister. Having first empowered Dalrymple to place regular soldiers, instead of the militia, on duty at Castle William, he delivered up the keys to that officer, told the Provincial Council what he had done, with strict injunctions of secrecy, and hastily left the town. While the military forces of the Crown thus gained possession of the provincial fortress, it was provided by another Order in Council that the naval forces on the American coast should thenceforth be stationed at Boston, instead of Halifax, as their regular headquarters. The next step was to alter the provincial constitution, by depriving the Assembly of the nomination and confirmation of members of the Council, which it had exercised jointly with the Governor, and making the Councillors mere nominees of the Crown. Hutchinson recommended the complete nullification of the Massachusetts charter; but that was too bold a stroke for Lord North's Government at the time. The Assembly, in November, 1770, chose Benjamin Franklin as their agent in London, with Arthur Lee for his assistant, to lay their grievances before the King. There was still room for an amicable settlement of all disputes, if the chartered and accustomed self-government of the colonies might be frankly acknowledged and secured.

The southern provinces and the vast western territories of British America had in the meantime witnessed some important changes. Virginia and North Carolina sought new fields of inland settlement and cultivation beyond the range of the Alleghany mountains. The extensive, well-watered, and fertile country that now forms the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, between those mountains and the Mississippi, was first explored at this period by men of the English race. The tributaries of the Ohio river, from the Monongahela down to the Great Kenawha in Western Virginia, were occupied by men of that province under grants for military services in the Indian wars. George Washington, in an expedition to survey and mark out lands for this purpose, in the year 1770, descended the Ohio somewhat farther, and examined by personal inspection, as well as by the reports of hunters, foresters, and Indians, the capabilities of that region for the agriculturists' abode. From the Yadkin, in North Carolina, Daniel Boone and his brother, in May, 1769, scaled the Blue Ridge, and pushed on to the Kentucky and Cumberland rivers; while Knox Robertson, and others scarcely known to fame, rapidly opened for themselves a way into the rich western districts of Tennessee.

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* Bancroft, Vol. V., chap. 44, describes their indignation. "'Send us your old Liberty Pole, as you can have no further use for it,' said the Philadelphians. The students of Princeton burnt the New York merchants' letter by the hands of the hangman. Boston tore it into pieces, and threw it to the winds. South Carolina, whose patriots had just raised the statue to Chatham, read it with disdainful anger; but there was no help for it."

The disturbed condition of North Carolina at this time, under the misrule of Governor Tryon, was a motive for the westward emigration of its more adventurous youth, and of many hardy husbandmen on the border, who would not brook the arrogance of unjust official persons. In the collection of taxes, tolls, and fees, claimed by various titles independent of the legislative vote, many undue exactions were practised by sheriffs and other officers whom the Governor appointed. The Chief Justice, Martin Howard, who had been obnoxious as a distributor of stamps, and the surveyor of taxes, Edward Fanning, a son-in-law of Tryon, were especially reproached for gross unfairness. The people of Orange County, of Mecklenburg, Anson, and Rowan, therefore resorted to associations for their mutual defence, by legal and peaceful means if possible, against all attempts at extortion, and other abuses of power. The members of this league, who were styled Regulators, were pledged in general to do what they could for the redress of public or private wrongs. In the spring of 1768 there was a serious conflict at the town of Hillsborough, provoked by a wanton and unlawful attempt to seize the horse of one of the leading Regulators, as he rode through the town. The militia were called out by Fanning, but refused to obey the summons, or to act against the Regulators. A farmer of Sandy Creek, named Herman Husbands, was arrested in his own house, and brought to trial for an alleged part in the riot. He was acquitted upon his trial, four months afterwards; but several of the Regulators, of whom he was not one, were sentenced to fine and imprisonment. The intolerable abuses in the local administration were nowise lessened. Many of the persecuted and impoverished countrymen were excited to a spirit of revenge. In September, 1770, finding that their appeals to the sessions court would get no hearing, some of them assaulted Fanning and another Government attorney, flogged them with whips, and did much damage to Fanning's house at Hillsborough. The provincial Assembly met in December. Herman Husbands had been elected for Orange County; but the Governor, who by a corrupt system of representation could direct the votes of the majority, got him expelled from the House, as Wilkes had been at Westminster, upon an unproved charge of misconduct. He was then arrested under the Governor's warrant, and confined in prison, without bail, upon charges of which no evidence could be produced against him. The severest laws were passed for dealing with all persons guilty of a riot, which was defined as taking place wherever ten men remained together after being ordered to disperse. Every man summoned to answer such a charge was to appear in Court within sixty days, or be declared an outlaw, with the forfeiture of his life and property. These measures excited, during the winter months, a vehement storm of popular displeasure. The Regulators gathered in large numbers, and marched, in February, 1771, to effect the liberation of Husbands from his unlawful imprisonment. Governor Tryon hastily preferred against him a bill of indictment, which was thrown out by the grand jury, and the prisoner was released. The rustic band of Regulators thereupon marched back to their homes. But the Governor summoned another Court at Newbern on the 11th of March, and got another grand jury to admit sixty bills of indictment against the Regulators in Orange County. He resolved to go personally with an armed force to that distant part of the province, and to seize the persons of those charged with felonious acts of rioting. The provincial Council assented to his raising for this purpose a little army of a thousand men, with which, in May, 1771, the Governor marched through Rowan and Orange counties, and overtook the band of Regulators on the banks of the Great Allemance river. They mustered about five hundred, very poorly armed, under the leadership of James Hunter and Benjamin Merrill. The Governor demanded their unconditional surrender within one hour, and that the persons of the accused Regulators should be given up to his mercy. They chose rather to fight him, and on the 15th of May there was a two hours' skirmish, in which ten were killed on his side and twenty on theirs; but the Regulators were put to flight. Some prisoners were taken, one of whom was Merrill, and six were hanged at Hillsborough a few weeks later. Proclamation was made of a reward of £100, with a thousand acres of land, for killing either Husbands or Hunter, Butler or Howell. After this feat of pacification, which was highly applauded by the King's present advisers, Tryon left the province of North Carolina with a debt of £40,000 never sanctioned by its Representative Assembly. He was appointed to the more important Government of New York.

CHAPTER IX.

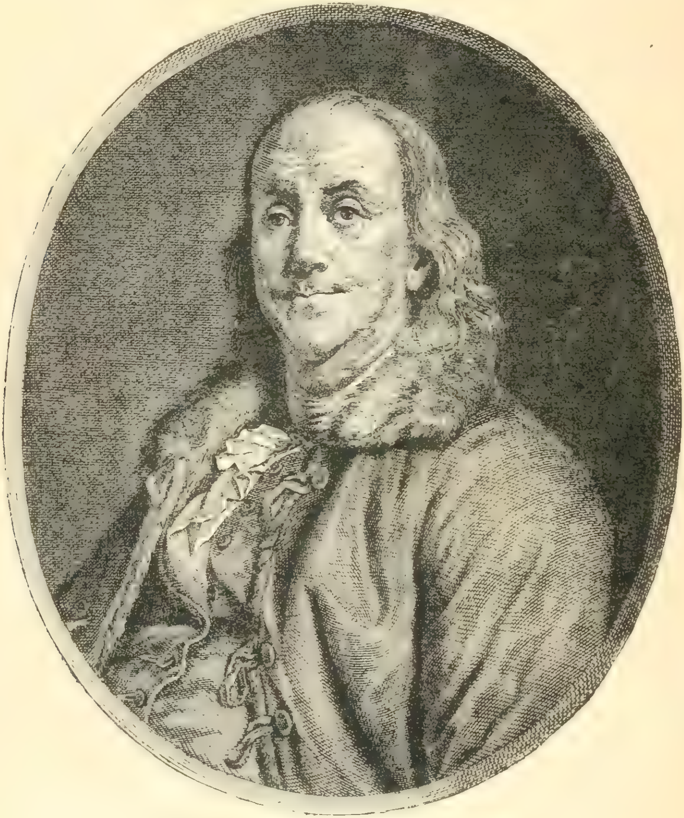
The True Object of the Ministerial Policy—The Struggle in America similar to that in England under Charles I.—Claim of the Civil Servants in America to Exemption from Provincial Taxes—Refusal of the Governor to sanction the Massachusetts Tax Bill—The Assembly threatened with the King's Displeasure—Arrival of the Fleet at Boston—Personal Intrigues of Hutchinson—Samuel Adams, the Hampden of Massachusetts—Payment of Official Salaries by Order from the British Government—Lieutenant Duddington and the *Gaspé*—Capture and Destruction of that Vessel—Special Commission at Newport—Proposal to Deprive the Province of its Charter—Chief Justice Hopkins—Affairs in the South—The Slave Trade forced on America by England—American Prohibitory Laws disallowed by George III.—Treatment of Virginia in this Matter—Lord Dartmouth Secretary of State—Franklin Agent for Massachusetts in London—His Discovery of Hutchinson's and Oliver's Letters—Rejection of Complaint against Bernard—Commencement of a Revolutionary Movement in Massachusetts—Samuel Adams, and his Project of Complete Independence—Organisation of Popular Forces—Boston Town Meetings—Committee to redress the Wrongs of America—Governor Hutchinson's Political Pedantry—Massachusetts supported by Virginia—Corresponding Provincial Committees—Address to the King for the removal of Hutchinson—Franklin before the Privy Council—Imposition of a Threepenny Tea duty, and Repeal of other Revenue Acts—Resistance of the Bostonians to the Tax on Tea—A Winter Evening's Work at the Wharf—Action of Other Colonies in Opposition to the English Policy.

The main purpose of the King's Government, in all its different schemes of creating an American revenue by British Parliamentary legislation, was to furnish itself with an official administrative and judicial establishment in the colonies, which should be above the need of supplies voted by any provincial Legislatures. If we do not keep in view this practical issue of the long dispute between the colonists and the Crown, with the further possibilities of an Executive totally independent of the popular representatives, and of the speedy abolition of their charters of self-government, which had been threatened for nearly twenty years past, we shall be at a loss to understand their willingness to brave the hazards of a forcible Revolution, sooner than yield. The payment of a moderate sum in the way of Stamp duties or Customs' duties was in itself a comparatively trifling matter, which they were neither such niggards as to grudge, nor such political pedants as to refuse, but for the sake of preserving those civil rights, and that constitutional power of control over the administration of government amongst them, for which their forefathers had withstood King Charles I. The same principles of English freedom were again at stake, though few Englishmen in the old country were then able to perceive the true import of the struggle, as Pitt and Burke and Charles James Fox already did. The natural pride of a great Empire was pushed to too great a length; and it unfortunately happened that faults on the American side as well exasperated the English opposition, and in some degree provoked exceptional measures.

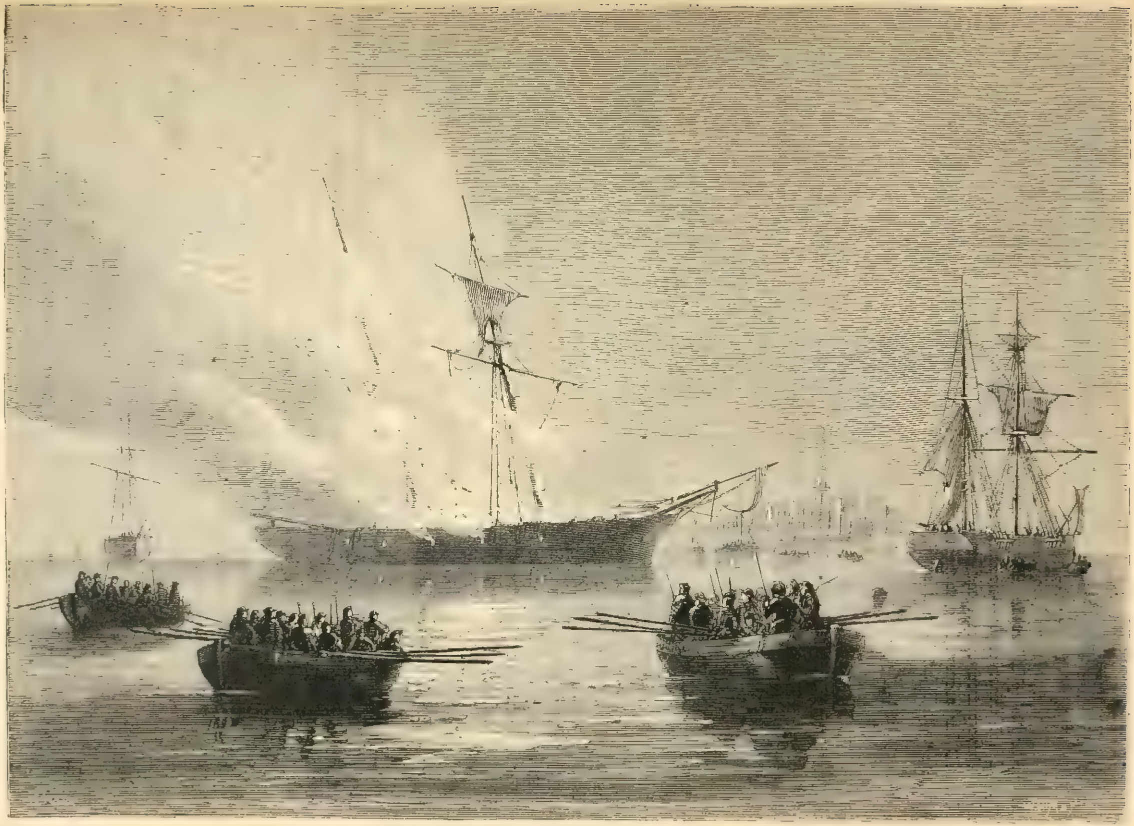
Yet the real motives of the Ministerial and official clique, who thus helped to embroil the two great communities of English citizens with each other, and who played with the sovereignty of this realm in a wager of political pretensions, were daily more apparent. Every fresh act proceeding from Whitehall, though frequently originating in the advice of colonial Governors and other placemen, seemed more obviously to bear this confessed intention; namely, that of superseding a responsible and domestic administration for the provinces, with one wholly directed, because solely patronised, by the Board of Trade and the Secretary of State. To enumerate all the instances of this propensity would be a task of tedious detail. It is but now and then, in the pauses of the dreary altercation between Governors and Assemblies, that a few examples may be noticed. The Commissioners of Customs resident in America under Townshend's Act of 1767 were not content with getting their salaries paid out of the small amount of revenue which the popular refusal of import trade still allowed them to collect. They sought for themselves an exemption from the provincial income-tax, the town and county taxes, which every New England householder was accustomed cheerfully to pay, under the laws of the Provincial Assembly. Disregarding all previous usage of Crown officials in the colonies, their ministerial patron, Lord Hillsborough, took upon himself, in 1771, to order that these taxes should not be levied on the members of the Civil Service in America. The ordinary annual tax-bill passed by the Massachusetts Legislature did not contain a clause prescribed by the Governor for legalising this exemption. He therefore, on the 4th of July, obeying the peremptory instructions of the Secretary of State, disallowed the annual Act for raising the provincial revenue—a most inconvenient and extraordinary course for the Chief of the Executive, and taken by Hutchinson much against his will, for his own salary was to be paid from the same fund. He scolded the House of Representatives in vain, and warned them of the King's displeasure. They steadily returned the manly and truthful answer, that they must ignore the grounds of his command. "We know," said they, "of *no* Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, nor of any revenue that his Majesty has a right to establish in North America." "And I know," retorted Hutchinson, "that your messages and resolves of last year were very displeasing to the King. I shall transmit this to be laid before him."

The Governor was presently emboldened still further by the arrival of twelve ships of war, under Admiral Montagu, in the harbour of Boston, which now became the head naval station. His yearly proclamation, however, to be read in the pulpits of Boston religious meeting-houses, was eschewed by most of the pastors and congregations, because it set forth that civil and religious liberties were secured amongst them. It was more than suspected that the author of this proclamation, in his letters privately sent to Mr. Whately and others of the Board of Trade in London, was plotting against those liberties; but his duplicity had not yet been fully exposed. He was endeavouring at this time, by personal influence, to win over Hancock and other individual champions of the popular cause, but chiefly to rouse their self-esteem and jealousy of each other, and more especially to set them against Samuel Adams, the greatest "incendiary" of the American cause. That able and resolute politician nevertheless gained his election for the city, in May, 1772, by a majority of nearly three to one, and was found in his place at the session of the Assembly, which was this year permitted to be held in the Old State House at Boston. With the aid of sound lawyers like Hawley and John Adams, he prepared to carry on the Parliamentary opposition to every unconstitutional act of government; he was like Hampden, with Pym and Selden beside him, in the English House of Commons long before. The subject now taken up by them was the innovation, lately begun, of paying the salaries of civil officers of the Crown, by Royal warrants under the sign manual, out of a fund permanently established by an Act of the Parliament at Westminster. A committee was appointed to inquire whether this practice might not be a violation of the charter of Massachusetts. The report, presented to the House of Representatives on the 10th of July, showed that it certainly was so. That charter had settled that the province was to receive its Governor and judges from the Royal nomination, but that the Provincial Assembly should make grants for their support. The House then passed resolutions, by eighty-five votes against nineteen, declaring the new system to be one that violated "a most solemn compact;" that it would effect an important change in the constitution, "and expose the province to a despotic administration of government." In pursuance of these resolutions, six months later, at the opening of their session in 1773, they granted the usual salaries for the judges of the Supreme Court, despite a message from the Lieutenant-Governor that those salaries were to be provided by the King's warrant. The view set forth in the answer of the House was that no judge ought to be so placed under the imputation of an undue bias from the payment of his salary in that manner. "We are more and more convinced," said they, "that it has been the design of Administration totally to subvert the constitution, and introduce an arbitrary government into this province; and we cannot wonder that the apprehensions of this people are thoroughly awakened."

In Rhode Island, where Stephen Hopkins, the late patriotic elected Governor, had gone back to the office of Chief Justice, a startling affair took place in the summer of 1772. Admiral Montagu had sent from Boston a small vessel of his fleet, named the *Gaspé*, under Lieutenant Duddington, to enforce the revenue laws on that coast. The mariners and fishermen, and the inhabitants of the shore and islands, were much annoyed by the *Gaspé*, which, under pretext of searching for contraband trade, seized and detained, or damaged, their property afloat. As the commander would show no legal warrant, and was not a sworn Customs' officer, it was ruled by Chief Justice Hopkins that he had no right, by force of arms, to continue these proceedings. Any man was guilty *primâ facie* of trespass, if not of piracy, who should do so. The Governor of Rhode Island appealed to the Admiral commanding-in-chief, who bluntly answered that the Lieutenant had done his duty; and that, if any of the people of Newport interfered with him, or attempted to rescue any vessel from the *Gaspé*, they should be sent to Boston, and hanged as pirates. A few weeks after this correspondence, on the 9th of June, the *Gaspé* ran aground near Pautuxet while inadvertently chasing a Rhode Island packet through the shallows of that intricate coast navigation. It was a tempting opportunity for vengeance, and, on the following night, the men along shore put off in six boats, turned out the crew of the *Gaspé* after a scuffle in which the Lieutenant was wounded, and burned the vessel with triumphant glee. But they had undoubtedly committed a great offence. An Act of Parliament, passed two months before, and applying to the colonies as well as to Great Britain, made death the penalty for doing wilful damage to any of his Majesty's ships, dockyards, or naval stores. The men were certainly liable to a criminal prosecution, and had justly incurred some degree of punishment. But the Act of Parliament provided that they should be sent to Great Britain for trial; and this was the order which the Governor received from England, when the affair was known in this country. Meantime, a special commission of inquiry was held at Newport, consisting of the Admiral commanding-in-chief, the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Boston, the Governor of Rhode Island, and the Chief Justices of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey. Mr. Darin



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. (*From the Portrait by Chevalier.*)



THE BURNING OF THE GASPÉ.

Sessions, Deputy-Governor, and Stephen Hopkins, Chief Justice of Rhode Island, contended that there had been no fault in the Government of that province; while the three neighbouring Chief Justices, willing to earn Crown favour, impeached its conduct, and recommended the forfeiture of its democratic charter. The next step was for the Governor, in February, 1773, to lay before the Assembly his Ministerial instructions to seize the offenders, and send them to England for trial on the capital charge. But Chief Justice Hopkins again interposed, declaring that such a course was contrary to the common law, and that the clause in the Act of Parliament on which reliance was placed had no validity outside the Kingdom of Great Britain. It could not, he said, apply to the colonies, and he, as guardian of the law, would not allow any person to be transported elsewhere for trial. It had already been decided by several of the colonial judges that no one could be sent to England for trial under the old statute of Henry VIII., and this view was supported by great English lawyers, such as Lord Camden. At any rate, there was no place in America where the arrest of a citizen, to be carried off for trial in that manner, would have been endured; and it was never actually attempted. But the Minister and Governors who talked of such a thing were taking the worst possible course for persuading the people to obedience, or maintaining the respect due to the Crown.

The southern provinces were in the meantime farther agitated by sundry additional grievances. We have seen the unhappy condition of North Carolina, which was now a mere anarchy. In Georgia, the free election of a Speaker for the House of Assembly was disputed by Governor Sir James Wright, under orders from the Secretary of State. In South Carolina, during two or three years, the regular Act for the appropriation of provincial expenditure was negatived by Lord Charles Montagu, because the Assembly chose to vote a contribution to a Liberal society in England, which they had probably no constitutional right to do. The Governor wanted them to build a mansion for his residence at Charleston, and he threatened, if they refused, to convene their next session at Port Royal. The life appointments of judges for the new districts, with their permanent endowments, were bestowed on incompetent strangers, instead of being given to the esteemed lawyers of the province.

There was another subject of more general interest, which, both in South Carolina and Virginia, as well as in the Middle Provinces, excited feelings that shed high honour upon American public history. We in the nineteenth century have been too much accustomed to reproach America with the hateful institution of slavery; we of Great Britain have been too apt to indulge in Pharisaic self-commendation, and to lay the guilt of that enormous social evil upon the United States—upon Virginia and South Carolina, as upon the whole South. Let it be understood and remembered that the people and the Government of Great Britain, down to the eve of the Revolution, never ceased to force the institution of negro slavery, and the terrible African slave-trade, upon those reluctant American communities which then were led, by virtuous and enlightened friends of human freedom, to implore and protest in vain against the greatest iniquity in the modern world. England, from the time of Elizabeth to a period within the life-time of this generation—England, and not America, or any other nation in an equal degree—was still the greedy and cruel oppressor of the negro race, the kidnapper, the trafficker, the breeder of their children for plantation toil. The province of South Carolina, for example, while yet a British colony, had a population of 45,000 white people and 80,000 blacks, the latter being sent there, against the will of the former, by proprietors living in England. The provincial Legislature, according to the wishes of its constituents, forbade the importation of negroes. The British owners of plantations, and of ships or other property concerned in the slave-trade, used their great Parliamentary interest to get the colonial law set aside. This happened again and again in different American provinces. It was one of the main causes of that disgust and despair of good government which brought on the Revolution. The prohibitory law of South Carolina had no sooner terminated, than the London, Bristol, and Liverpool slave-dealers poured in their abominable cargoes from the Gold Coast, landing six thousand negroes in the year 1770, and pocketing a million dollars. In Virginia, again, the land of George Washington and other champions of liberty, it was the British Government that maintained negro slavery, for the sordid profit of British jobbers and their lordly allies. Repeated acts of colonial legislation had been disallowed by the King or the Governor; the voices of men like Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Richard Lee, and others, who were philanthropists before they were Republicans, had been loudly raised in the cause of humanity, but unheeded in Great Britain. George III., having debated in his Council the case of the wealthy and influential slave-holding interest, signed on the 10th of

December, 1770, an order to the Governor of Virginia, by which his Excellency was enjoined, on pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure, "to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any way impeded or obstructed."

It is remarkable that, while Englishmen thus compelled America to become or to remain, in the social and industrial effects of this fatal system, what we have all beheld with shame and sorrow in the Southern States before the late Civil War, England was formally declared by the highest legal authority incapable of containing a single slave. The celebrated judgment of Lord Mansfield (no friend to American liberties), in the case of a negro brought from Virginia, has often been quoted in a spirit of national self-complacency, which should be tempered by the remembrance that America owed her "domestic institution" to British rule. The Virginia Legislature therefore addressed the King, who was reputed a great patron of morality and religion, with a request for permission to check, and gradually to abolish, this detestable system. "The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa," they said, "hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity; and, under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions. We are sensible that some of your Majesty's subjects in Great Britain may reap emoluments from this sort of traffic; but when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more useful inhabitants, and may in time have the most destructive influence, we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove all those restraints on your Majesty's Governors of this colony, which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce."

To this address, which was in agreement with the often expressed wishes of other provinces,—North and South Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Puritan Massachusetts,—George III. deigned no reply. His narrow, bigoted, and rather morose frame of mind admitted but one idea regarding America,—that the colonists were undutiful, and must be checked and sharply reproved, to make them receive every Order in Council, Act of Parliament, or despatch from a Minister of State, with implicit submission. It was an article of that political creed which he had learned to cherish, as Charles I. held the doctrine of his divine right to rule England without consulting the votes of Parliament. Many persons were about him, besides Lord North and Lord Thurlow, who were disposed to let it be applied in the present case; and their number was constantly increasing. Lord Hillsborough, who resigned in September, 1772, was succeeded by Lord Dartmouth, an amiable pietist of no statesmanship, anxious for conciliation, but afraid to denounce injustice.

In London, about this time, the illustrious Deputy-Postmaster-General of America, and agent here for the Assembly of Massachusetts,—Benjamin Franklin,—had the fortune to make a discovery. It was not like that by which he drew down a flash of lightning from the sky, but it had an electrifying effect. *Eripuit fulmen cœlo, sceptrumque tyrannis*—he snatched the lightning from heaven, and the sceptre from tyrants.* The secret correspondence of Governor and Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson with Thomas Whately, a gentleman then deceased, but formerly attached to the colonial department of the Ministry, and some letters from Andrew Oliver, Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, and Charles Paxton, formerly chief of the Board of Customs at Boston, came into Franklin's possession. These documents were handed to him by a person of note, Mr. John Temple, who had been one of the Customs' Commissioners at Boston, and had quarrelled with Hutchinson and the others. It is not known quite certainly how Temple had got them; he fought a duel with Whately's brother to repel the charge of having stolen them; but Whately had shown or lent them to several other persons. Franklin, at any rate, thought it his duty to send them all to America, officially consigned to Mr. Cushing, Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly. They were privately examined by a select committee, who found in them abundant proofs that Hutchinson and Oliver, the native-born citizens of Massachusetts, the veteran public servants of that province, had during many years conspired, not less than Sir Francis Bernard and other chosen tools of the Ministry, for the subversion of provincial rights. The all but complete abrogation of the charter, the most injurious constitutional alterations, destroying the elective character of the Council and the responsibility of the House of Representatives to the people, reducing the judges and law courts to mere subserviency, and suppressing municipal franchises in the towns, had been diligently urged by Chief Justice and Governor Hutchinson upon the British Government. He had further recommended the coercion of Boston by a naval and military force, the chastisement of her people by excluding them from the fisheries and some maritime trade, and the abolition of the Rhode Island Charter. It is scarcely worth while to examine the letters of Andrew Oliver and the others. What was thought of the writers, at Boston in 1773, is somewhat vehemently expressed by John Adams:—"Cool, thinking, deliberate villains; malicious and vindictive, as well as ambitious and avaricious."

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* An adaptation of a line from the Latin poet, Caius Manilius, which the French Minister Turgot inscribed on a medal struck in honour of Franklin.

So stood the account between Massachusetts and its Provincial Government; but the reckoning for this and much larger accounts was now drawing near. The petition of the Assembly to the King against the former Governor, Sir Francis Bernard, who departed in 1769, had been dismissed by the Privy Council as "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous," and reproved as proceeding from "a spirit of clamour and discontent." It will be seen presently what became of a similar petition for the removal of Governor Hutchinson and Deputy-Governor Oliver. But the commencement of a decided revolutionary movement in this province was plainly shown in the winter of 1772. Ten years had elapsed since the conclusion of the French war left the Government of King George in a position to develop its favourite policy of an Imperial concentration of power on the American continent. Those ten years had been spent in ceaseless petty squabbles with every provincial Legislature, in peevish complaints and recriminations, fruitless schemes of novel taxation by methods foreign to the English constitution, menaces and displays of military force against the steadfast defenders of civil freedom. The colonists for their part had never once wavered, in any of their thirteen provinces, never belied or relaxed their claim to hold the public purse, by the ancient custom of an English Commonwealth, in the hands of their own assembled representatives, for the needful support, and thereby for the salutary control, of the whole official administration. During those ten years, as will have appeared from our narrative, they had addressed the King, the Parliament, and the people of Great Britain in every tone of remonstrance, with arguments, warnings, and entreaties, and with every form of expostulation; after which they had tried the effect of refusing commercial intercourse. That they sometimes committed mistakes on their own part, and had often exaggerated their sense of independence, as English Ministers exaggerated the sentiment of Imperial dominion, offers but slight excuse for the tyranny and greed of the latter.

It now seemed to be the conviction of a daring and enthusiastic party in Massachusetts, led by Samuel Adams, that the time had come for achieving the conquest of a complete and secure independence for those long harassed and threatened communities of English freemen. "It is a people," said he to his friends, "who of all the people on earth most deserve to be free." At first he stood almost alone; he had reflected a twelvemonth, in silence, on "the arduous task it would be to awaken a sufficient number in the colonies to so grand an undertaking." This momentous and irretrievable step was vaguely hinted as "the Last Appeal," in the earnest conferences and frequent writings of the Massachusetts leaders, from the day when Boston city was overawed by the guns of a fleet permanently stationed in that port. It was a phrase readily understood and accepted by the popular mind in every little town and village, every hamlet, farm, and homestead of that brisk New England province: all men began to think and talk gravely enough of "the Last Appeal." To organise the means and the mode of action, while pointing out this bold course, was Samuel Adams's particular care. The plan he devised was that of corresponding committees in all the townships—each to answer for its own townsfolk, all to rally around the Boston Committee. When he first mentioned it to his city colleagues, they blamed his rashness, and excused themselves from serving on the Committee. Hancock, Cushing, Phillips, and two or three more, declined to stand with him. He turned from Boston merchants and lawyers to the fishermen and husbandmen of other places, where he was met with good promise of support. The names also of Elbridge Gerry, of Marblehead, and James Warren, of Plymouth, are on record as the earliest who joined with Adams in preparing for "the Last Appeal." The citizens of Boston, however were to be invited at a regular town meeting, legally convened by their "selectmen," to appoint a standing committee, but for what purpose might yet be a question. A memorial signed by a hundred householders requested that such a meeting should be called, nominally upon the occasion of the recent order converting the judges into stipendiaries of the Crown. At this meeting, held on the 28th of October, speeches were made about forming "an independent American Commonwealth," unless the King of Great Britain would restore their liberties whole and entire; but a deputation was merely sent to the Governor with resolutions against the payment of official salaries by Royal warrant. The meeting adjourned to November 2nd, when they received the Governor's answer to an address for convening the General Assembly; upon which matter he refused to listen to them. A resolution was then passed, affirming their right to petition or address, "and to communicate their sentiments to other towns." This was followed up by Samuel Adams with a proposal for the appointment of a "Committee of Correspondence," to communicate with the other towns of Massachusetts concerning the violations of their rights. The committee was formed, and its most active members were Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and William Cooper, the clerk or secretary. It set to work first on a report recapitulating all the wrongs of America, "to justify whatever measures have been or may be taken to obtain redress." The report, which contained such matters as have become sufficiently familiar to readers of this History, was presented to another town meeting on the 20th of November, with a general declaration of abstract rights;—the right of defending life, liberty, and property; and the right of a people, for the sake of defending these, to change their political allegiance in case of intolerable oppression, and to preserve, rescue, or recover their security, if need were, "sword in hand." This was coming very near "the Last Appeal," and the circulation of such a manifesto through all the rural towns and villages was sure to breed a heightened strain of declamation in their numerous published replies, vieing with one another to utter the loudest professions of a free spirit. A great many of their responsive addresses to the Boston Committee are quoted by Mr. Bancroft: those from Plymouth and Marblehead, Roxbury, Cambridge, and Charleston, near Boston; from Ipswich, Gloucester, Pembroke, Salisbury, Chatham, Leicester, Marlborough, Petersham, and other places with true English names.* There were in all more than eighty local committees in Massachusetts, to act in correspondence with the Boston Committee. In this manner, as Mr. Bancroft remarks, speaking of his revolutionary hero, Samuel Adams, the overruling will of that "masterly statesman" contrived to organise a province. It remained for the other provinces to construct, each within its own limits, a similar machine of political concussion, and for Boston to await the first opportunity of giving the shock which was to be felt throughout English America. The opportunity was soon to be afforded by the unrelenting hostility of the British Government to the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly and the city of Boston.

Governor Hutchinson was reputed a very astute and crafty person. He was intimately acquainted with the temper of his fellow-citizens; yet he could not keep quiet just at that moment, and let the explosive apparatus of that "great incendiary, Samuel Adams," waste its forces by imperceptible degrees. In January, 1773, at the opening of the session, with no particular occasion upon the ground of actual legislative business, he gratuitously invited the Assembly to a controversial discussion upon the supremacy of the British Parliament. He would scarcely have risked this paltry exhibition of doctrinal pedantry, if he had been aware that the opposition leaders were then in possession of his secret letters to London. The proposition he laid down was this:—"It is impossible there should be two independent Legislatures in one and the same State; therefore, no line can be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the colonies." Nothing could be more opportune for the purpose of Samuel Adams, to whom the House of Representatives entrusted the framing of their reply. "It is difficult," was their answer, "perhaps impossible, to draw a line of distinction between the universal authority of Parliament in the colonies, and no authority at all. If there be no such line, then either the colonies are vassals of the Parliament, or they are totally independent." They were, by their charters, made distinct States from the mother country; as distinct, with their separate legislative bodies, as the kingdoms of England and Scotland before the Union. "And if they interfere not with each other," said the House, "what hinders but that, being united in one head and sovereign, they may live happily in that connection, and mutually support and protect each other?" That which alone had marred and broken the union, was the legislative usurpation of the British Parliament. Hutchinson sought to traverse this argument, by alleging that the colony was a feudal dependency of the King of England; but he was answered that this feudal tenure, out of the realm of England, would not make it subject to an English Parliamentary jurisdiction. At last he told them that "the English nation was roused, and would not be withstood; and the Parliament would, by some means or other, maintain its supremacy." This was descending from the lofty platform of constitutional doctrine to the bare fighting-ground of compulsory menaces; and the authority of Hutchinson was lost. The argument was ingenious on both sides; yet neither seems to have understood very clearly the real position of the colonies towards the mother country.

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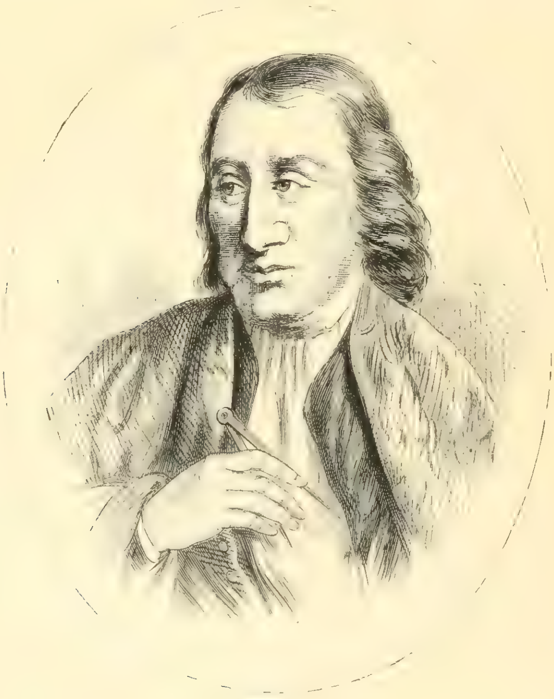
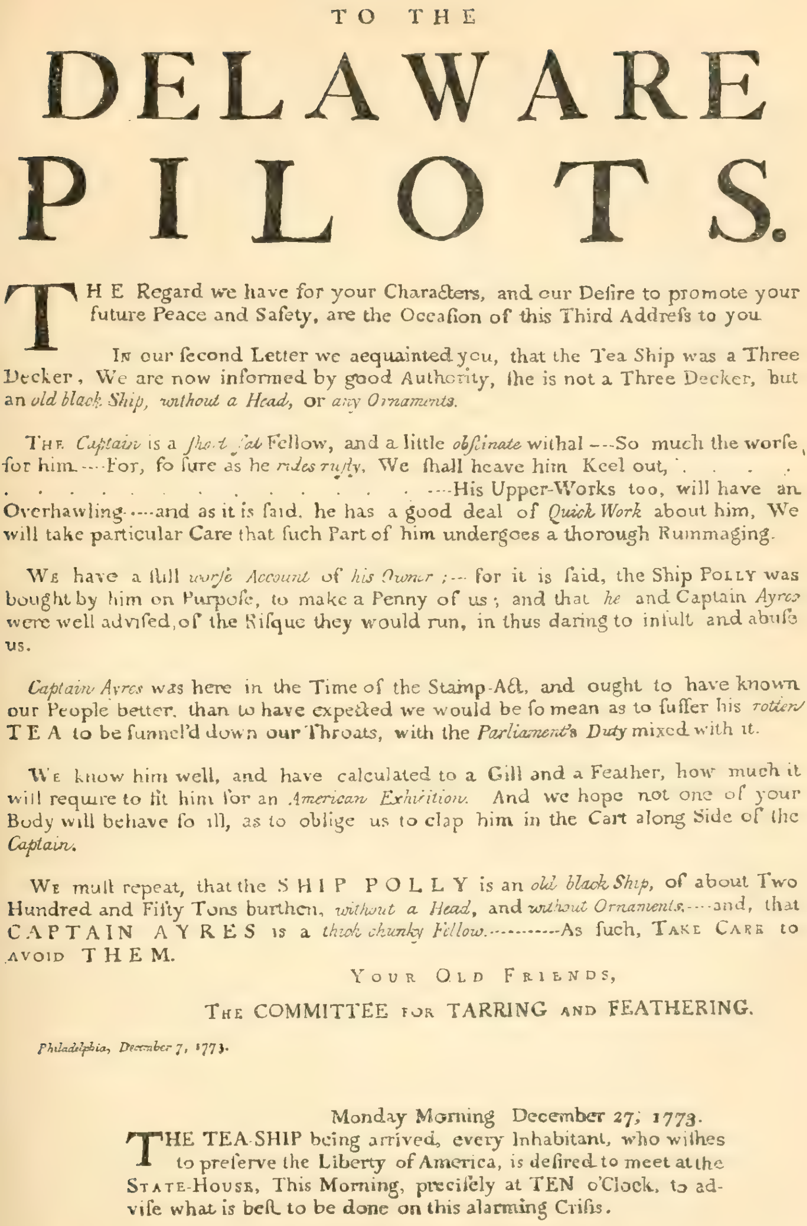
* From New Salem: "Divine Providence and the necessity of things may call upon us and all the colonies to make our Last Appeal." From Marlborough: "Death is more eligible than slavery. A freeborn people are not required by the religion of Jesus Christ to submit to tyranny, but may make use of such power as God has given them to recover and support their laws and liberties." From Roxbury: "Our pious forefathers died with the pleasing hope that we their children should live free. Let none, as they will answer it another day, disturb the ashes of those heroes by selling their birthright." From Chatham: "We esteem our civil and religious principles to be the sweetest and essential part of our lives, without which the remainder is scarcely worth preserving." From Leicester, Spencer, and Paxton: "We prize our liberties so highly that we think it our duty to risk our lives and fortunes in defence thereof." From Pembroke: "If the measures so justly complained of be persisted in, they must, they will, in a short time issue in the total dissolution of the union between the mother country and the colonies." Some addresses referred to particular grievances; thus, from South Hadley: "Prohibiting slitting-mills is similar to the Philistines prohibiting smiths in Israel, and shows we are esteemed by our brethren as vassals." From Acton: "We must have a final period put to that most cruel, inhuman, and un-Christian practice, the slave-trade." Some fearlessly looked at the chance of their defeat by the fleets and armies of Great Britain. "And should we not be able to withstand, we are determined to retire, and seek repose among the inland aboriginal natives, with whom we doubt not but to find more humanity and brotherly love than we have lately received from our mother country." To this, Boston replied: "We join with the town of Petersham in preferring a life among the savages to the most splendid condition of slavery; but Heaven will bless the united efforts of a brave people."

Among the ardent politicians of the other provinces, some notice was taken of this controversy in the Massachusetts Assembly, which supported and confirmed the case of the colonies, in their claim to substantial and indefeasible legislative independence. The men of Virginia, who have always been characterised by a singular aptitude for such discussions, at once took up the subject of controversy. Their Assembly, in a committee of the whole House on the state of public affairs, debated and approved the Massachusetts proposition; after which measures were concerted to prepare for their maintenance by the joint action of the provinces. Dabney Carr, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry, with Thomas Jefferson and Bland, were the leading speakers and contrivers. They organised a system of corresponding committees, as the Boston


SAMUEL ADAMS.



TO THE

DELAWARE PILOTS.

THE Regard we have for your Characters, and our Deſire to promote your future Peace and Safety, are the Occaſion of this Third Addreſs to you.

In our ſecond Letter we acquainted you, that the Tea Ship was a Three Decker, We are now informed by good Authority, ſhe is not a Three Decker, but an *old black Ship, without a Head,* or *any Ornaments.*

The *Captain* is a *ſhort fat* Fellow, and a little *obſtinate* withal ---So much the worſe for him.----For, ſo ſure as he *rides ruſty*, We ſhall heave him Keel out, ... ----His Upper-Works too, will have an Overhawling.----and as it is ſaid, he has a good deal of *Quick Work* about him, We will take particular Care that ſuch Part of him undergoes a thorough Rummaging.

We have a ſtill *worſe Account of his Owner* ;--- for it is ſaid, the Ship Polly was bought by him on Purpoſe, to make a Penny of us ; and that *he* and Captain *Ayres* were well adviſed, of the Riſque they would run, in thus daring to inſult and abuſe us.

Captain Ayres was here in the Time of the Stamp-Act, and ought to have known our People better, than to have expected we would be ſo mean as to ſuffer his *rotten* TEA to be funnel'd down our Throats, with the *Parliament's Duty* mixed with it.

We know him well, and have calculated to a Gill and a Feather, how much it will require to fit him for an *American Exhibition.* And we hope not one of your Body will behave ſo ill, as to oblige us to clap him in the Cart along Side of the *Captain.*

We muſt repeat, that the SHIP POLLY is an *old black Ship,* of about Two Hundred and Fifty Tons burthen, *without a Head,* and *without Ornaments.*----and, that CAPTAIN AYRES is a *thick chunky Fellow.*----------As ſuch, Take Care to avoid THEM.

Your Old Friends,

The COMMITTEE for TARRING and FEATHERING.

Philadelphia, December 7, 1773.

Monday Morning December 27, 1773.

THE TEA-SHIP being arrived, every Inhabitant, who wiſhes to preſerve the Liberty of America, is deſired to meet at the State-House, This Morning, preciſely at TEN o'Clock, to adviſe what is beſt to be done on this alarming Criſis.

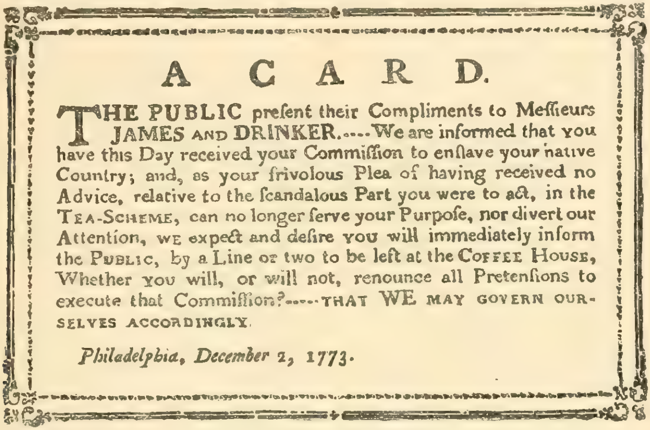
FAC-SIMILE OF THE PROCLAMATION ABOUT THE TEA-SHIP.

men had done, and sent messages to Pennsylvania and the neighbouring provinces, which soon followed the example: Rhode Island first among them. Though every province had not a Samuel Adams, that summer of 1773 beheld a general mustering and knitting together of popular forces in New England and the Middle States, as we may now call them, in readiness for "the Last Appeal." The classical scholars of that day compared their incipient confederation to that of the Greek Amphictyonic Council. They were impatient for a Continental Congress.

This movement of popular opinion was quickened in June by the publication of Hutchinson's correspondence. It showed, together with the recent proposal to take away the charter of Rhode Island, how some partisans of British dominion aimed at the eventual suppression of efficient institutions of self-government in the colonies, to which end the schemes of taxation were but the financial and administrative means of approach. The embarrassment and confusion of the old Governor at Boston, when his letters were read aloud to the House of Representatives, may well be imagined. He could offer no defence or apology to his indignant fellow-countrymen, and sought only to retire, begging his patrons in England to give him Franklin's office of Deputy Postmaster-General. The Assembly was not so vindictive as would have suited the temper of some New Englanders, who nourished a Spartan or Puritanic severity as the most precious of Christian graces. Hutchinson was a man of whose literary talents and accomplishments, devoted to the history of Massachusetts, they might well have been proud, but for the despotic tendency of his political behaviour. They could do no less, however, than petition the King to remove both him and Andrew Oliver. This petition, transmitted to England, and committed for presentation to Franklin, as the accredited agent of the Assembly, came before the Privy Council in January, 1774. At the full hearing of the case, on the 29th, Franklin was assisted by counsel, namely Dunning and John Lee; while Israel Mauduit, formerly concerned in the scheme of Grenville's Stamp Act, obtained for Hutchinson and Oliver the assistance of the sharp-tongued Alexander Wedderburn, then Solicitor-General, and afterwards Lord Loughborough, who assailed Franklin with violent terms of insult, accusing him of theft or fraud in procuring Hutchinson's letters, and of an intrigue to put himself in the Governor's place at Boston. The eminent practical philosopher, who was accompanied by Edmund Burke and Dr. Priestley, calmly stood by, and listened in silence to these reproaches. The Lords of the Council, exulting in Wedderburn's torrent of invective, resolved that the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly was "false, vexatious, and scandalous," like that of 1769 against Bernard, and that nothing could be said against the honour, integrity, or conduct of Hutchinson and Oliver. The King, on the 9th of February, was accordingly pleased to order that the petition be dismissed.

But it was destined—as, in social and political affairs, the greatest things are curiously linked with the smallest—that the final crisis of the American revolutionary movement should turn upon the threepenny tax on tea. Lord North, since he became Prime Minister, had avowed his willingness to repeal all the other articles of Charles Townshend's Revenue Acts of 1767; but he had promised King George to maintain this "one tax to keep up our right." The trade in tea from China was in those times, as it continued to be within our own recollection, a monopoly of the East India Company. That great mercantile corporation, which just then acquired immense political importance, had lost heavily by the closing of the American market. If any tea were now drunk in America, it was smuggled in by the Dutch, who knew their way to New York. The Company's London warehouses remained full of it, and their commercial revenue declined. A drawback of three-fifths of the import duty in England was, by former Acts, allowed to the Company on such tea as they might re-export to the colonies. Lord North was induced to offer the Company a further measure of relief; he therefore released from all taxation, in England, the tea which was to be sent to America, but he would keep on the duty of threepence a pound charged in American ports by the Act of 1767. The colonists might get their tea very cheap, at a price far less than people in England must pay, if they chose to acquiesce in the least conceivable burthen of Parliamentary taxation. On the 10th of May, 1773, this extremely moderate scheme of fiscal re-adjustment became law. The East India Company, in August, took out a licence from the Treasury for the duty-free exportation of their tea to America, disregarding the advice of persons who knew that the colonists would not receive it. Four ships laden with tea were presently crossing the Atlantic, bound respectively to the ports of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; one or two more followed. It would have been lucky for the British Empire, at least for its American dominion, had those four ships gone to the bottom of the sea.

They were still upon the voyage, when the colonists, who knew what was coming, prepared for their expected arrival. On the 18th of October at Philadelphia, and in the first week of November at Boston, meetings were held which resolved that the tea should be sent back to England unsold; and the consignees or mercantile agents of the East India Company in those ports were called upon to resign their appointments. The Boston consignees, amongst whom were Governor Hutchinson's two sons, Thomas and Elisha, met a deputation at the warehouse of Richard Clarke, and refused to comply with the popular demand. On the 5th and the 18th of that month, legal town meetings were held to consider this subject. The same course was taken at New York. All persuasion failed to move the Boston consignees; the select men and city authorities could do no more. The matter was left to the committees of correspondence, who were ready to use force where reason was not heard. Those of Boston and the adjacent townships—Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, and Charleston—speedily arranged their plan; a band of young men, disguised as Indians, and called "the Mohawks," was hastily formed, and placed under a confidential leader. On Sunday, the 28th, they saw the Boston ship *Dartmouth*, owned by their Quaker townsman Francis Rotch, entering their harbour from England; they knew, from information they had got ten days before, that a hundred and fourteen chests of tea lay in this vessel. It was the Sabbath, and no cargo might be unladen that day; but the Committee sought Francis Rotch, and obtained his promise not to enter the arrival of his vessel before Tuesday. Meanwhile, they also sought the consignees, who had shut themselves up in the castle to avoid importunity and possible rough treatment.



A CARD.

THE PUBLIC preſent their Compliments to Meſſieurs **JAMES AND DRINKER.**----We are informed that YOU have this Day received your Commiſſion to enſlave your native Country; and, as your frivolous Plea of having received no Advice, relative to the ſcandalous Part you were to act, in the TEA-SCHEME, can no longer ſerve your Purpoſe, nor divert our Attention, WE expect and deſire YOU will immediately inform the PUBLIC, by a Line or two to be left at the COFFEE HOUSE, Whether YOU will, or will not, renounce all Pretenſions to execute that Commiſſion?----THAT WE MAY GOVERN OURSELVES ACCORDINGLY.

Philadelphia, December 2, 1773.

A "CARD" FROM "THE PUBLIC."

The select-men of the municipality would have supported the popular committee in using their moral influence with the consignees that the tea might be sent back. A great meeting was held on the Monday, at the Old South Church, by adjournment from Faneuil Hall. It is reckoned that five thousand persons were gathered in and around the building. The chair was occupied by Jonathan Williams as "moderator;" the resolutions were moved by Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Molineux, Young, and Joseph Warren. It was agreed that, come what would, the tea should not be landed or the duty paid; whoever attempted it would be a public enemy. A guard of twenty-five volunteers, under Edward Proctor, armed with muskets and bayonets, was set to watch the vessel at the wharf by day and night. The other seaport towns along that coast were notified of the matter; six horsemen were kept ready to gallop off, and give the alarm from Boston. But Rotch, the owner, and Captain Hall, the master of the *Dartmouth*, gave their word that she should go back without landing the tea, and within twenty days. This was the utmost time that could be allowed; for any ship remaining longer in the port, without a clearance by the Customs' officers, would be liable to seizure, when the tea would be landed at the castle, and Governor Hutchinson would get it. Hutchinson asked the Provincial Council to take charge of it, which they refused to do, alleging that the tax levied on it was contrary to the laws of the province. As the days ran on, all the Massachusetts and other New England towns sent messages of encouragement to Boston. "We trust in God," said the men of Lexington, "we shall be ready to sacrifice our estates and lives to the common cause;" and so they all said or meant, looking sternly forward to the Last Appeal. For Admiral Montagu stationed two ships of war to guard the passage out of Boston harbour, which was commanded also by the guns of Castle William. Day after day, at the bidding of the Committee, Rotch and Hall went to the Custom-house, and asked for a clearance and pass, that they might remove the *Dartmouth* out of the harbour, with a regular permit from the Governor. But the Comptroller and Collector of Customs, acting in concert with Hutchinson, still refused a clearance unless the tea were first landed.

It was the last day, Thursday, the 16th of December: ship and cargo would fall into the hands of Government, and the tea would be landed and paid for in spite of the people, if it remained where it was twenty-four hours longer. The Old South Meeting-house, at ten o'clock in the morning, was crowded with anxious but resolute citizens, while thousands more from the country, as the day wore on in hours of earnest talk or waiting silence, thronged the surrounding space. Rotch was once more summoned, and was sent to the Customs' collector, as before, to demand an official clearance. It was again denied, and he was bidden to make a formal protest, and to ask the Governor for a permit or pass out of the port. The Governor had stolen away to his house in the country: Rotch was sent after him, while the people waited. It was six o'clock in the evening, and darkness had fallen on Boston, when the Quaker came back, and told them, in that dimly-lighted old chapel, that the Governor had refused to grant a permit for his vessel. Upon that announcement, which all had fully expected, Samuel Adams rose, and said, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country."

The utterance of those words was a concerted signal; the response was an Indian war-whoop yelled from the porch outside. The band of Mohawks, not above fifty, passed rapidly from the "Old South" down to Griffin's Wharf, where the *Dartmouth* lay with two other vessels, likewise containing some tea, which had lately arrived. Under the personal direction of Adams, Hancock, and other influential citizens, the wharf and its approaches were occupied by a trusty guard; the ships were then boarded and unladen, three hundred and forty tea-chests were got out and broken open, and the whole quantity of tea was thrown overboard into the water alongside. Nothing else was damaged or taken away. Three hours passed in this work, after which the multitude quietly dispersed, and went every man to his home. It has been called, with a characteristic touch of humour, "the Boston tea-party." The incident had been provoked by the persistent folly of the English Government; but in the triumph of a mob there is always something regrettable and of evil omen.

Express messages to other towns, one riding on to New York and Philadelphia, spread the stirring news of what Boston had done that night. The tea-ship for South Carolina had reached Charleston a fortnight before; the consignees there had been persuaded to disown its cargo, which was presently seized by the revenue officers; but no dealer or purchaser would touch it, and it was left to be spoiled in the cellars where it lay. The Pennsylvanians were still more alert; they met their tea-ship in the Delaware, a few miles below Philadelphia, talked over the consignee and the captain, and got the vessel taken directly back to London. The vessel destined for New York was driven northward by adverse winds, and put in at a New England port, where its cargo was not allowed to be landed. Such was the conclusion of a vexatious and ill-advised attempt.

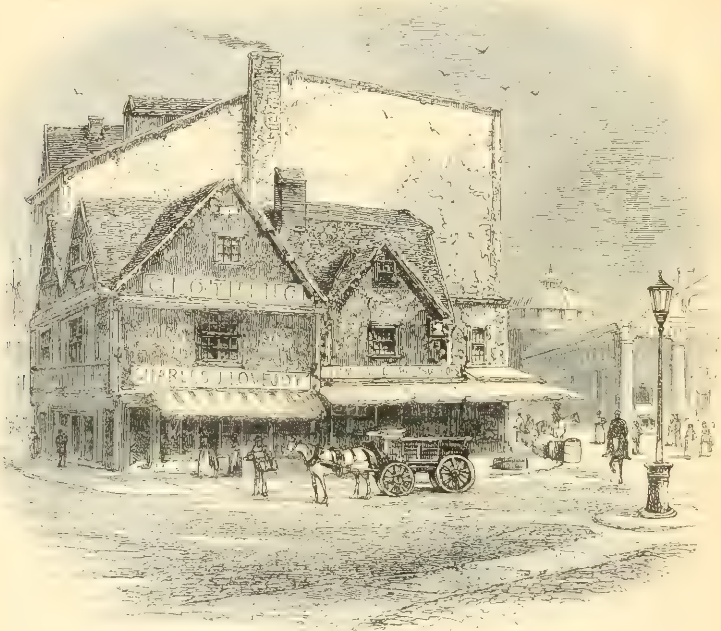
CHAPTER X.

News of the "Boston Tea Party" received in England—Storm of Indignation—Interview of General Gage with the King—Exaggerated Popular Rumours—Tarring and Feathering—Measures of the Ministry—The Boston Port Bill—Refusal to hear the Agent for Massachusetts, or to receive Petitions against the Bill—The Massachusetts Government Regulation Bill—Abolition of the old Chartered Constitution—Third Government Measure, to remove the Trial of Soldiers and others charged with Murder in America—Colonel Barré's Speech against it—Renewed Debates on the Massachusetts Government Bill—Advice of Ex-Governors Pownall and Johnstone—Rose Fuller's Motion, April 19th, to Repeal the Tea Duty—Burke's great Speech on the Policy of the past Ten Years—Expectant Attitude of Boston—Return of Gage, as the new Governor, and Departure of Hutchinson—Reception of the Boston Port Act—Temper of the Town—Encouragement from Rhode Island, from New York and Philadelphia, from Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia, and the Carolinas—The Conservatives of the Middle Provinces—The Virginians appoint a Day of Public Prayer—Germ of the American Union—Blockade of Boston Harbour, June 1st—Distress of the Working-class Population—News of the Massachusetts Government Bill—Indecision of General Gage—Delay in executing the Government Measures—Committee of Correspondence at Faneuil Hall—Solemn League and Covenant—Non-importation Agreement—Arrangements for a Continental Congress—Town Meetings, June 17th—Troops and Artillery on Boston Common—The Castle Batteries and the Fleet—Mistakes of Gage—Salem and Marblehead—Relief Committees for the distressed Boston Poor—George Washington in Virginia—Gifts of Money and Food—The House of Representatives at Salem—Appointment of the September General Congress.

The news of "the Boston tea-party" reached England on the 27th of January, 1774, and provoked a storm of anger not only in the minds of political adherents of the Ministry, but likewise among those connected with the mercantile and manufacturing interests. These had suffered heavy losses from the stoppage of trade with America, and they were now persuaded that it was entirely the fault of a lawless and seditious faction in "the colony of Massachusetts Bay." The commercial importance and Parliamentary influence of the East India Company swelled the outcry of indignation against the outrage of destroying its property by the hands of a town mob. Many even of the Whig party, led by Lord Rockingham—as, in repealing Grenville's Stamp Duty, they had formally asserted, by a Declaratory Act, the abstract right of Parliament to rule the colonies—were disposed to resent the conduct of Boston in its rejection of the least onerous example of an import duty. The Tories, the High Churchmen, and the courtiers,—the aristocracy, the office-holders, and the trading classes,—were for once unanimous in calling for measures of coercion and punishment. The sentiment of national pride was deeply wounded; but no person, upon this occasion, felt more severe displeasure than King George himself. His letters to Lord North prove the keen and bitter determination with which he pushed forward the action now taken by his Government with regard to the offending city and province; and indeed it is not surprising that so violent a defiance of authority should have provoked a desire to retaliate. His Majesty conferred in private with General Gage, who arrived from America on the 4th of February, upon the means by which the rebellious colonists should be reduced to submission.

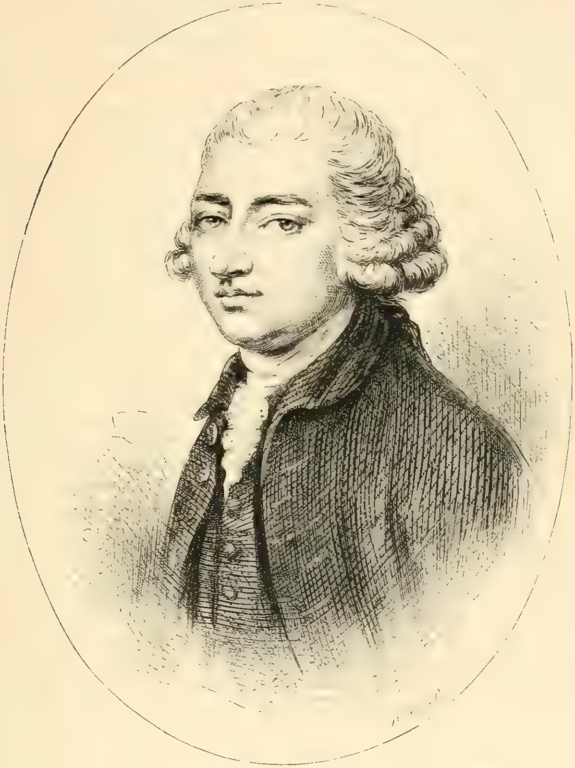
The legislative measures for this purpose were introduced by Lord North into the House of Commons, sitting in Committee upon a paragraph of the King's Speech by which the matter was referred to their consideration. They were discussed by the two Houses in repeated debates upon successive stages of the several Bills proposed by the Ministry, during the months of March, April, and May. No effectual opposition could be hoped for in the prevailing excitement of temper against America, which was industriously fomented by newspaper writers and pamphleteers serving the Government party. The wildest exaggerations were current with reference to the outrages said to have been perpetrated at Boston; and great horror was not unnaturally felt at the barbarity of the practice, now first heard of in Europe, called "tarring and feathering," which sort of personal maltreatment had really been applied to a Customs' officer named Malcolm by some of the rabble on the Boston quays. It was asserted that the colonists had unanimously agreed to "tar and feather" everybody connected with the King's Government, from Governor Hutchinson downwards. Measures of coercion, therefore, were decidedly in accordance with the public disposition at that time. Those which Lord North's Ministry proposed and carried with great facility were—1st, the Boston Port Bill, to shut up the whole trade of that port, with an entire prohibition of landing and discharging, or loading and shipping, any goods, wares, or merchandise there, not excepting the coast-trade; 2nd, a Bill to alter the Government and constitution of Massachusetts; 3rd, a Bill to provide for the trial in England, not in the colony, of soldiers or any other persons charged with acts of bloodshed done in support of British authority; 4th, a Bill for the quartering of troops upon the towns of Massachusetts; 5th, a Bill establishing a new and strong Government in Quebec, or Lower Canada, with great concessions of privileges to the Roman Catholic population, and with an extension of the Canadian jurisdiction to the Ohio and the Mississippi, at the back of the New England provinces.

It was on the 14th of March that Lord North brought in the Boston Port Bill, without at once explaining the nature of the other measures to follow it. Some friends of America, even Colonel Barré, were deceived by this reticence, and by the presentation of the scheme as though it were rather to save the Customs' officers and the property of English merchants from injury, that the trade was to be removed to Marblehead, near Salem, about seventeen miles from Boston. Under this impression, Colonel Barré at first sight applauded the Boston Port Bill for its unexpected moderation, though he soon afterwards declared that "it contained many things cruel, unwarrantable, and unjust." It was calculated, indeed, to inflict upon that city of 30,000 people a terrible amount of distress. Mr. Dowdeswell, a leader of the independent Liberal party, declared at the outset that he considered the Bill very wrong, unjust, and mischievous; for it was punishing the innocent with the guilty, condemning them all unheard, and ruining the whole town of Boston for the acts of a certain number. Alderman Sawbridge and Lord George Cavendish also expressed their disapproval; but the Prime Minister insisted that it was needful to punish Boston as the "ringleader" of all the turbulent and outrageous proceedings in America, and to show the world that "the Parliament of Great Britain would protect the property of British subjects." There was to be a clause in the Bill expressly providing that the liberty of shipping and landing goods at Boston should never be restored till compensation should have been paid to the East India Company for the loss of the tea, which was valued by some persons at £15,000. But it was not expressly contemplated by the Bill that the port should be entitled to this restoration upon the payment of such compensation; it would still be left to the mercy of the Crown. Upon this ground, when the Bill was brought in on the 23rd, objections were raised by Rose Fuller, Charles James Fox, and several other members; while Mr. Byng said he thought it would inflict more damage upon English commerce than upon the unruly colonists, and General Conway deplored the continuance of strife



OLD BUILDING AT BOSTON WHERE THE TEA-PLOT IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN HATCHED.

between the two countries. But Lord North was imperturbable, though professing his own inclination to lenity ; he believed the mere presence of four or five frigates in the harbour would suffice for the execution of this measure, without the employment of a military force. The Ministerial party, represented by Jenkinson, Gascoigne, Montagu, and Stanley, talked in a confident and haughty strain of reducing Boston to speedy submission. One member, whose name is not worth preserving from obscurity, quoted the proverb of vengeance, *Delenda est Carthago,* and hoped that nest of hornets would be "destroyed" if it did not submit. He said again, some days later, that he would "knock their town about their ears," and then would burn their woods, "as was done of old in the time of the Ancient Britons," to deprive them of shelter. But the "Parliamentary History," which records these gentle speeches, does not say whether the honourable gentleman was sober.



EDMUND BURKE.
(From a Miniature by Sir Joshua Reynolds.)

The House of Commons refused to entertain the petitions of certain Americans residing in London against this and other measures of penal infliction : and the application of Mr. William Bollan, agent for the Massachusetts Assembly, that he might be heard on behalf of that province, and of the city of Boston, was equally refused. This course aroused the indignation of Dowdeswell and of Edmund Burke at the passing of the Boston Port Bill on the 25th of March. Nothing that had ever happened in his time, Burke said, had given him more heartfelt sorrow than the policy they were then adopting, which was most dangerous and even ruinous to the Empire. They could never have ships and troops enough to enforce the wholesale proscription of an entire people. It would be far better to give up their teasing, irritating, profitless attempts at Parliamentary taxation of America. He abhorred every taxing proposal that was made, not for the sake of revenue, but for a political quarrel. There were but two ways for Great Britain to take with the colonies: either to govern them entirely, and make them obey her laws; or else to let them govern themselves in all their internal affairs. But he spoke to those who heeded not. The Boston Port Bill went through the Lower House without a division, as it likewise did through the House of Lords.

Three days afterwards, on the 28th, Lord North produced his second measure, concocted by Thurlow and Wedderburn, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, probably with the assistance of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield. It was called "A Bill for Regulating the Government of Massachusetts Bay." The constitution which that province had enjoyed since the reign of William III. was to be radically subverted. An elective Assembly would indeed remain, but merely to receive and pass the edicts of a Royal Governor with a nominee Council. The whole executive and judicial establishment, including the appointment of sheriffs and the selection of jurymen by those officers, would be dependent on the Crown or the Governor, the judges keeping their seats on the Bench during the King's pleasure. The town meetings, hitherto free and instrumental for many public affairs, were never to be held without the Governor's special permission, and only for the choice of municipal officers, or for particular business expressly sanctioned by him. The Bill, as originally framed, was in some respects less stringent; but Lord George Germaine's suggestions for greater changes in the old constitution were adopted by Lord North, when it was again presented to the House on the 15th of April. Mr. Dowdeswell condemned it the more earnestly, as being now rendered a worse measure than before. The Americans, he said, had flourished eighty years under their old chartered Government, which was well adapted to the spirit of a free people; and it ought not to be taken away from them. He alluded to the common metaphors, which spoke of the colonies as "disobedient children," and of England as the "mother country," or "parent state." In domestic life, he had often seen the disobedience of children occasioned by the petulant obstinacy of their parents, the latter struggling to obtain a ridiculous superiority of will, in a very bad spirit. "I hate that foolish contention," said he, "of 'You shall' and 'I won't' between parent and child." Pownall, the ex-Governor of Massachusetts, was scarcely heard by the contemptuous House, while he gave information, which few men in England possessed, regarding the municipal institutions of that province, the "select-men" of its towns, the election of jurors, and the needful business for town meetings, which could not, without extreme inconvenience, be deferred for the Governor's previous sanction. The Bill was read a first time, and was followed on the same day by a third Bill, "for the more impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts." This was a plausible title, but the sole intention and effect was to provide that, in the case of persons charged with murder or other crime for acts done by them in suppressing riots or tumults, or enforcing the execution of the laws in that province, their trial should be removed to some other colony (Nova Scotia was intended), or to Great Britain. In bringing forward this measure, Lord North stated that the military forces at Boston would now be strengthened by sending four fresh regiments, and that Hutchinson was to be superseded by General Gage, who would immediately go out again with the full powers of Governor as well as Commander-in-Chief. His lordship added that prosecutions had been ordered against the individuals at Boston who were ringleaders in the late violent and outrageous acts committed in that town and seaport.

This third Bill for the correction of the disaffected colonists excited more vehement opposition in Parliament than either of the two preceding. Colonel Barré was the foremost to complain that the Boston Port Bill had been followed by other measures of an unprecedented character, for which there was no sort of justification. It was now proposed to stigmatise a whole people as men incapable of doing ordinary justice in a criminal trial. This imputation was quite unwarranted by proof of any delay, denial, or perversion of justice in America. Not a single instance could be shown of a soldier or officer of Government having been unfairly prosecuted or unfairly tried. On the contrary, there was the case of Captain Preston and his soldiers, who shed the blood of the people at Boston: they were tried for murder by an American jury, by a New England jury, by a Boston jury; and they were acquitted. Captain Preston had himself declared that the leading inhabitants of that town were his advocates and defenders. Was this Bill a fit return for their behaving with such justice and moderation? Was it befitting the character and place of a Prime Minister to bring this forward with such declamation about the "insults" which Great Britain had endured in the colonies? Had not the Government, for many years past, been treating them with a series of irritating and offensive measures? Had not its troops and its ships made a vain and insulting parade of their forces in the streets and harbours? It had seemed to be the study of Ministers, if they had any policy or principle, to irritate and inflame the minds of the American people. They had stimulated discontent into disaffection, which they were now goading on to rebellion. The present measure, as part of that system, was big with oppression and misery to that country, and with danger to this realm. He looked to its immediate consequences as a soldier, knowing what soldiers were. If they were to be sent among a people whom they were told to look upon as rebels, and to feel themselves not liable to the civil jurisdiction of the country, their passions would break out in behaviour most pernicious to the peace of society. There was no evidence as yet of treason or rebellion in America; but this was the way to provoke it. Instead of sending an olive-branch to their colonial fellow-subjects, it was sending them a naked sword.

This impressive protest from Colonel Barré was supported by Captain Phipps, Mr. Thomas Townshend, and General Conway; but Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, the Marquis of Carmarthen, and others on the Ministerial side, made light of the warnings, and the Bill was presently read a first time. Its second reading was on the 25th; that for altering the Constitution of Massachusetts was read a second time on the 22nd; and the third readings took place, respectively, on the 2nd and 6th of May. The majority for Ministers, in the most important division, was 239 against 64. The speeches of Sir George Saville, General Conway, and others already named, against these measures, were not reported in the public papers, or they might have had a beneficial effect. Governor Johnstone and Governor Pownall, both from America, seem to have cautioned the House not to proceed so hastily, in their utter ignorance of the actual institutions of the American provinces. The existing Massachusetts charter was never laid before them, and the provincial agent was never allowed to appear at their bar, or to be examined by a Committee of Inquiry. Alderman Sawbridge plainly accused the Government of an intention to enslave America. Mr. Pownall told them of the preparations for united resistance, by the committees of correspondence, which were now spreading over all the provinces. Those committees, he said, would soon meet in a general Congress, and what might be the result of that Congress he did not care to predict. But all these considerations were disregarded. The Massachusetts Government Bill and the Administration of Justice Bill went up to the House of Lords, where they encountered some opposition, and a formal protest signed by the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Rockingham, and a dozen other peers; but they became law before the end of May.

In the meantime, on the 19th of April, one grand effort was made in Parliament to convert those in power to a more just and liberal policy, or else to convict them of an obstinate persistence in wrongful courses. Mr. Rose Fuller moved for the total repeal of the Tea Duty Act, to which he and the other opponents of Lord North's measures of coercion and chastisement had already pointed, as the indispensable means of conciliation. In seconding this motion, Mr. Pennant condemned the tea-duty imposed by a British Legislature in American ports, as violating that constitutional principle, always held sacred, which secured to Englishmen the power of levying their own taxes. It was an Act as unconstitutional and arbitrary, he observed, as that of levying the ship-money in King Charles's time. Captain Phipps and Mr. Stephen Fox derided the absurdity of keeping up such a paltry impost, which neither yielded any revenue, nor served any object of mercantile policy. These speakers were answered by Mr. Cornwall, one of the Ministry; and he was followed by Edmund Burke, in a discourse which must be esteemed one of the noblest specimens of British Parliamentary eloquence. He began with a defence of the Rockingham Ministry against the blame of having, by their repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, encouraged the Americans to further agitation. It was not true, he declared, that the Americans then proceeded to insist upon the abolition of every former Act purporting to furnish a revenue from their country. Their opposition was aroused by the Act of 1767, which imposed fresh duties upon several articles in their ports, of which tea was but the last. The duties upon five-sixths of those articles had been repealed, Lord North being at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the tea-duty was still kept on,—and for what purpose? It would appear to be, to save the declaration in the preamble of the Act of 1767—"Whereas it is expedient that a revenue should be raised in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charges of government there," &c. Could this be supplied by the poor solitary tea-duty? It could not save the credit of that absurd, false, and vain recital. Never did a people suffer so much for the empty words of a preamble. This famous tea-duty would be known as the preambulary tax. It was indeed a tax of sophistry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of disputation, a tax perhaps of rebellion and civil war—a tax for anything except benefit to the Government or to the nation. Burke then took up Lord Hillsborough's unfortunate and insincere circular of May, 1769, to the colonial Governors, in which that Minister, writing on behalf of the King, denounced it as a "factious and seditious" artifice to say that the Government meant to impose any more taxes on the colonies. That Royal promise was exhibited by Lord Botetourt to the Virginia Legislature, and the noble lord said he would consent to be deemed infamous should he not do all he could for its secure observance. Let no one thenceforth, in the name of the Ministry, uphold the taxation of America; or he would, with that letter in his hand, denounce such a Ministerial partisan as a factious and seditious disturber of the mutual affection and confidence between his Majesty and that distant province of the Empire. They must now either abandon the scheme of taxing altogether, or they must send the Ministers "tarred and feathered" to America, for having dared to hold out the Royal faith that taxing for revenue should cease. The mischief and the dishonour of the present situation arose from their not keeping that Royal faith with the colonists. There was nothing frank, nothing simple, nothing ingenuous, open, decisive, or steady, no fair dealing in any part of what had been done, with regard either to the continuance or repeal of those taxes.

"Sir," continued Burke, "it is not a pleasant consideration; but nothing in the world can read us so awful and so instructive a lesson, as the conduct of the Ministry in this business, upon the mischief of not having large and liberal ideas in the management of great affairs. Never have these servants of the State looked at the whole of its complicated interests in one connected view. They have taken things by bits and scraps, some at one time, on one pretence, and some at another, just as they pressed, without any sort of regard to their relations or dependencies. They never had any kind of system, right or wrong, but only invented occasionally some miserable tale for the day, in order meanly to sneak out of a difficulty into which they had desperately plunged. They were put to all these shifts and devices, full of meanness and full of mischief, in order to pilfer piecemeal the repeal of an Act, which they had not the generous courage, when they found and felt their error, openly and fairly to disclaim."

He then narrated, in a comprehensive, yet precise description, the whole course of fiscal policy affecting the American colonies, from 1763, after the conclusion of the French war, to the time then passing. The characters of George Grenville and Charles Townshend were sketched with consummate skill, and with a generous recognition of their high abilities, while deploring their grave political errors. The motives of Lord Rockingham and his colleagues in the repeal of the Stamp Act, and in the accompanying Declaratory Act, were once more vindicated by Burke, as their faithful personal adherent.* The heterogeneous composition of the Grafton and Chatham Ministry, and the circumstances which enabled "that extraordinary genius, Charles Townshend," to do whatever he pleased during Pitt's retirement from affairs, were truthfully but not harshly displayed. "How we have fared since then, what a woful variety of schemes have been adopted, what enforcing and what repealing, what bullying and what submitting, what doing and undoing, what straining and what relaxing, what Assemblies dissolved for not obeying, and called again without obedience, what troops sent out to meet resistance, and on meeting that resistance recalled; what shifting and changing and jumbling of all kinds of men at home, which left no possibility of order, consistency, vigour, or even so much as a decent unity of colour in any one public measure—to relate all this would be a tedious, an irksome task."

He dwelt, however, upon the alarming embarrassment of the Ministry in the year before, with the threatened bankruptcy of the East India Company, which had ten million pounds of tea locked up in its warehouses, because it was deprived of the American market by the vexatious threepenny tax. It was by keeping open and encouraging the American trade, that our vast East Indian conquests were to be sustained; we should else be crushed by their enormous burthen. The Western provinces of the Empire, by their commercial intercourse, might thus aid in preserving its Eastern dominion; but the folly of this tea-tax would lose the benefit at once of the West and of the East. And then, by the Government measure of last year, when it sought to relieve the East India trade, this was done by keeping on the tea-duty in America, while that payable in England was remitted. The clear interest was neglected, the certain revenue was thrown away;

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* A passage of this speech has often been quoted, describing the manner in which General Conway, who had moved the repeal of the Stamp Act, was met at the doors of the House by crowds of people thronging to express their joy and gratitude: "and his face was as the face of an angel." It is very beautiful in style and feeling.

but that profitless threepenny duty was continued, as though on purpose to insult our colonies.

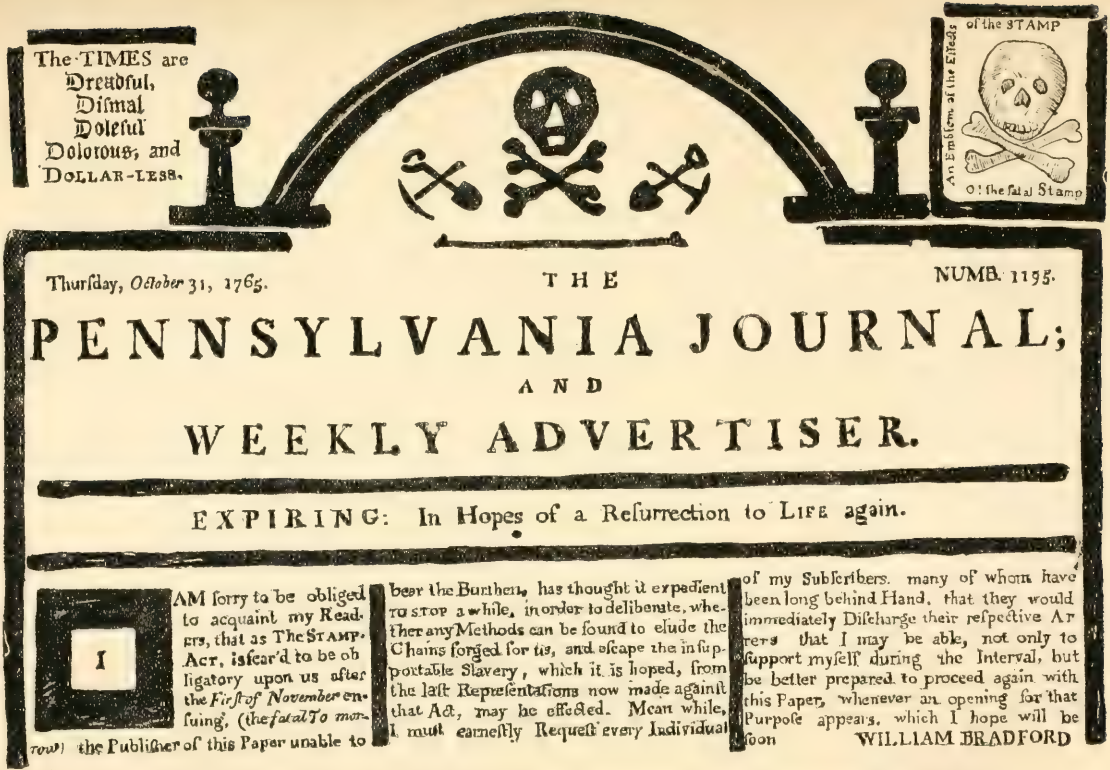
"No man ever doubted," he went on to say, "that the commodity of tea would bear an imposition of threepence. But no commodity will bear threepence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the colonies now are those which were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. They were the feelings of Mr. Hampden, when called upon for a payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half that money, upon the principle on which it was demanded, would have made him a slave. Well, but whatever it is, gentlemen say they will force the colonies to take these teas. You will force them? In seven years' struggle, have you been able yet to force them? But you say that your dignity is tied to it. I know not how it happens, but this dignity of yours is a terrible incumbrance to you; and of late it has ever been at war with your interest, your equity, and all good policy. Show the thing you contend for to be reason, to be common sense, to be useful means to any useful end; then I will allow it what dignity you please; but what is the dignity of persisting in an absurdity, I cannot discern. You say, the question does not stand where it did formerly. Oh no, certainly not. While you stay upon this ill-chosen ground, the difficulties thicken around you. Your disgrace, and the necessity of yielding, grow upon you day by day. But recover your old ground and your lost tranquillity; consult your past experience; consult the spirit of moderation, of practicability, of mutual convenience. Cease from this unhappy contest; seek peace and ensure it; leave America, if there be taxable matter in her, to tax herself. Leave the colonists as they anciently stood; they and we, their ancestors and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. Let the memory of all that has been done, on both sides, in contradiction to that good old mode, be extinguished for ever. Be content to bind them by laws of trade; you have always done it, and let that be your reason for doing it. Do not burthen them by taxes; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let that be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms."

This magnificent effort of debating power, some portions of which are here presented in a very abridged and condensed form, did not carry a large number of votes. After Burke, the House was addressed by Wedderburn, Charles James Fox, General Burgoyne, Lord Clare, and several other members; the debate concluding with Lord North. The motion to abolish the tea-duty was negatived by a majority of 182 against 49; so few were the members disposed to a policy of conciliation in the British House of Commons.

It is time again to see how Boston and the rest of America fared under impending doom. The passing of the Port Act was known on the 10th of May; it was to come into operation on the 1st of June. Governor and General Gage, with the civil and military authorities both united in his person, came with the Act of penal blockade. He landed on the 17th, amidst salutes of artillery from the fleet, the castle, and the batteries; he was received with tokens of respect, escorted by the militia cadets to the State House, and presented with an address of welcome from the Provincial Council, after which they entertained him with a public dinner in Faneuil Hall. But the Committees of Correspondence, led by Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and Thomas Gardener, of Cambridge, were discussing in those days how Boston should endure the cruel sentence of industrial stoppage, impoverishment, and probable hunger, imposed by the policy of the British Parliament. A town meeting was at once convened, and the Act for closing the port was read to assembled thousands of tradesmen, artisans, sailors, and labourers, whom it would deprive of their means of daily livelihood. They resolved to denounce it as repugnant to law, religion, humanity, and common sense; but, addressing the sister colonies, they nobly promised "to suffer for America with a becoming fortitude," while confessing that Boston, singly, might find this trial too severe, and entreating not to be left to struggle alone. The Massachusetts Assembly, in the ordinary course, made its annual choice of a Provincial Council, and Governor Gage rejected thirteen of the men chosen. He refused to allow the observance of a public fast, upon this occasion of a great public affliction, and suddenly prorogued the Assembly on the 28th, to meet again in ten days at Salem. Hutchinson, the ex-Governor, departed from America three days after this, not without some friendly addresses from those who were blind to his political misconduct, but who appreciated his merits as a judge in ordinary cases, his learning, and his civil behaviour. On his arrival in England, he was invited to long conversations with King George, and obtained the favour of a pension. His sons remained at Boston, one of them to be nominated to the new Provincial Council.

It was now to be seen whether the other colonial towns and provinces would give their fraternal aid to "the martyr city," and defend the ravished liberties of Massachusetts in this day of Imperial vengeance. New York was all but the first, Rhode Island being nearer at hand, to arise and speak the promise of support. Its popular committee, the members of which sometimes called themselves "Sons of Liberty," from Barré's speech, was now superseded, at a town meeting on the 16th of May, by a larger and more influential committee. This comprised some of the principal merchants and lawyers, a few of whom, Isaac Low and John Jay for example, were men of a Conservative disposition. There was a division of councils among the great body of New York citizens and neighbouring agriculturists or landholders, though all pretty well agreed to resist the acts of the British Government. One party was for again resorting, as the Boston Committee proposed, to a renewed commercial interdict throughout the whole of America; the other party, including most of the wealthy men of business, would rely upon a Congress of delegates, and their joint remonstrances, to change the mind of England—or to do what else might be found needful. The same question about the best means of practically supporting Massachusetts, was in agitation at Philadelphia, where a meeting was held on the 20th of May; and there John Dickinson, the able writer of those "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer" which had done good service to America some years before, was opposed to a fresh non-importation league. It was therefore recommended, by the prevailing opinion of the New York and Philadelphia committees, that a General Congress should be held, in the first instance to address the King with a formal Petition of Rights; and that to the Congress should be referred every question of the expediency of stopping their trade with England, or of applying other methods to obtain redress. Connecticut at once called for a Congress, requesting Massachusetts to appoint the time and place. The next province to be noticed is Maryland. The people of Baltimore and Annapolis had no faith in getting relief by petition or remonstrance. They wanted the Congress to do "something more sensible," and their committee of correspondence was to begin by summoning a provincial convention. But they advised the immediate exclusion of British trade, and of trade with the British West Indies. Their delegates to the Congress were actually chosen by the provincial convention some days before those of any other province, except Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The inhabitants of New Jersey also declared their willingness to be "fellow-sufferers with Boston in the cause of liberty." Those of South Carolina, in the resolutions and address which they now adopted, were of a mind that "all Americans should stand by one another, even unto death; the whole Continent must be animated by one soul." They regarded Boston as only "the first victim on the altar of tyranny." The members of the Virginia House of Burgesses, at Williamsburg, on the 24th of May, resolved upon inviting their fellow-citizens to keep the 1st of June, the day of shutting up the port of Boston, "as a day of fasting and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the dreadful calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of a civil war." These dignified Virginians, George Washington and other gentlemen of that province, were not less religious, in their way, than the Puritans of New England. They prayed that God would "give to the American people one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." But the invitation to join in this earnest prayer was arranged between the individual members, and was distributed by them through their respective constituencies, without a formal vote of the House. The Governor, Lord Dunmore, nevertheless thought fit to dissolve the House as soon as he heard of it; they instantly assembled at the Raleigh tavern, with their late Speaker, Peyton Randolph, in the chair, and passed their resolutions concerted beforehand. Washington and Jefferson, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Richard Henry Lee, took part in these proceedings. It was agreed that the Parliamentary acts of severity against Massachusetts were an invasion of the rights of all the American provinces, and should be resisted by all. A committee of correspondence was appointed for this special purpose; and on the 30th, at a second meeting of such members as were still in town, it was arranged that deputies should be elected, by all the counties, to a convention of the province on the 1st of August, since the legal Representative Assembly had been dissolved. They suggested, moreover, that there should henceforth be an annual American Congress of the Provinces. In this manner, the isolated case of Massachusetts, even before the full extent of the Government measures against that province was known, became a point of national interest throughout the Thirteen Colonies, which now cherished a proper national sentiment, and felt themselves ready to form one United Commonwealth.

The city of Boston was naturally much consoled for its painful situation on the 1st of June by these generous expressions of sympathy and pledges of national support. Yet its distress was not the


An Emblem of the Effects of the STAMP
O! the fatal Stamp

The TIMES are
Dreadful,
Diſmal
Doleſul
Dolorous, and
DOLLAR-LESS.

Thurſday, *October* 31, 1765.

NUMB. 1195.

THE

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL;

AND

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Reſurrection to LIFE again.

I AM ſorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The STAMP-ACT, is fear'd to be obligatory upon us after the *Firſt of November* enſuing, (the *fatal To morrow*) the Publiſher of this Paper unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient TO STOP a while, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and eſcape the inſupportable Slavery, which it is hoped, from the laſt Repreſentations now made againſt that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I muſt earneſtly Requeſt every Individual of my Subſcribers, many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Diſcharge their reſpective Arrears that I may be able, not only to ſupport myſelf during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpoſe appears, which I hope will be ſoon

WILLIAM BRADFORD

FAC-SIMILE OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL" ON THE STAMP ACT. (*From Smith's "American Historical and Literary Curiosities."*)

less real, and was but mitigated by an order from Government, allowing small vessels to bring victuals and fuel into the harbour, from various places along the coast, with a proviso for searching them at Marblehead, to prevent the introduction of other goods. Thirty thousand townsfolk, the busiest English industrial and mercantile community beyond the seas, were reduced to compulsory idleness; a multitude of sailors, shipwrights, coopers, packers, store-keepers, and porters, lounged sadly in the streets, on the quays and wharves, in the vacant building-yards and workshops, or sullenly looked forth upon the interdicted water on which they were forbidden to launch the smallest boat.* This was the state of things decreed by Parliament, and by George III., for the correction of political errors in the minds of Americans.

On the very next day after the shutting up of the port of Boston, came from London the news of the two other Acts of Parliament, by which all the chartered franchises and the old political constitution of Massachusetts were utterly destroyed; while the provincial judges and magistrates were deprived of their ordinary jurisdiction, so far as it should be needed to check any deeds of violence which the soldiery, or other Government servants and partisans, might afterwards perpetrate in the helpless city. The Acts were known to be in progress at Westminster, but they only obtained the Royal assent on the 20th of May. These were terrible blows at American civil liberty; and how to ward them off was a care even more urgent than to relieve the present distress of the Boston people. It was known, too, that General Gage had particular instructions to seize the persons of the leading Boston patriots, and send them to England for trial upon the charge of treason; but this was the least anxiety for men like Adams, Warren, Hancock, and others, who were ready to sacrifice themselves, yet who knew that Gage had no wish to harm them. The military Governor, indeed, was a dull, good-natured sort of man, apt to swagger about what he would do, and to promise his Ministerial patrons a vast display of energetic authority, but inclined to live and let live, on good-neighbourly terms, with the people whom he offered to rule. Still, he would doubtless have obeyed peremptory orders for the arrest of the alleged Boston traitors, if no discretion had been left him in the matter; but Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State, was himself much indisposed to acts of personal severity; nor were such acts congenial to Lord North. The Massachusetts political leaders were thus left free to take counsel with their associates, and to avail themselves of existing means of opposition, during those Midsummer weeks of uncertainty, while the new machinery of provincial government, in the clumsy and feeble hands of Gage, could not speedily be got into working order. It was not till the 6th of August, as we shall observe, that authentic official copies of the Acts which became law on the 20th of May were put into his hands, with that which enabled him to quarter his troops in the towns of Massachusetts. The intervening period was at the disposal of the popular party for labours of agitation and organisation, preparatory to a General Congress. They lost no time in making use of their advantages; nor was this activity at Boston diminished by the removal of the seat of government and Provincial Assembly to Salem.

Faneuil Hall, with the Boston Committee of Correspondence, augmented by those of the neighbouring townships or villages, Dorchester, Brookline, Roxbury, Charleston, and Cambridge, was the headquarters of important business in that summer of 1774. The first act of those who here directed all the social opinion of Massachusetts, and in some degree of New England, was to issue a form of "Solemn League and Covenant," whereby its subscribers were bound not to purchase or consume any British commodity after the end of August. This was circulated everywhere, as "the last and only means of preserving the land from slavery, without drenching it in blood." It was upon this proposal, as we have seen, that the prevailing party in New York and Philadelphia differed from that of Massachusetts. The next point was to get the provincial Legislature, as upon former occasions, to initiate the combined arrangements of the different provinces for a General

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* Bancroft, Vol. VI., chap. 4. "The law was executed with a rigour that went beyond the intentions of its authors. Not a scow could be manned by oars to bring an ox, or a sheep, or a bundle of hay from the islands. All water-carriage from pier to pier, though but of lumber or bricks or lime, was strictly forbidden. The boats between Boston and Charleston could not ferry a parcel of goods across Charles River; the fishermen of Marblehead, when, from their hard pursuit, they bestowed quintals of dried fish on the poor of Boston, were obliged to transport their offerings in waggons by a circuit of thirty miles." We do not impugn the substantial accuracy of this description; but it does not readily agree, in the particulars of the sentence last quoted, with the effect of the Treasury instructions, dated March 31st, to which Mr. Bancroft has nowhere alluded, and by which coasting vessels, with fuel or victuals for the town, were exempted from the blockade. The remainder of his description may be admitted. "The warehouses of the thrifty merchants were at once made valueless; the costly wharves, which extended far into the channel, and were so lately covered with the produce of the tropics and with English fabrics, were become solitary places; the harbour, which had resounded incessantly with the cheering voices of prosperous commerce, was now disturbed by no sounds but from British vessels of war."

Congress; and it would then be requisite to have a provincial convention expressly for the election of delegates to the proposed Congress. This was the outline of the political scheme; but several other matters urgently demanded attention.

The Boston Port Act enjoined that the town should pay full compensation to the East India Company for the tea which had been destroyed. "Don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea," wrote one of the staunch Southern friends of Boston, Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina. It would never do to compromise that matter, for additional shipments of tea had since been made. A vessel named the *Fortune*, about the end of February, came to Boston with some, which the people threw overboard; another cargo, on the 19th of March, was similarly treated at New York. Only by the loss of such consignments were the owners to be compelled to desist from relying upon the enforcement of the Customs' duty. The citizens of Boston, moreover, were too well aware that they would not, by complying with this clause of the penal enactment, obtain the Royal forgiveness and the opening of their port, unless they would also consent to the abolition of the Massachusetts Constitutional Charter. For these reasons, it was obviously not their policy to offer payment for the tea; let the British Government pay for it. Such was the decision of a town meeting on the 17th of June, notwithstanding the encampment of two regiments, the 4th and the 43rd, on Boston Common, and the reinforcements of artillery and infantry at Castle William. On the 4th of July, a day which was destined otherwise to become celebrated, the forces on the Common, almost beleaguering the land side of Boston, were increased by the 5th and 38th Regiments, with a train of cannon, while Admiral Graves had a powerful squadron of war-ships in the silent harbour. The undaunted town, promptly suppressing an effort made by some timid or selfish tradesmen to advocate unworthy submission, went on signing its pledge against the luxuries imported from England. This method of passive resistance, General Gage denounced, by proclamation, as an act of traitorous hostility to the King and Parliament, and commanded the instant arrest of all persons who should dare to publish, to sign, or to invite others to sign, the non-importation agreement.

All eyes were turned on Boston; and from every other town, district, and province of that which was soon to be called "the American Union," hands were stretched with gifts of food, clothing, and money, to comfort her distressed population. Salem and Marblehead, the neighbouring seaports, instead of seeking to profit by her mercantile extinction for the time, offered the free use of their maritime accommodation, without cost or charge, to her strangled and stifled trade. To feed the unemployed and destitute working-class families of Boston, subscriptions were opened all over America; the list of which for Virginia was headed by George Washington with a donation of £50. The stores of corn and flour, sheep and cattle, from the inland farms, and the produce of coast fisheries, or of the hunter's quest in the backwoods, or of the rice-fields in South Carolina, were brought by the land road into the suffering city. It was a spectacle of no slight moral interest; a sign of the birth, in painful throes, of a young English nation, about to live its own life apart from the mother country, and endowed with equal capacities of social welfare.

The General Congress of American Provinces, to which all looked forward through the summer of 1774, was to begin the task of protecting and fostering that birth of a nation. Its appointment to meet at Philadelphia, on the 1st of September, was resolved upon by the Massachusetts House of Representatives at Salem, sitting with locked doors, while the Governor's message of dissolution was kept outside, on the 17th of June. Meantime, before we come to view this important assembly of delegates from so many different British colonies on the Western Continent, a statistical account of their population and resources will not be inopportune.

CHAPTER XI.

An ominous Lull in American History—State of the Colonies shortly before the Outbreak of the War of Independence—Burke on American Population—Condition of Virginia, and Divisions in Virginian Society—Patrick Henry—Condition of Massachusetts—Opposition to the taking of a Census—New England Austerity of Manners—Decay of the Indian Race—Resistance of the Americans to English Taxation—Colonisation of Wyoming—Religion in New England—Progress of Maryland—Frederick, Lord Baltimore—The Carolinas—The Middle States—Georgia—General Development and Tendencies of America—The Coming Change.

A GREAT and ominous lull in American history preceded the disruption of the Thirteen Provinces from the British Dominions. There can be little doubt that the approach of some mighty crisis was felt by anticipation, and that the colonies were, as if spontaneously, preparing for it. The triple war had of course not been without its influences; that against the mis-named Indians, the French, and the Spaniards, had awakened a martial spirit, which not even the sense of exhaustion could quell; and yet the growth of pure domestic manners and social morals more than kept pace with the troubling influences of the times. The American Provinces, in a word, had been successful in their efforts to create a political existence for themselves, and the epoch was now at hand wherein they were to be compelled to establish this upon an independent and permanent basis. If we look at the materials then at their disposal, they will be found to present a picture which might not be unfavourably compared with that exhibited by many among the societies of the older world. They had begun, even as colonists, by laying deep and well-fitted foundations for their public life; they had created for themselves a military reputation by a tenacious resistance to the encroachments of the French; they had gone through a conflict for existence itself with the native races, to whom their predecessors had given only too much reason for fear and hatred. The wealth of the land had not increased; its population had been, proportionately speaking, somewhat diminished; both immigration and speculation had been checked; yet, in spite of all, the leading colonies were more opulent and flourishing at the Peace of Paris than when the high contracting parties signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The great tobacco-growing province of Virginia, in the year 1758, exported no less than seventy thousand hogsheads of its special produce, or the largest quantity ever carried across the seas in a single year; the average being 55,000 hogsheads. Five years later, its population was computed by some at 170,000, and by others at 200,000. In the absence of any census, however, these figures represent guesswork rather than statistics. If the opinions of the day be regarded, they are represented, on one side at any rate, by the celebrated language of Edmund Burke. "The first thing we have to consider is the number of people in the colonies. I have taken for some years a good deal of pains on this point. I can by no calculation justify myself in placing the number below two millions of inhabitants of our own European blood and colour; besides at least half-a-million others, forming no inconsiderable part of the strength and opulence of the whole. There is no occasion to exaggerate. Whether I put the total too high or too low, it is of little moment. Such is the strength with which population shoots in that part of the world that, state the numbers as high as we will, while the dispute continues, the exaggeration ends. Whilst we are discussing any given magnitude, they are grown to it. Whilst we spend our time in deliberating on the mode of governing two millions, we shall find we have millions more to manage. Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations."

This passage, uttered in 1765, can never be omitted from any History of America. It is the preface to the War of Independence. More than half, however, of those who then peopled the Virginian soil were slaves; and the province appears to have been backward in its cultivation of the arts and sciences, though it is impossible to accept, on this point, all the assertions of contemporary writers, whose statements were often not less inaccurate than their prophecies were fallacious. Thus, one writer predicted that centuries must elapse before any outgrowth of educational institutions surrounded the parent college of William and Mary, in Virginia. The only importance of the opinion consists in the contrast it suggests between that solitary seminary and the multitude of academies which, in the course of one hundred years, were gathered about it. Even then, however, there was much exaggeration in the accounts given in England of the American colonies, which were far from being at the low intellectual standard described by writers like Burnaby, who represented, for example, that the Virginian dissenting denominations, in the aggregate, constituted only an insignificant minority, whereas they were exceedingly numerous. The chroniclers of that time, it must be remembered, were all more or less inspired by prejudice on account of the questions then rapidly arising, and growing into formidable proportions between the mother country and her dependencies. From one of them, however, we obtain a spirited picture which, compared with several others drawn by contemporary pens, will appear, upon the whole, just and accurate. Virginia occupied a peculiar, even an unique, position in the world. It stood alone; it had few relations with the great communities of the Eastern hemisphere; with the sister colonies its intercourse was irregular and rare; its very industry and commerce were, so to speak, of an isolated character; foreigners, as well as new settlers, were few and far between; and thus was created a state of society *sui generis*, though falling naturally into the inevitable series of elevations, levels, and abysses, characteristic of the organisations of mankind, subject or dominating, Imperial or Republican, everywhere. Particular families had amassed wealth, and preserved it for their posterity by a law of entail; and these riches were often enjoyed by men capable of making an intellectual and beneficent use of them. The Far West had no attractions, in those days, except for the hunter and the trapper; so that the principal inhabitants remained stationary, from generation to generation, and became an aristocracy of the soil, hardly less proud or less exclusive than any in Europe. Between them and the rest of the continent, moreover, a living barrier had been placed by the Irish settlers in the broad and fertile valley between North Mountain and Blue Ridge—settlers who seem to have been objects of some repugnance to the slave-holding lowlanders. The German immigration had not long commenced, and never, indeed, had much tendency southwards. Its future field was to be rather in the western territories, though a certain proportion found its way to Virginia and the Carolinas. The Dutch held to their old ground in New York and New Jersey, where the original names are to this day perpetuated; while the French still affected the south-west, and were numerous in Louisiana, and along the western margin of the Mississippi. There was a considerable scattering of them, however, among the sugar-plantations of Florida. Thus a community had been formed of different strata, wavy, as those of geology are, and occasionally blending. In the patrician State—for the colonies styled themselves States even then—of Virginia, the nobility of riches, where no titles existed, necessarily stood highest, and this was composed of the great landholders whose estates spread below tide-water on the banks of the main rivers, and who lived with a luxury frequently ruinous to themselves, and often exasperating to their less opulent neighbours. It is to be mentioned, at the same time, that they did not style themselves, as, at a later date, their countrymen did in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, "the first people in the place:" their social superiority being incontestable, no necessity existed for asserting it. And, while proud and self-conscious to an extreme degree, they were a generous race, and the poor travellers of that age who recorded their reminiscences speak pleasantly of the hospitalities of the planter's table, laden from morning till night with hot wheaten bread, hominy, ham, eggs uncountable, wines, liqueurs, tongues, poultry, spiced meats, custards, creams, fruits, and a hundred various dainties in which the traditions of the Old World and the inventions of the New were combined. Next followed their immediate relatives, the semi-aristocrats of the colony, descendants of younger sons and daughters, who inherited all their haughtiness without their riches, were addicted to marrying early, were often more in debt than in luck, and added not much to the family honours.* But one class of these began, or, perhaps, it should be said, took part in, a work that has since proved of inestimable value to the continent of North America. These were termed, as they continued to be termed until lately, *solitaires;* that is, individuals or families who turned their backs upon the ripening civilisation that rose along the coast, plunged into the forest or the prairie, built huts, cleared and planted, drained swamps, put up fences, traced the outlines of miniature graveyards, felled wood, and dared all the dangers of a wild life for the sake of its independence. They were not many in number; yet the paths they crushed and hewed through the brushwood have been converted into highways, along which steam-caravans of true American magnitude thunder daily. In their rear, and not in very favourable comparison with them, the biographer of Patrick Henry places the "pretenders;" men who, as he says, from vanity, or the influence of increasing wealth, or from that spirit of enterprise inseparable from talent, however immoral, sought to detach themselves from the plebeian ranks, to which they properly belonged, and imitated at a distance the manners and pretensions of the orders above them. Lastly—since, in the social scale, the negro ranked nowhere—was the overseer, justly depicted, no doubt, in a majority of instances, as at once a slave to those superior,

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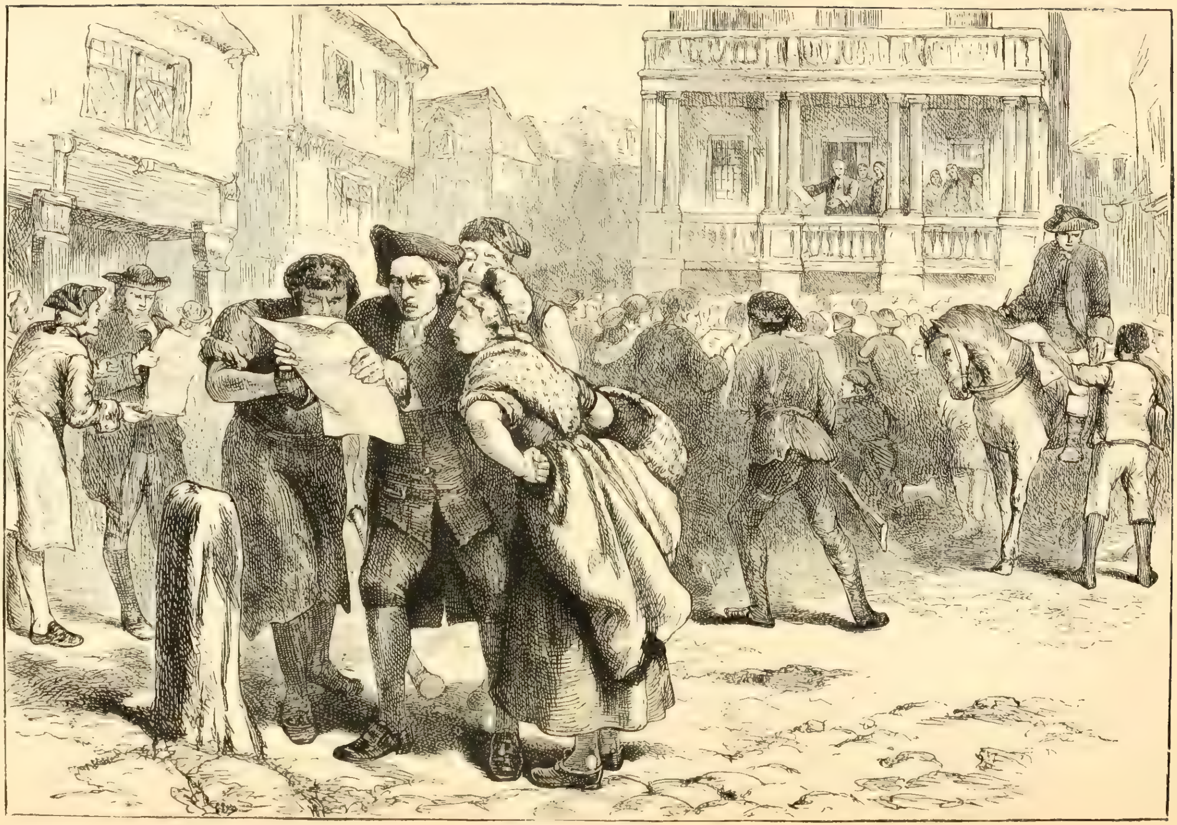
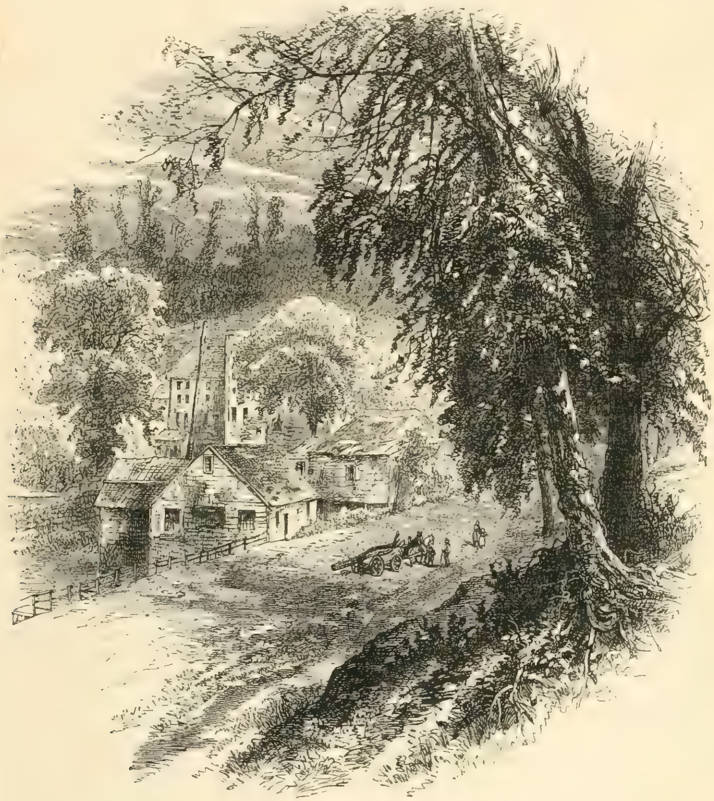
* Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.



BOSTONIANS READING THE STAMP ACT.

and a tyrant to those inferior, to him; because the very nature of his employment was in itself degrading, and involved the exercise of an abominable cruelty. That it takes two white men to make one black man work, was once an American proverb implying more sarcasm than truth; yet it undoubtedly contained a measure of truth. The negro is naturally lazy, and in his state of bondage he has none of the ordinary inducements to be industrious. It is to him sufficient if he can obtain the barest necessaries of life, lie in the hot sunshine, play on some rude musical instrument, join in fantastic dances and merely animal mirth, and pass his time from childhood to old age in a succession of unintellectual satisfactions. The responsibilities of freedom, by calling out his powers, are alone capable of lifting him in the scale of being. In his servitude he will often refuse to work, except on the severest compulsion.



VILLAGE OF YONKERS, NEW YORK.

Meanwhile, what had been the progress of civilisation, industry, and trade in the more austere, if not less money-loving, community of Massachusetts? In 1763, it is computed to have numbered 241,000 persons, of whom 5,200 were slaves, as against Connecticut, with 145,000 and 4,500 slaves, and Rhode Island, with 40,000 and 4,600 slaves. The population of New Hampshire, at this period, says Grahame, had not been distinctly ascertained; but in 1762 it was estimated at 52,700, though all these tables are vague, and the general calculation that the people of New England, in the mass, numbered about half a million, is probably an approach to the truth. There exists a reason for the uncertainty of our information upon these points. The New Englanders delighted in the extraordinary development of their population, yet were jealous of giving publicity to their statistics. An obvious cause of this feeling was, that as the Jews of the Middle Ages concealed their money-bags to save themselves from extortion, so the acute and thrifty colonists of the North-eastern States blinked the fact of their rapidly-increasing numbers in order not to bring down upon themselves additional taxes. In 1763, when the Government at home were already dreaming of an Imperial revenue to be derived from the resources of the New World, a complete Census was directed, in Massachusetts especially. It was resented as an encroachment upon the social liberty of the province, and many specious arguments were employed to justify a determined resistance to it in every township and parish. The Puritans came to the aid of the patriots. Preachers stood up in the pulpit to set forth the religious grounds upon which the idea of a Census should be repelled; quoted texts relating to King David's punishment for his unhallowed attempt to number the people of Israel; and expatiated largely upon the passages—"And God was displeased with this thing, therefore he smote Israel;" "Is it not I that commanded the people to be numbered?"—upon that relating to the penalty, "Either three years' famine; or three months to be destroyed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine enemies overtaketh thee; or else three days the sword of the Lord, even the pestilence, in the land, and the angel of the Lord destroying throughout all the coasts of Israel,"—and upon the consummation, "So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel; and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men." These citations from the Second Book of Chronicles were read far and wide in the pulpits of New England; the Census was delayed from year to year, and, when ultimately undertaken, in consequence of a peremptory mandate from Whitehall, was so negligently carried out that it never possessed any historical value.

We have here a very singular reflection of the religious opinions of that epoch, in a part of the world where Puritan feeling attained its utmost exaltation. The New Englanders of the year 1764 were not, however, a majority of professed Puritans, though, in popular usage and sentiment, and even in their provincial jurisprudence, they clung to much of that which had been ordained by their forefathers of the *Mayflower*. The ground-swell of the storm against Cavalier licence still rose almost as high, among these stern censors of manners, as when the sumptuary laws, and the ordinances against flowing curls, patches, powder, and lace, were enacted. The Government of Connecticut revived a decree which for some time had been considered obsolete, condemning idleness, the unseasonable assemblage of young people, tavern-haunting, and tale-bearing; while that of Massachusetts, quite in opposition to the axiom of Shakespeare's Henry VIII., who says to Anne Bullen, "I were unmannerly to take you out, and not to kiss you," put in execution a statute, dated so far back as 1646, denouncing the punishment of flogging against any man "bestowing the salute of a kiss on a woman in the streets," whether with her consent or without it. It is said that this law was actually put in force, in a singular way, more than a century after its enactment. The captain of a British man-of-war, cruising off the coast of Massachusetts for the protection of its trade during the great maritime conflict with France, returned from an excursion, on a Sunday, to Boston, where his wife was staying. The story is related by Burnaby, and may be repeated on his authority. "Learning his arrival, this lady rushed down to the harbour to meet him; and, in a transport of joy, they could not refrain from tenderly embracing each other in the open streets. For this breach of the laws, and desecration of the Sabbath, the captain was summoned to appear before the magistrates, who, after a grave rebuke, sentenced him to be publicly flogged. The punishment is said to have inferred no ignominy whatever; and, after having undergone it, he was admitted freely into the best company of the place, and even into the society of the magistrates, who so little guessed the resentment which he nourished in his bosom as to accept an invitation to an entertainment on board his vessel, on the day when she was to leave the station, and sail for England. After regaling them with a handsome feast, he caused his sailors to flog them all on the deck of the vessel in sight of the town; and then, telling them that he and they had cleared all accounts, he dismissed them, and set sail." The truth of the narrative was believed in at the time, though the details varied in different accounts, and in the reminiscences, for years after, of the people of the Massachusetts metropolis.*

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* It is only fair to add, however, that in many quarters this story is considered at the best apocryphal, and the authority of Burnaby, who merely visited the country, and was perhaps hoaxed, very questionable.

This extreme strictness, together with the weight of taxes imposed by extraordinary military efforts, explained the desertion of so many Massachusetts and Connecticut colonists for the less inflexibly-ruled and less heavily-burdened territories of Nova Scotia, New York, and Canada. The asceticism of Boston, indeed, in the earlier period of its history, is declared to have seriously retarded its growth; but there were not a few who defied the more rigorous of its social regulations, and took their pleasures freely in the neighbouring woodlands. It is needless, perhaps, to remind ourselves that this asperity of manners, which was a reaction in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, led, as if logically, to another, which nevertheless has never broken out in any scandalous public excesses. The American mind, and particularly that of the New England States, was, in the transition time now being reviewed, intensely occupied with politics, and with the future destinies of the whole British dominion in the New World. Two grand causes of anxiety, no doubt, had been removed. The French were conquered, and no longer rivals; the Indians were subdued, and, though in a certain sense still enemies, did not darken the frontiers of the white settlements with a perpetual terror. Nevertheless, the red man persisted in cherishing his hereditary, or rather, perhaps, natural hatred of the interlopers upon his hunting-grounds, and his villages continued to be the encampments of resentment, discontent, and meditated vengeance. But there was no longer, as there had been for years, in New Hampshire, among other territories, the necessity of an incessant watch and garrisoning along the borders; for the savage had lost his powerful ally, and could expect no further supplies of arms and ammunition, or bribes of ardent liquors and money, from Europe. He had given up the prisoners hitherto languishing under a cruel captivity in his wigwams; only a few were not permitted to return to the civilised districts; and of these, in all likelihood, not many survived the Peace of Paris. But the evidences of what had been, remained—the villages clustered round their little churches, with the second storeys of the houses overhanging the first, so that the Indians might be fired upon with advantage while they were hewing with their tomahawks at the doors; the hamlets and farms which had acquired strange names from having been the scenes of fearful tragic events; the single plank-bridge over Bloody Brook; and other signs of memories never to be blotted out from among the descendants of those who pitched their tents round the spot famous for all time in American annals as Burial Hill. The fears of the Borderers, however, had now subsided, and they once more commenced establishing new footholds in the wilderness among the violet-perfumed forests, the blueberry plains, the lakes so long swarming with hostile canoes, and the hills that had been used as the fortresses of native nations.

Relieved from this traditionary dread, New Hampshire saw its boundaries expanding, and its people multiplying; emigrants pouring in upon its frontiers from the other States of New England; and the territory called the Green Mountain, or, in French, Vermont, so thickening with population that the jealousies of New York were aroused. Both New York and New Hampshire claimed it, and the authority of the former might have been accepted, without any great pressure being exercised, had it not been for that great moving cause of American revolution,—resistance to taxation. This was sought to be imposed in the shape of fines and quit-rents so heavy that the lately-arrived settlers, headed by two enthusiastic and daring leaders, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, natives of Connecticut, spurned the financial mandates, and defied, with arms in their hands, the collectors of the Middle State. They were denounced as outlaws; the sentence was promulgated in vain. They were threatened with tremendous pains and penalties; their opposition only became the more flagrant. When Ethan Allen was urged by the King's attorney at New York to abandon his resistance to the Royal claims, because he had not the power to make it good, he answered, "The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills." It appears singular at this time that, upon a continent so vast as to allow of an almost boundless occupation of territory, the title-deeds to land were so violently contested; but, in the absence of great roads, not to speak of railways, the Atlantic States, as being nearest to Europe, and of course best situated for purposes of commerce, were at an early date comparatively crowded. The territory of Wyoming, celebrated by the poet Campbell in his Indian poem, was originally purchased by a company of Connecticut planters from the great Confederation of the Six Nations; but, owing to the wars with France and with the Red Indians, its settlement was for many years postponed. In 1763, however, its colonisation took place, and Campbell has vividly depicted the grief of the red race when this favourite resort of their forefathers was lost to them, although they themselves had sold it. It was hither that a new emigration was drawn from Europe—an emigration of men who, having acquired a larger knowledge of the New World, longed for its freedom, the abundance of its soil, and its innumerable novelties of existence. Many were military officers, who laid down the sword to cultivate rice, corn, and sweet-potatoes in the Valley of the Susquehannah; and their transformation from soldiers into husbandmen and patriarchs is rather more poetically than historically described in the English epic. They became entangled in a bitter, albeit prosaic, litigation (between the Government of Connecticut on the one hand, and the proprietaries of Pennsylvania on the other) on the everlasting question of land-rights; and these two parties to a single claim contested their point, foot by foot, with no less pertinacity than the Royal Governors of New York and New Hampshire had exhibited in their pretensions to the glades of Vermont. All were animated by a keen desire to augment their revenues by multiplying fees upon the sale and transfer of lands which they had often obtained at next to nominal prices from its aboriginal and probably autochthonal possessors. Charters in those days were invariably vague, and it was found much easier to sell a sovereignty than prove a title to it.

It was necessary to offer this somewhat mechanical sketch of affairs as they then existed with respect to the lordship of the American territory, because they formed the spring of events to come, terrible in their magnitude, enthralling in their interest, and leading to results that surpassed the most far-reaching vision even of that adventurous generation. But we may now turn to another and a more attractive section of the picture. The whale-fisheries of the St. Lawrence, undetected by the French, had been discovered by the daring of the English; the pursuit of this strange and dangerous industry became a characteristic of New England colonial enterprise; and in the year 1763 no fewer than eighty New England ships—increased, since 1761, from a total of ten—were engaged in the most exciting and, when successful, the most remunerative of all fisheries. It is essential to the previous and future history of the United States that, at this point, a sketch should be presented of their religious colour and attitude in the period previous to that in which the great revolutionary disturbance began. In New England, about the date of 1764, there were nearly six hundred Congregational churches, in addition to ecclesiastical associations formed after the model of the Church of England as it then existed, which had of late considerably extended their influence through all the colonies, or States. The first-born piety of the young States had certainly dwindled; yet it survived in a deep degree, and would probably have been still stronger, had it known how to harmonise itself with modern ideas. Opinion and sentiment, no doubt, constitute the main elements of history; yet, in drawing a picture of Europeanised America in the latter half of the eighteenth century, there are many considerations to be kept in view. A most striking contrast was exhibited between the religious history of the English colonies, and that of the Spanish possessions. In the case of the latter, a political and ecclesiastical despotism settled down at once upon the land, rendering the people unfit to govern themselves, and incapable of a steady obedience to any one else. The immense power of Spain, and the concentrated interest of the nation in its colonies, felt alike by the King and the populace, gave a marvellous impetus to the peopling of their new possessions in the New World. Cities arose, rich, magnificent, for a time teeming with inhabitants, and prosperous with trade. Splendour and riches surrounded the proprietors of lands that bloomed with all the productions of an exuberant soil and a generous climate. Convents, churches, and palaces were built, which rivalled, if they did not eclipse, those of Spain herself. And it seemed, once, as if the Spanish dominion would before long extend from Cape Horn to the North Pole, and confer upon Madrid an overwhelming supremacy, not only over America, but over the world. Yet this showy magnificence was not destined to last, containing, as it did, the causes of an early and rapid decline. In comparison with it, the progress of the British colonies stands splendidly conspicuous. Their early struggles and local conflicts were not submitted to or undertaken for expansion of power, or the multiplication of riches. The English settlers landed on a dismal shore, to brave the inclemencies of an inhospitable climate, which was for them not more cruel than the enemies they had to encounter upon every field and in every forest. They had to wring from a niggard soil a scanty subsistence, and to win a narrow footing for the most humble of homes, not only without the aid, but almost in direct opposition to the wishes, of their native country. But they brought with them the habit of self-government, and the political traditions of the English race.

Happily for America in some respects, the sovereign mind of England took little interest in the fortunes of the colonies, and therefore did not, at the outset, interfere with the settlements formed by our countrymen. The reigning sentiments in England, however, naturally put their stamp and impress on the institutions which were in course of being formed. The character of Englishmen determined the nature of the law and government established, "and their self-relying and undaunted spirit," says a French writer of the time, "was strongly manifest in every colony which they planted in the New World." Two of the English colonies, at this period, figure pre-eminently, comprising within themselves, in fact, the history of the colonisation of the United States. The first is that of Virginia, then a vast and undefined territory, curtailed, at various periods, of its proportions, coming at last to be regarded as a small and definite dominion, and then alienating its outlying territories until they became provinces, or States, in themselves. Virginia, however, was not the representative of European colonisation in America. The leaven of the New England immigration leavened the whole of that world, and assimilated the heterogeneous elements of which it had been composed. It has been said, with a measure of truth which can with difficulty be weighed, that "had the fanaticism of the New England Puritans never existed, it may safely be asserted that the United States would not have been called into being." But, while Virginia was established by a set of daring, enthusiastic, and even chivalrous adventurers, affected by the leading inspiration of Raleigh, Maryland, the second colony in the march of the new Dominion, was a Catholic province, and the centre of religious toleration. Lord Baltimore, far from guarding his territory against any but those of his own persuasion—as he had, in fact, renounced for himself and his successors all arbitrary power, by establishing and acknowledging the legislative franchises of the people—took from them, to some extent, the hateful privileges of intolerance. Massachusetts, likewise, was in a great degree the offspring of religious enthusiasm, or freedom, and gave birth to a number of free communities. In singular contrast with both of these were the ecclesiastical constitutions of the two Carolinas, of which, in their integrity, scarcely a vestige now remains. Such a state of things, however, existed when the six hundred Congregational Churches of New England were preparing, at the period now spoken of, to champion their rights of worship. Yet it does not appear that these had been openly, formally, or officiously assailed. There were those amongst the statesmen of the mother country who, in spite of all bickerings, relented in their rigour when they saw the dauntless old spirit asserting itself, on the other side of the Atlantic, with equal pride and courage as in the days that preceded the Commonwealth. They could not, in conscience, refuse liberty of thought and worship to the Congregational Churches of New England; they could not, in harmony with the feelings really nourished in their hearts, repudiate the young and wild communion of the forests, in the benefits of which the red men, in fact, were partakers, although the invasion and even extirpation of their independence had commenced a hundred years before.

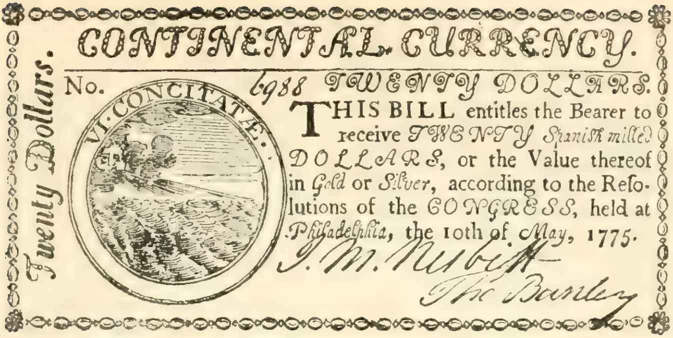
We are now very nearly approaching, be it remembered, the great American War of Independence, when a gradual and steady advance of population and civilisation, in the oldest colonies—those of New England and Virginia—was taking place, and when a novel and singular state of society was being created. The number of people multiplied, often, in a ratio disproportionate to the extent of the occupied and settled land. This may be partially owing to the communal habits, if they may be so termed, which still lingered in the mother country, and travelled with its children whithersoever they drifted; for in that time the traditional village life had not been altogether superseded in England, and took root generously in the favourable soil of the Continent of Columbus. Probably, however, these characteristics may have been caused more by the prevalent dread of the Indians, who hovered in the young colonies, and effectually checked the tendency to emigration by cutting off stragglers from the main body; also, again, by the unsettled ownership of land, as disputed between divers European powers. It is curious to observe how, with regions of boundless fertility and extent within their reach, the early Puritans—leaving a lesson which their descendants of a hundred years later disregarded—toiled and multiplied, for some generations, within the narrow boundaries, and on the ungrateful soil, of the older New England States. There was nothing, among them, of that propensity, attributed to the disciples of Wakefield, of abandoning old ground for new. But the curses and the blessings of prosperity, and of a precocious age, were already upon them. Nature, in their deserts, had lost her youthful aspect. The wild animals were beginning to depart, and the class of huntsmen and trappers to disappear. Timber, even in those woody settlements, had become expensive, and coal-mines were talked of. "Even the abundant waters of the wilderness," cried, rather than said, a scion of that fresh civilisation, "are diminishing: the streams flow more scantily and more sluggishly, from the destruction of the covers which once sheltered and preserved the springs." Yet, to an observer familiarised with the aristocratic institutions and monumental wealth of Europe, the New England States, so far back as 1764, looked less like old societies than like young ones which had "lived fast," and exhibited every external sign of decay, without, however, the relics of an old family or an old estate.

These observations, it should be interposed, have a somewhat retrospective application, though they are essential to a full appreciation of the picture, as we would draw it, before the panorama widened towards the issues of the grand colonial and Imperial war; — widened and darkened, indeed, because there was a black chapter to be opened yet before the fact of American Independence blew bright and free, like a flag, in the face and in the sight of the world. It is a social and a political picture, indeed, rather than a historical one, which has now to be painted. The professors of Puritan principles in New England had always been the staunchest champions of provincial liberty; and, possibly, their favourite policy of blending religious with political ordinances was rather prudentially advocated than sincerely espoused by the strong and rising party which regarded every object as of secondary importance in comparison with the exaltation of popular power, and the promotion of American Independence. This was the phrase current generally in 1764. A restless and expanding public spirit had been created. No fewer than five printing presses—and it was a marvel for that time—were in constant employment at Boston. Within the limits of the original Plymouth territory, however, there still remained upwards of nine hundred Indians. In the island of Nantucket, about three hundred and fifty of this race were yet to be found. In Duke's County, belonging to the same province, there remained three hundred; while at Natick only thirty-seven of the aboriginals survived. Still, nearly a thousand continued to occupy, or infest, Connecticut. Nothing is more striking, in the annals of the struggle between the Old and New World, than the juxtaposition of the official declaration that "nearly one thousand Indians continue to occupy lands within the territory of Connecticut," with the statement that, within the same period, "more than a hundred bears were killed in one district of the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts."

In this epoch, the inexhaustible colony of Maryland, as a prolific parent of wealth, opulence, power, and fame to come, stood conspicuously in the front. The proprietary authority still subsisted in the family of Lord Baltimore; and though it was not, as contemporary histories admit, exercised with that sordid and illiberal policy which challenged so much hostility against a kindred institution in Pennsylvania, it seems to have been, in a sense, isolated and suspected. An early law of Maryland prohibited the importation of felons from the parent State. But the law, no doubt, had fallen into desuetude; for, in the chronicles of English judicial transactions, Maryland is more frequently particularised than any of the other colonies as the one to which felons were conveyed. In 1768 the proprietor himself was in danger of being included in the annual cargo of convicts from England, and compelled to reside as an exiled felon in the very country wherein he possessed the privileges of a feudal sovereign. Omitting some details unnecessary to be dwelt upon, this part of our North American story is worth remembering. Frederick Calvert, Lord Baltimore, descended from the original proprietor of Maryland, had some pretensions to scholarship; was a wit, as that term ran through the coffee-house society of those times; blasphemed in a tone which, whatever the satirists may pretend, was never fashionable in England; escaped hanging through a technicality; and was a ruffian in the deepest sense of that term. "It is impossible to doubt," writes Grahame, "that the character and conduct of this nobleman, whom the people of Maryland were compelled to recognise as their proprietary sovereign, produced on their minds an impression very remote from respect for the institutions and supremacy of the parent State." The title, however, which, if Lord Baltimore did not disgrace it, he certainly did not exalt, became extinct at his death, at Naples, in 1771. He bequeathed his rights over the province of Maryland to his natural son, Henry Harford, who was then a child at school, and whom the subsequent rupture between Great Britain and America prevented from ever deriving any advantage from the bequest.

North Carolina, in 1763, is said to have contained nearly a hundred thousand white inhabitants. They were not, however, at this period so prosperous as to render them as contented as they formerly were, and this, no doubt, in consequence of the injustice and rapacity under which they had long suffered. Nevertheless, their share in the calamities resulting from the Indian wars was, comparatively speaking, a small one. With much that was fortunate and respectable, North Carolina contained a more numerous body of indigent and dissatisfied freemen than existed in any of the other British settlements, or perhaps in all. Education was universally neglected; the laws commanded little or no respect; the executive officers were almost destitute of authority; and neither in courts of criminal law, nor in courts of equity, could justice be obtained.

1



CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

Twenty Dollars.

No. 6988 TWENTY DOLLARS.

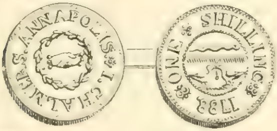
THIS BILL entitles the Bearer to receive TWENTY Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Resolutions of the CONGRESS, held at Philadelphia, the 10th of May, 1775.

J. M. Nesbitt

Tho Bartley

VI CONCITATÆ

2



I. CHALMERS. ANNAPOLIS
ONE SHILLING
1783

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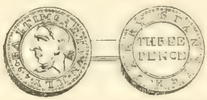
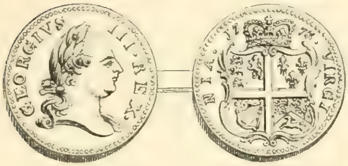


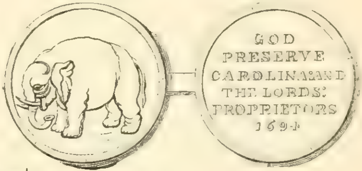
BALTIMORE TOWN
THREE PENCE

3

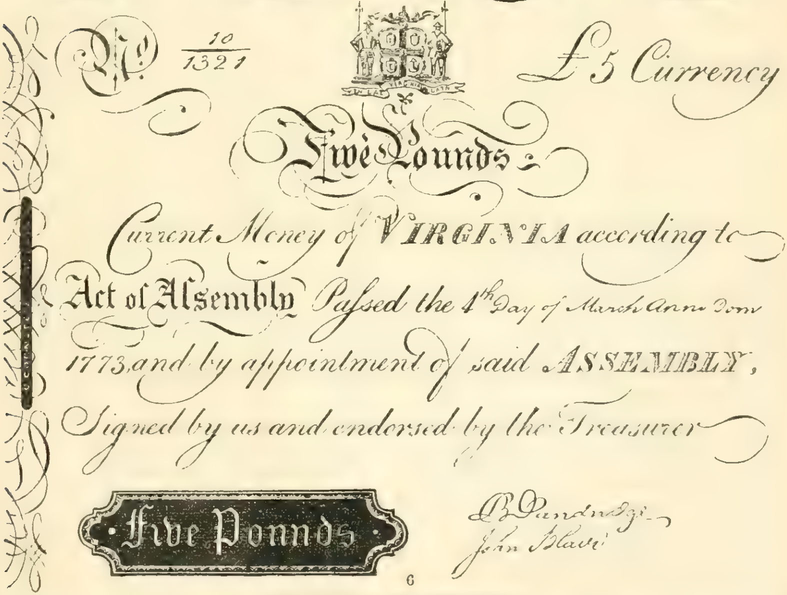


GEORGIVS III REX
VIRGI NIA 1773

5



GOD
PRESERVE
CAROLINA AND
THE LORDS
PROPRIETORS
1694



No. 10/1321

£5 Currency

Five Pounds

Current Money of VIRGINIA according to Act of Assembly Passed the 4th Day of March Anno Dom 1773, and by appointment of said ASSEMBLY, Signed by us and endorsed by the Treasurer

Five Pounds

R Dandridge

John Blair

6

AMERICAN COINS AND PAPER MONEY.

1, American 20 Dollar Bill (1775); 2, Maryland Shilling, 1783 (from the British Museum); 3, George the Third American Halfpenny (from Brit. Mus.); 4, Barry Standish (Baltimore) Threepenny piece (from Brit. Mus.); 5, Carolina Halfpenny, 1694 (from Brit. Mus.); 6, Virginia £5 Bill (1773).

In South Carolina, a different perspective was opened. That province, which had continued to advance in growth, notwithstanding the burdens of the war, reaped an ample and immediate share of the advantages resulting from the Peace of Paris. Consequently, upon an act of its Assembly, which appropriated a large fund for the payment of bounties to industrious labourers from Great Britain and Ireland, and to all foreign Protestants resorting to the province within three years, and forming settlements in the interior, vast numbers of emigrants, from Germany, England, Scotland, and especially Ireland, eagerly embraced the prospect, and became citizens of the New World, in South Carolina. In 1765, the province contained 150,000 inhabitants, of whom, according to a corrected calculation, 85,000 were slaves. Most of the free inhabitants were in easy circumstances, and not a few possessed great accumulations of wealth. The three most creditable historians, or chroniclers, as they may be better styled—Holmes, Williamson, and Hewitt—concur in this, that there were in South Carolina, in the year 1764, more persons possessed of between five and ten thousand pounds sterling than anywhere else among the same number of people. In point of rank, all men regarded their neighbours as their equals, and a spirit of benevolence pervaded society. The planters, as in some tropical Arcadia, were distinguished by their hospitable dispositions, their sociable manners, and the ample cheer of their tables. Almost every family (as Grahame records) kept a one-horse chaise; and some maintained the most splendid equipages that even England could furnish. All the new literary publications in London were regularly transmitted to this province. Hunting and horse-racing were the favourite amusements of the men; and assemblies, concerts, balls, and dramatic representations, ran in a perpetual succession.

In the meanwhile, what was the public economy, or, in other words, the public existence, of the period we have been considering? We have a very fair illustration of it in the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. From 1756, when the State of New York contained about 100,000 white inhabitants, until 1771, no Census was taken within its borders; but, at the latter date, the population is recorded as having increased itself by one half. No data exist, however, by means of which the positive facts can be ascertained. Nevertheless, it is well-established that the advance of population in this province was repressed by the monopoly which a few opulent planters had obtained of enormous tracts of land, which reduced many emigrants to the necessity of becoming tenants instead of proprietors, and prompted many more to abandon their original purpose of settling in New York, and to extend their emigration to provinces where land could be obtained on more reciprocal terms. No authentic statement is upon record concerning the population, about 1774, of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, or Georgia, nor, in fact, for any time previous to the outbreak of the great American revolution. But all these States or colonies, as they may now be indifferently called, had proportionately enlarged their growth; the Treaty of Paris had promised them security; they were safe from marauders along the frontiers, and from privateers upon the high seas. Throughout the State of Pennsylvania, affairs flourished beyond the most brilliant hope. In the year 1760, the Quakers formed about a fifth part of the population of Pennsylvania. The inhabitants of the town of New York are described as, at this period, almost wholly engaged in commercial pursuits, varied by lavish expenditure and festivity. An injurious influence was perhaps exercised on the manners and habits of New York—then in a sort of old infancy, if the phrase may be allowed—by the number and variety of the adventurers (employing that term in its true, or Arabian, sense) who flocked to New York in the hope of making fortunes, just as those did who sought, in the days of Warren Hastings, to strip the peach-fruit from the Pagoda-tree.

With reference to the settlement of Georgia, the details, as related on both sides of the ocean, are singularly interesting. The young provincial community, destitute of commercial credit, and uncommonly exposed to hostile molestation, had hitherto evinced only a feeble and languid capacity of progress; but after the commencement of the conflict, and still more after its conclusion, its rise became singularly rapid. Among other emigrants who formed a valuable accession to the population of Georgia, about this time, were a number of Quakers, who, under the conduct of Joseph Mattock, a member of that religious community, founded a settlement some thirty miles from the young township of Augusta, to which, in honour of the Governor who so actively promoted its establishment, they gave the name of Wrightsborough. Mattock, says Grahame, "was acknowledged the chief magistrate of this settlement, and continued to preside over it, with patriarchal grace, till a very advanced age." Burnaby, who was accustomed to the grandeur and comfort of England, remarked that all the elegant, and even the luxurious, points of wealth were displayed in the American provinces. In the houses of some of the inhabitants of New Jersey he found specimens of art-works copied from the canvasses of the greatest masters, in every age, of Europe. In a journey of twelve hundred miles, through America, this traveller did not meet a single individual who solicited alms from him. The peasantry in general regarded the British troops with an aversion justified by their original conduct, and unaltered by their subsequent successes against the common enemy; and many paid dearly, for the attentions which they lavished on the British officers, in the corruption of their own manners, and the exaggerated representations of their wealth and luxury which were transmitted to England. American hospitality, stimulated to the highest pitch by the presence, the rank, and the services of so many British visitors, overflowed in ostentatiousness; and thus did the New World learn a lesson in manners from the Old.*

It is a remark of Burnaby, that "America was destined to be the mistress of the world." Another, by Farmer, author of "A View of the Policy of Great Britain," is to the effect that "nothing but common and imminent danger, or violent oppression, could make the colonies unite." And yet before the conclusion of the long war, the mighty pleader, Pratt, afterwards so justly celebrated as Lord Camden, said to Dr. Franklin:—"For all that you Americans say of your loyalty, I know you will one day throw off your dependence upon this country, and, notwithstanding your boasted affection for it, will set up for independence." Franklin replied, "No such idea is entertained in the minds of the Americans, and no such idea will ever enter their heads unless you grossly abuse them." "Very true," replied Pratt; "that is one of the main causes which I see will happen, and which will produce the event." It must have been apparent, however, to all who have followed the course of this History that a desire for independence—a movement, more or less conscious, in that direction—a hope, a vision, an aspiration—to some extent even a resolve to separate from the mother country on the first favourable opportunity—had long distinguished the statesmen and popular leaders of New England, and especially of Massachusetts. A suspicion of the same tendency attaches likewise to Virginia; and in the younger settlements, where men led free and almost savage lives in the face of rugged Nature and ferocious foes, a disposition to throw off external rule was frequently made manifest. Everything led up to separation; all the forces, longings, jealousies, and ambitions of the age, pointed with bloody fingers to the unnatural struggle that now came raging on.

CHAPTER XII.

The Resolution to call a General Congress—Jefferson on the Slave Trade—Determination of the Virginia Convention not to Import Slaves—The Act for the Better Regulation of the Province of Massachusetts—Franklin's "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One"—Imaginary Edict of the King of Prussia, by the Same Writer—Objections to Some of Franklin's Arguments—Measures of Resistance to the Regulating Act taken by the People of Massachusetts—Preparations for Fighting—Putnam, of Connecticut, and Hawley, of Northampton—Resolutions of the Boston Committee—Coercion and Resignation of Officials—Refusal of Bostonians to serve as Jurors—Threatening Proceedings of Armed Bands—Seizure of Powder and Cannon belonging to the Colonists—Gage writes Home for Reinforcements, and suggests the Employment of Indian Auxiliaries—Military Arrangements of the Colonists—The Suffolk Convention.

With the advancing summer of 1774 the American colonies were seen to be in a position of defiance towards the parent State which nearly amounted to a rupture. The resolution of Massachusetts to call a General Congress had been well supported by the other provinces, though not, in some quarters, without a degree of dissent which indicated the existence of opposing parties; and it was obvious to the most indifferent observers that union would not be wanting in the struggle of the colonies with the great Empire from which they had proceeded. The feeling of antagonism was extended beyond questions of taxation, and of political and judicial powers. In a provincial convention which she held during the summer, Virginia took in hand the great evil of slavery, and in a way which did her honour. Jefferson, unable by ill-health to attend this convention, sent a paper of criticisms and suggestions, to be read to the delegates, wherein he enumerated the several grievances from which the colonies suffered, and foreshadowed the great principles of the Declaration of Independence.* "For the most trifling reasons," he wrote, "and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his Majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But, previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa; yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his Majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantage of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice." Jefferson's letter, containing these remarks, and others of not less importance bearing on the rights of the colonists and the necessity of searching reforms, was presented to the convention by Peyton Randolph, and it had a very marked effect. A resolution was passed that, after the first day of the ensuing November, the Virginians would neither themselves import slaves into the colony, nor purchase any from others. Circumstances proved too strong for this virtuous resolve; but it should be recollected to the credit of Virginia that it was affirmed by the convention of 1774.

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* Grahame, Book X., Appendix 3.

The arrival, on the 6th of August, of the Act of Parliament for the better regulation of the province of Massachusetts complicated matters still farther. This Act abrogated to a great extent the charter of William and Mary, and substituted for its leading provisions others of which the effect was to diminish the liberties of the people in a very serious degree. The members of the Council, who had before been annually chosen by the elected representatives of the community, were from that time forward to receive their appointments from the King, and to be removable at his pleasure. Power was also conferred on the Governor, irrespective of his Council, to appoint and remove all judges of the inferior courts, justices of the peace, and officers belonging to the Council and the courts of justice. The sheriffs were to be removable by the Governor and Council as often as the latter should consider necessary. The Chief Justice, and the judges of the superior court, were to hold their commissions during the pleasure of the King, and to depend on his good will for the amount and the payment of their salaries. The right of selecting juries was taken from the freeholders of the towns, and conferred on the sheriffs of the counties. Moreover, the legislative powers of the town meetings, which had previously been very great, and on which the New Englanders had always set the highest value, were considerably reduced. Beyond the election of town officers and representatives at two annual meetings, the townsfolk were to enjoy no political privileges, nor even to assemble in special session, except by the written leave of the Governor, and then only for business purposes previously set forth, and sanctioned by him. Two other Acts were sent to General Gage together with the Regulating Act. These authorised him to quarter his army in towns, and to transfer to another colony, or to England, any persons informed against or indicted for crimes committed in supporting the revenue laws, or suppressing riots.

Such were the means by which the English Government provoked the discontent of the Americans to the pitch of rebellion. One might almost suppose that Ministers had taken in earnest the sarcastic advice of Franklin in a treatise which he published in 1773, under the title of "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One." In this discourse, which Swift himself could not have surpassed for wit, terse sense, concentration of thought, and masterly style, Franklin observes:—

"I address myself to all Ministers who have the management of extensive dominions which from their very greatness have become troublesome to govern, because the multiplicity of their affairs leaves no time for fiddling. In the first place, gentlemen, you are to consider that a great empire, like a great cake, is most easily diminished at the edges. Turn your attention, therefore, first to your *remotest* provinces; that, as you get rid of them, the next may follow in order. That the possibility of this separation may always exist, take special care the provinces are never incorporated with the mother country; that they do not enjoy the same common rights, the same privileges in commerce; and that they are governed by severer laws, all of your enacting, without allowing them any share in the choice of the legislators. By carefully making and preserving such distinctions, you will (to keep to my simile of the cake) act like a wise gingerbread-baker, who, to facilitate a division, cuts his dough half through in those places where, when baked, he would have it broken to pieces.

"Those remote provinces have perhaps been acquired, purchased, or conquered, at the sole expense of the settlers, or their ancestors; without the aid of the mother country. If this should happen to increase her strength, by their growing numbers, ready to join in her wars; her commerce, by their growing demand for her manufactures; or her naval power, by greater employment for her ships and seamen; they may probably suppose some merit in this, and that it entitles them to some favor: you are therefore to forget it all, or resent it, as if they had done you injury. If they happen to be zealous Whigs, friends of liberty, nurtured in revolution principles, remember all that to their prejudice, and contrive to punish it; for such principles, after a revolution is thoroughly established, are of no more use; they are even odious and abominable.

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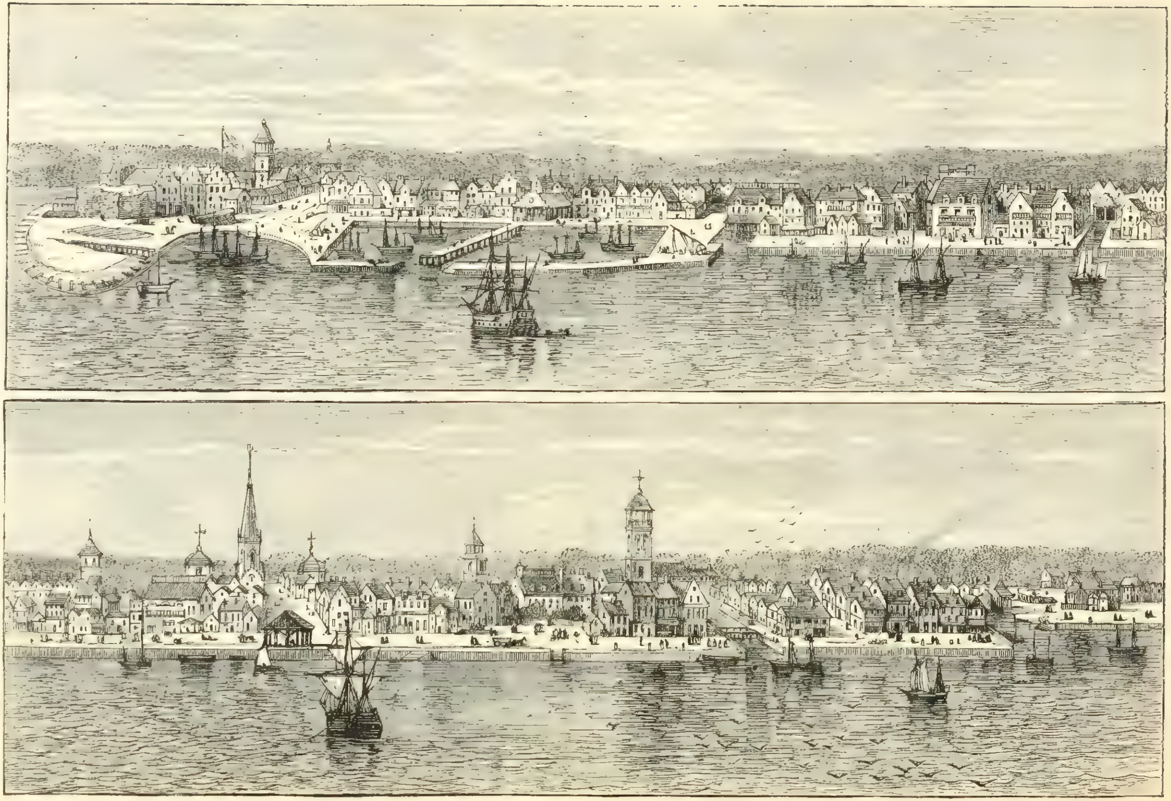
* Bancroft.

"However peaceably your colonies have submitted to your government, shown their affection to your interests, and patiently borne their grievances, you are to suppose them always inclined to revolt, and treat them accordingly. Quarter troops among them, who by their insolence may provoke the rising of mobs, and by their bullets and bayonets suppress them. By this means, like the husband who uses his wife ill from suspicion, you may in time convert your suspicions into realities. Remote provinces must have Governors and judges, to represent the Royal person, and execute everywhere the delegated parts of his office and authority. You ministers know that much of the strength of government depends on the opinion of the people; and much of that opinion on the choice of rulers placed immediately over them. If you send them wise and good men for Governors, who study the interest of the colonists, and advance their prosperity, they will think their King wise and good, and that he wishes the welfare of his subjects. If you send them learned and upright men for judges, they will think him a lover of justice. This may attach your provinces more to his government. You are therefore to be careful whom you recommend to those offices. If you can find prodigals who have ruined their fortunes, broken gamesters or stockjobbers, these may do well as Governors; for they will probably be rapacious, and provoke the people by their extortions. Wrangling proctors and pettifogging lawyers, too, are not amiss; for they will be for ever disputing and quarrelling with their little Parliaments. If withal they should be ignorant, wrongheaded, and insolent, so much the better. Attorneys' clerks and Newgate solicitors will do for chief justices, especially if they hold their places during your pleasure; and all will contribute to impress those ideas of your government that are proper for a people you would wish to renounce it.

"To confirm these impressions, and strike them deeper, whenever the injured come to the capital with complaints of maladministration, oppression, or injustice, punish such suitors with long delay, enormous expense, and a final judgment in favour of the oppressor. This will have an admirable effect every way. The trouble of future complaints will be prevented, and Governors and judges will be encouraged to farther acts of oppression and injustice; and thence the people may become more disaffected, and at length desperate. When such Governors have crammed their coffers, and made themselves so odious to the people that they can no longer remain among them with safety to their persons, recall and reward them with pensions. You may make them baronets too, if that respectable order should not think fit to resent it. All will contribute to encourage new Governors in the same practice, and make the supreme government detestable.

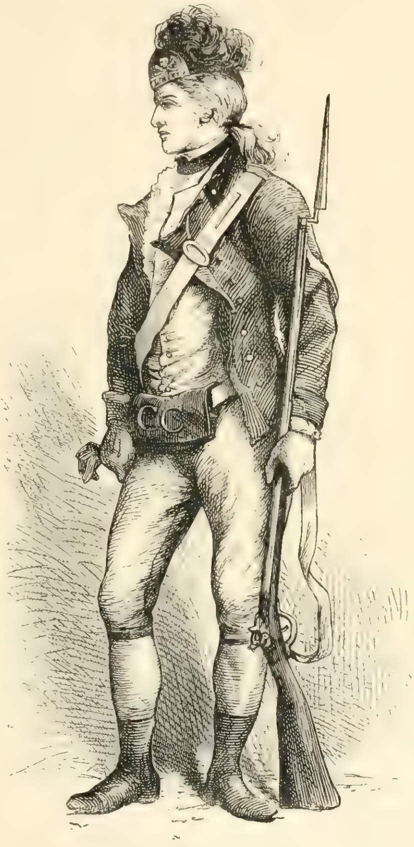
"If, when you are engaged in war, your colonies should vie in liberal aids of men and money against the common enemy, upon your simple requisition, and give far beyond their abilities, reflect that a penny taken from them by your power is more honourable to you than a pound presented by their benevolence; despise, therefore, their voluntary grants, and resolve to harass them with novel taxes. They will probably complain to your Parliament that they are taxed by a body in which they have no representative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redress. Let the Parliament flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuse even to suffer the reading of them, and treat the petitioners with the utmost contempt. Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienation proposed; for, though many can forgive injuries, none ever forgave contempt.

"In laying these taxes, never regard the heavy burdens those remote people already undergo in defending their own frontiers, supporting their own provincial Government, making new roads, building bridges, churches, and other public edifices, which in old countries have been done to your hands by your ancestors, but which occasion constant calls and demands on the purses of a new people. Forget the restraint you lay on their trade for your benefit, and the advantage a monopoly of this trade gives your exacting merchants. Think nothing of the wealth those merchants and your manufacturers acquire by the colony commerce; their increased ability thereby to pay taxes at home; their accumulating, in the price of their commodities, most of those taxes, and so levying them from their consuming customers: all this, and the employment and support of thousands of your poor by the colonists, you are entirely to forget. But remember to make your arbitrary tax more grievous to your provinces by public declarations importing that your power of taxing them has no limits; so that, when you take from them without their con-



NEW YORK IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. (*From a Print of the period.*)

sent a shilling in the pound, you have a clear right to the other nineteen. This will probably weaken every idea of security in their property, and convince them that under such a government they have nothing they can call their own; which can scarce fail of producing the happiest consequences."



'A REAL AMERICAN RIFLEMAN.'

(*From "An Impartial History of the War in America,"* 1780.)

Franklin goes on to suggest other tyrannical measures which the British Government had then adopted, or which it shortly afterwards carried out: such as the transportation of colonists to England for trial, in the case of alleged political offences; the declaration that the English Parliament had a right to make laws binding on the colonists in all circumstances whatsoever; the sending over of revenue officers to superintend the collection of imposts, and to conduct prosecutions, which, even in the event of an acquittal, were to be at the cost of the prosecuted; the misapplication of taxes in the way of granting pensions and rewards to Governors who had distinguished themselves by enmity to the people; the appointing of Governors and judges by the King; the repeated dissolutions of the local Legislatures; the arbitrary proceedings of customs officers in the suppression of real or imaginary smuggling; the refusal to redress or even hear grievances; the hanging of those who presumed to complain; the seizing of fortified places erected at the expense of the colonists, and the turning of them to the oppression of the provinces; the sending of armies and fleets into the country; the demolishing of frontier forts, so that the savages might be encouraged to attack the outlying settlements; and the investing of the military Commander-in-chief with great and unconstitutional powers. These sarcasms appeared first in the *Public Advertiser* (Franklin being then in England), and produced so great an effect that they were shortly afterwards reprinted in that journal, and in other places. At the same time, Franklin published an imaginary Edict of the King of Prussia, in which that monarch is supposed to claim Great Britain as a colony of his nation, on account of the peopling of England by the followers of Hengist and Horsa, and to order the same measures against her that she had decreed against the Americans.* This also had a great influence amongst a certain class of politicians, and was considered to present the case of the colonists in a fair light; but the justice of the implied argument is more than doubtful. Some of the New England patriots in the time of Charles II. had advanced the same thesis; yet it is a proposition which will not bear handling. The German invaders of England in the fifth and sixth centuries never formed a colony, of which the central seat of government was at Berlin, or any other German city. They in fact coalesced with the race they already found there, and in time created a nation distinct from the Teutonic stock, though in some degree allied to it; speaking a different language, following different ideas and traditions, and developing a novel type of political life and character. Even if at first a right of jurisdiction existed in any German kingdom (which is in the highest degree questionable, seeing that the Britons, unlike the Red Indians, never acknowledged their subjection to a foreign ruler), such right had lapsed, owing to its not having been exercised for more than a thousand years. But the English settlements in America had always existed as colonies, and as nothing else. Neither the original settlers nor their descendants had mingled with the aborigines, so as to form a separate nation. They had always continued to be English; they had always in terms acknowledged the sovereignty of the mother country, however much, as a matter of fact, they had defied or evaded it; and the mother country, on her part, had never ceased to assert that sovereignty. The great mistake of the Americans—one which certainly envenomed the quarrel between America and England, and made it all the more difficult of adjustment, though this, of course, does not excuse the tyrannies of George III. and his Ministers—was in the denial of all practical jurisdiction by the parent State, and that at the very time when they were asserting their hereditary rights under the British Constitution.

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* Works of Franklin, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. IV.

But considerations of this nature have very little weight with people who are smarting under a sense of wrong. The Regulating Act exasperated the American colonists to the utmost, and they resolved to disregard its provisions. The councillors appointed by the King took the oaths of office within a few days after the receipt of the Act; but the committee of Boston, seeing clearly the gravity of the crisis, sent a circular to the other towns of the province, suggesting the necessity of united action in resisting the policy of the Imperial Government. One of the answers to this appeal plainly hinted at civil war as the result of that policy. "Is a glorious death in defence of our liberties," asked the authors of this reply, "better than a short, infamous life, and our memories to be had in detestation to the latest posterity? Let us all be of one heart, and stand fast in the liberties wherewith Christ has made us free; and may He, of His infinite mercy, grant us deliverance out of all our troubles!" Meetings, at which counsel was taken of the ministers of religion, and of others celebrated for piety, as in the old days of Puritanism, were held in various places; and the shire of Worcester summoned a county congress, at which it was expressly declared that the violation of the Massachusetts charter by the British Government was equivalent to a dissolution of the union of the provinces with England. Signs of military preparation, moreover, were not wanting on the part of the colonists. The several companies of militia were paraded for discipline in the towns and villages, and it was calculated that, out of a total population in the province of 400,000, the number of men between sixteen and sixty, most of whom possessed arms, and were trained to the use of them, was about 120,000. When Putnam, of Connecticut, a hero of the old wars with France, was told that twenty ships of the line and twenty regiments were expected from England in case Boston should not at once submit, he replied that he was ready to treat them as enemies. This must have sounded at the time like boasting, and doubtless many people laughed; but it expressed the real determination of the American people, and the end proved that it was no idle vaunt.

The time for holding the General Congress was now approaching. As the delegates from Massachusetts were being escorted by large numbers of the populace in the direction of Philadelphia, in the month of August, they received from Hawley, the patriot of Northampton, a letter strongly counselling a resort to arms, if they could in no other way rid themselves of British taxation. Hawley admitted that there was not then heat enough for battle; but constant and negative resistance would increase it. There was not military skill enough; but that was improving, and must be encouraged. "Fight we must finally, unless Britain retreats," he added. "But it is of infinite consequence that victory be the end of hostilities. If we get to fighting before necessary dispositions are made for it, we shall be conquered, and all will be lost for ever." He therefore recommended the laying up of an adequate supply of arms and military stores, and the formation of a bond of union, so that every grievance of any one colony should be regarded as an injury to the whole. Some plan, he thought, should be settled for a continuation of Congresses, even though such assemblies should be denounced by Parliament as high treason, as he believed they soon would be. Such were the sentiments with which the Massachusetts delegates proceeded to Philadelphia to attend the Congress. The feeling they expressed was general throughout the province. The people of the town of Worcester, apprehending a special effort to enforce the Regulating Act, manufactured arms and cast musket-balls, threatening to attack any body of soldiers whom Gage should send against them. The councillors appointed by mandamus felt the difficulty and even danger of their position. Some refused to accept their commissions; some who had consented to serve, declined to take any active part. Among the latter, one was menaced with death by his offended fellow-townsmen. Others were forced to resign by crowds of armed men, who plainly intimated that they would brook no refusal. Several revoked their acceptance of the office to which they were called, and the remainder sought shelter with the Royal army at Boston.

While the delegates were pursuing their way to the capital of Pennsylvania, hailed in many quarters by deputations of enthusiastic citizens, and cheered by the ringing of bells, the Boston committee-men were joined by representatives of several towns in the surrounding country. By this body it was unanimously resolved that the recent acts of the English Government were unconstitutional, despotic, and opposed to natural rights, and that any attempt to enforce them would be an usurpation, even should the agents bear the commission of the King. The unconstitutional courts were forbidden to proceed, and their officers were described as "traitors cloaked with a pretext of law." Practice in arms was declared to be the duty of the people, and persons threatened with arrest were placed under the protection of their county and province. At Springfield, the inferior court was completely overawed by a band of nearly two thousand men, who marched into the town with drums and trumpets playing, planted a black flag before the court-house, and vowed they would kill any one who should seek to enter. The upshot of this bold movement was that the judges executed a written covenant not to put their commissions in force, and some of the lawyers signed a confession of their error in having sent an address to Gage. Certain offenders against popular principles were compelled to beg forgiveness, and a military officer was tarred and feathered. At Boston, the persons returned as jurors refused to take the oath, on the ground that the Chief Justice of the court had been impeached by the late representatives of the province, that the charter of Massachusetts had been changed by an act of usurped power, and that three of the judges had accepted seats in the new Council, in violation of the constitution. The judges afterwards declared to Gage that they could do nothing. Gage himself, on consulting with the fragment of his Council at Boston, found himself in a dilemma from which the military force at his disposal was not sufficient to extricate him.

He now took a step which added fresh fuel to the fire of popular discontent. On the morning of the 1st of September, he despatched two hundred and sixty men up the river Mystic to Quarry Hill, situated on a point of land between Medford and Cambridge, with instructions to seize the powder belonging to the province of Massachusetts which had been stored there. Two hundred and fifty half-barrels were thus transferred to the castle, and at the same time two field-pieces were taken away from Cambridge. This act set the people in a ferment. They met in large numbers, and by intimidation compelled several of the Government officials to resign their functions. Gage wrote home that without considerable reinforcements he could do nothing. The malcontents, he said, were not a mere Boston mob, but the freeholders and farmers of the county. They were numerous, and excited to a pitch of fury. The aspect of affairs was indeed so threatening that Gage feared a repulse if he attempted any active operations. A check, he observed in his despatch, would be fatal, and the first stroke would decide a great deal. Oliver, the Lieutenant-Governor, after protesting that he would die, rather than submit to the dictation of the people, yielded to all their demands. The feeling of apprehension in the English camp at Boston was so great that the guards were doubled, cannon were planted on the outskirts of the town towards the country, and the troops were required to hold themselves in constant readiness against a surprise. Reinforcements were hastily summoned by Gage from Quebec and New York; but he still felt far from secure, and urgently demanded help from England. He also suggested the employment of Indians and Canadians against the English colonists—a conception fraught with mischief, especially as regarded the enlisting of savage warriors. New England was but too well acquainted with the merciless ferocity of those barbarian hordes, when excited by contest, by fanaticism, or by liquor.

With every succeeding day, the excitement caused by the seizure of the gunpowder at Quarry Hill became more formidable. Large masses of armed men, from several of the towns and counties of Massachusetts, of the other New England provinces, and of the neighbouring colonies, were on their march to Boston. A collision with the Royal troops would probably have ensued, had not the leaders of the patriotic party in that city sent word to their friends that the time for action had not arrived. But it was distinctly understood that the day of retribution for accumulated injuries was fast approaching, and Putnam wrote that, on the first intimation from Boston of a desire for martial assistance, he would be prepared with forty thousand men, well-equipped, to share in the honour of ridding their country of the tyrants by whom it was oppressed. The adjourned convention of the county of Suffolk, in Massachusetts, approved of the resistance of the people, declared that the sovereign who breaks a compact with his subjects forfeits their allegiance, rejected the Regulating Act of Parliament and all officers appointed under it, enjoined the mandamus councillors to resign their places within eleven days, directed the collectors of taxes not to pay any money to the treasurer recognised by Gage, and resolved, should that General arrest any one on political grounds, to seize all the Crown officers in the province as hostages. The members also made suggestions for the election of officers of militia (formerly appointed by the Governor and Council), and for the holding of Provincial Congresses together with the General Congress which was shortly to assemble at Philadelphia. In the meanwhile, Gage was beginning to construct those fortifications on the neck of land joining Boston to the surrounding country, by which he hoped to secure the town and overawe the provinces.

CHAPTER XIII.

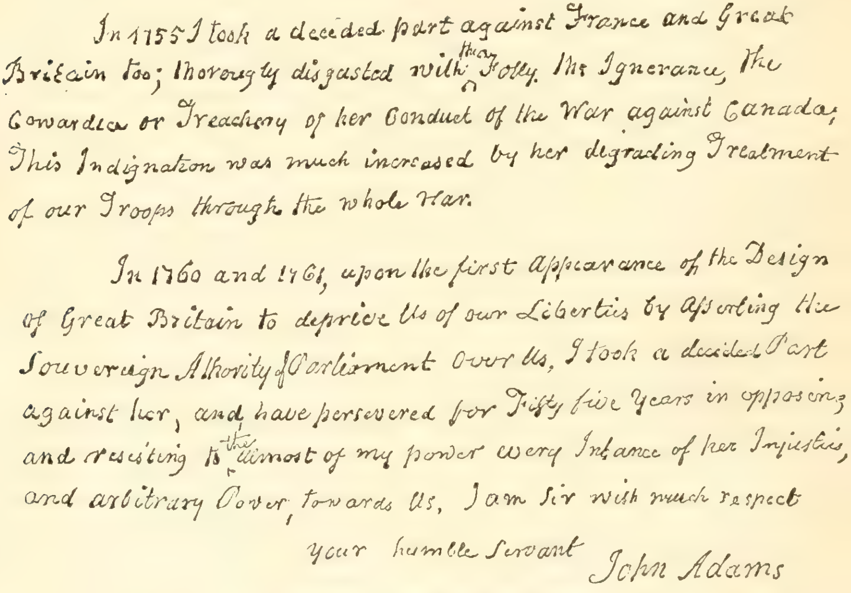
Meeting of the Congress at Philadelphia—Organisation of that Body—Speech of Patrick Henry—Voting Power of each Colony—Discussion on the Rights of the Colonists, and Statement of Grievances—Compromise by John Adams on the Power of the Parent State—Various Resolutions and Proposals of the Congress—Declaration of Rights—Memorials and Addresses to the King, to the People of England, to the Anglo Americans, to the Canadians, and to the Inhabitants of Various Settlements—Dissolution of the Congress—What it did for American Independence—Lord Chatham's Opinion of American Political Genius—Opposition of Quakers to the Congress Proceedings in Massachusetts, and Perplexity of Gage—Destruction of Tea at Annapolis, Maryland—Meeting of the Massachusetts Representatives, and Formation of a Provincial Congress—Measures taken by that Body—Gage and the Patriots—A Period of General Agitation and Alarm.

MONDAY, the 5th of September, 1774, was a great and important day in the annals of English America. It was the day on which the Congress of the United Provinces met in solemn session at Philadelphia. The members deputed by the several colonies had been arriving for some days, and they greeted one another with enthusiasm as the vanguard of liberty in that young western world. It was suggested to them, by Galloway, of Philadelphia, that they should appoint commissioners with full powers to go to England, and there represent their grievances to the Court. But it was very generally felt that such a proceeding would be undignified and futile. The representatives of the provinces were resolved to discuss their wrongs in a freely-elected Parliament of their own. They were in no mood to pay homage either to the English Throne or to the English Legislature, and they set to work without delay to organise a Chamber for the efficient consideration of every subject bearing on the political well-being of their widely-separated, but still in some respects homogeneous, communities. The first meeting took place in a tavern, and it was determined to accept the offer of the carpenters of Philadelphia, who placed their spacious hall at the disposal of the delegates. The number of members was at first fifty-five, including such men as George Washington, Samuel and John Adams, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and others of high repute, if not of equal renown; and the colonies represented were eleven. Peyton Randolph, late Speaker of the Virginian Assembly, was chosen President of the Congress, and the conduct of business was regulated with all the formality of an established Legislature. As the provinces were not equally represented as regards the number of members, and their relative importance could not be exactly ascertained, it was decided that each colony should give one equal vote on every question discussed. The meetings were to be held with closed doors, and the transactions of the Assembly were on no account to be divulged, unless by order of the majority.

The resolution with respect to the voting power of each colony was arrived at on the second day of meeting, when Patrick Henry, speaking on behalf of Virginia, drew forth in long array the many injuries inflicted on America by the action of the English Parliament. His speech was the first utterance of the Congress after its organisation. It had not been quite clear what business should be first transacted; the responsibility of commencing proceedings of such vast importance and such uncertain issues weighed heavily on all; and for some time an embarrassing silence prevailed. The magnificent oratory of Patrick Henry breathed, or rather flashed, a spirit of life into the dead assemblage. He declared that the injustice of England had brought all government in the provinces to an end; that they had to begin anew; and that the Congress then sitting was the first in a never ending succession of Congresses. He then went on to consider the future constitution of what he clearly regarded as a Federation of independent States. The representation of the colonies, he contended, must in the main be democratical, though he was prepared to concede somewhat to the claims of property, and to considerations of import and export, in adjusting the relative powers of the provinces. Slaves were to be absolutely excluded from any share in the political constitution of the general government; and if the freemen could be represented according to their numbers, such an arrangement, in the opinion of the speaker, would be the one most desirable. He would not allow any force to the objection that this would give too much power to the more populous States. British oppression, he said, had made one nation of the several colonies, so that he no longer considered himself a Virginian, but an American. Many contradictory opinions were expressed; but in the end the matter was settled in the way indicated by Henry.

Before the close of the third sitting, an express arrived from Putnam, reporting an attack on the people by the troops at Boston, and that Massachusetts and Connecticut were in arms. A profound impression was produced, and next day the bells rang a muffled peal. Having despatched a letter to General Gage, requesting him to desist from his measures, Congress appointed a committee on the rights of the colonies, and another on the British statutes affecting their manufactures and trade. At a subsequent sitting, the first of these committees discussed with great minuteness the difficult question which was to engage its attention. Some were for going to extreme lengths, and for basing the liberties of the provincials on natural rights; others disagreed with this view, either from genuine dislike, or from a prudential fear of consequences. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, contended that allegiance was inalienable, and that the rights of the Americans were derived simply from the British Constitution. Similar deviations of opinion were observable with reference to the question whether or not Parliament had any jurisdiction over the colonies. The more moderate would allow some control; the more uncompromising opponents of England refused to admit the slightest. While the matter was being discussed, further intelligence arrived from Massachusetts as to what was going on there. The delegates from that province laid before Congress the address of the Suffolk county convention to Gage on his recent measures of military coercion, and the resolutions of the same body rejecting all obedience to laws passed by the English Parliament. Adhesion to the address and resolutions was enthusiastically voted by the Congress, which furthermore expressed a hope that the united efforts of North America would so convince the British nation of the unjust and ruinous nature of the policy then being carried out by the Administration as to enforce the employment of better men, and the introduction of wiser measures. But the hope was a vain one. It cannot be doubted that the English people, in the main, supported the Ministry in their determination, if possible, to put down American resistance. The national honour was supposed to be bound up in the result; and the agreement of the colonists to admit of no Parliamentary jurisdiction whatever, increased the popular anger at American disloyalty.

The result of the discussion on colonial rights in the Philadelphian (or, as it was called, the Continental) Congress, was a tacit admission that the privileges of the colonists rested on a historical rather than a natural basis. The statement of grievances was equally limited, it being determined, against the wish of South Carolina, not to include in that statement any reference to the Navigation Acts, or to the laws injuriously affecting manufactures, which had been passed in earlier times (though these were very generally condemned), but to have regard only to what had been done since the accession of George III. The division of opinion as to the authority of the mother country was serious and prolonged; but at length a compromise was proposed by John Adams in the following words, which were introduced into a Declaration of Rights:—"From the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of the countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such Acts of the British Parliament as are, *bonâ fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole Empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent." These concessions to the claims of Great Britain, with the consequent limitations of the American case, were dictated by prudence rather than by principle. The more cautious feared to provoke the power of England, and perhaps hoped to stand well with the rest of Europe by a display of moderation. But it is apparent that most of the members were strongly inclined, as a matter of individual opinion, to a more defiant course. The resolution proposed by John Adams, and accepted by Congress, was certainly not at all consistent with the favourite doctrine of the patriotic party, that the British Parliament had, of right, no jurisdiction whatsoever over the colonies, under any conceivable circumstances. The formal moderation of Congress lost much of its value when read by the light of opinions which were known to be generally entertained, and which it was certain the colonists would lose no opportunity of enforcing.



In 1755 I took a decided part against France and Great Britain too; thoroughly disgusted with their Folly, the Ignorance, the Cowardice or Treachery of her Conduct of the War against Canada; This Indignation was much increased by her degrading Treatment of our Troops through the whole War.

In 1760 and 1761, upon the first Appearance of the Design of Great Britain to deprive Us of our Liberties by asserting the Sovereign Authority of Parliament over Us, I took a decided Part against her, and have persevered for Fifty five Years in opposing and resisting to the utmost of my power every Instance of her Injustice, and arbitrary Power, towards Us, I am Sir with much respect

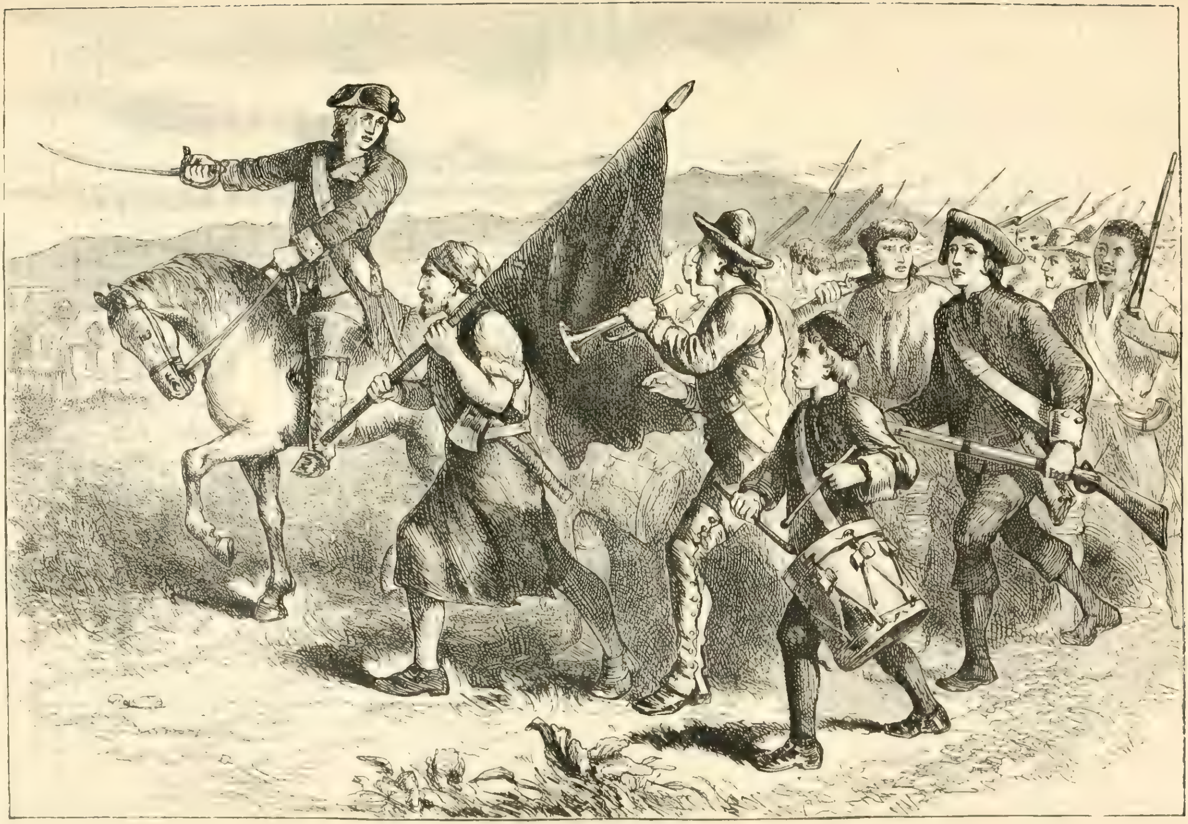
your humble Servant John Adams

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM JOHN ADAMS.

(*From "A Piece of Autobiography," by John Adams, written in 1815.*)

Among the other matters discussed by Congress was a proposal of Galloway that the general government should consist of a President, to be appointed by the King, and a Council, to be chosen once in three years by the several Assemblies. The acts of this body were to be revised by the British Parliament, and the American Council was to have a negative on British statutes relating to the colonies. Lee, of Virginia, and Patrick Henry, opposed this scheme; the latter arguing that to entrust the taxation of the country to a Council, elected not by the people themselves, but by their representatives, would be to lay the colonists at the mercy of that bribery which had been avowed by the old country as a part of her system of government. The project was set aside, and Galloway was confirmed in those loyalist predilections which he seems to have entertained in secret from the first.

Before the breaking up of the Congress, a resolution was passed, though not without dissentient voices, approving the opposition of the people of Massachusetts to the execution of the late Acts of Parliament, and declaring that, if any attempt should be made to carry them into execution, all America ought to support them in their opposition. This was on the 8th of October. On the 10th it was further declared that every person who should accept or act under any commission or authority derived from the Regulating Act of Parliament, changing the form of government and violating the charter of Massachusetts, ought to be held in detestation. Without any antagonistic votes, it was resolved that from the 1st of December the Americans would import no merchandise from Great Britain and Ireland. If the several grievances of the colonists should not be redressed by



THE CROWD AT SPRINGFIELD WITH THE BLACK FLAG.

the 10th of September in the following year, no merchandise was to be exported to the parent State, or to the West Indies. The second of these resolutions was distinct from the first, and was opposed by three delegates from South Carolina, on the ground that the exports of that colony to England were so large that to prohibit them would involve total ruin. The dissentients, finding themselves out-voted, left the Congress, but were recalled after several days of suspended activity, when the unconditional export of rice was allowed. Another resolution of the Congress was to the effect that the provinces would neither import slaves, nor purchase them if imported, after the 1st of December; at which time they would wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and would neither be concerned in it themselves, nor hire their vessels, nor sell their commodities or manufactures, to those who sanctioned it.

The Declaration of Rights to which the Congress agreed, asserted that the colonists had never ceded to any sovereign Power whatever the privilege of dealing arbitrarily with their life, liberty, or property. It was alleged by the authors of this document that their ancestors, at the period of the emigration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects of the realm of England; that by their emigration they had not forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; but that they and their descendants were entitled to all of them which their circumstances enabled them to exercise. They argued that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their Legislative Council; that, as the colonists were not, and from various causes could not be, represented in the British Parliament, they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial Legislatures, where only their right of representation could be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject simply to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as had heretofore been used. They asserted their right to trial by their fellow-colonists; denounced a standing army, kept up in time of peace in any colony, without the consent of the Legislature of that colony, as illegal; and maintained that a Legislative Council appointed during pleasure by the Crown was unconstitutional.

In addition to this statement of elementary rights, the delegates voted a memorial to all their American countrymen; an address to the King, and one to the people of Great Britain; a letter to the Canadians; and sundry appeals to the settlements of St. John, Nova Scotia, Georgia, and the Floridas, which were not represented in the Congress, and were supposed to be peculiarly liable to Royal influences, as being Crown colonies. In the memorial to their own countrymen, the popular representatives set forth as one of the greatest of existing grievances the recent Quebec Bill, which they described as a wicked attempt to establish the Roman Catholic faith, together with a model of tyranny, within the British Empire, for the gratification of a French colony but recently conquered at the expense of the blood and treasure of the ancient colonies of England. The letter to the Canadians adroitly, but not very ingenuously, followed a different line of argument. It threw doubts on the sincerity of those who had passed the Quebec Bill; suggested that the restored system of French law could not be fitly administered by English functionaries; and urged the Canadians to make common cause with the English Americans by electing deputies to the Congress. In their address to the King, the delegates recapitulated their grievances, implored the Royal clemency for protection against them, and imputed all their distresses, dangers, and fears to the destructive system of colonial administration which had prevailed since the conclusion of the French war in 1763. As his Majesty enjoyed the singular distinction of reigning over freemen, the language of freedom, they trusted, could not be displeasing to him. "Your Royal indignation," they proceeded, "we hope will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men who daringly interpose themselves between your Royal person and your faithful subjects, and, by abusing your Majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your Majesty's repose by our complaints." In conclusion they wrote:—"Permit us, most Gracious Sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects that, if attained, never can compensate the calamities through which they must be gained. We therefore most earnestly beseech your Majesty, that your Royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief, and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition."

With a view to conciliate the people of England, the delegates, in addressing them, expatiated on the great value they attached to a full share in the system of the British Constitution, and prophesied danger to the whole of that system by the extinction of its vital principle, liberty, in so large and important a part of the Empire as America. All they asked was to be replaced in the situation they occupied at the close of the late war, in which case the harmony that had formerly subsisted between the mother country and her colonies would be restored. "To your justice," they said, "we appeal. You have been told that we are impatient of government and desirous of independency. These are calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness. But if you are determined that your Ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind,—if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause,—we must then tell you that we will never submit to any Ministry or nation in the world." It is difficult to resist a suspicion that some of these declarations were not very truthful. The admiration of the British Constitution expressed by the delegates did not prevent their contemplating, and making preparations to establish, a Constitution of a very different kind; and their assertion that they would be content with the political state existing up to 1763 is far from harmonising with the complaints they made before that period, or with the notorious fact that in many quarters, especially in New England, a separation from the old country had been contemplated for some generations. We shall altogether misapprehend the tenor of American history if we fail to observe that the ill-treatment of the colonists by George III. and his Ministers merely hastened the War of Independence, and did not create the feeling out of which division and rupture were in time certain to issue.

The Continental Congress sat eight weeks. On the 26th of October it was dissolved, after having recommended the appointment of a similar assembly, to meet on the 10th of May following, unless a redress of grievances had been obtained ere then; and, to further the creation of this second Congress, it was recommended that all the colonies should elect deputies as soon as possible. Thus ended a most important experiment in American Legislation. That experiment must be regarded as one of the great turning-points in the History of the United States. The assembling of a Congress representing most of the colonies was a plain assertion of national existence, and foreshadowed the nature of that independent Government which was clearly coming on. The scattered forces of Anglo-American life were concentrated in a great Assembly which embodied the will of many distinct communities. The old divisions and jealousies were to some extent healed: a country was slowly forming itself out of the chaos of discordant settlements. Observers in England had often expressed a doubt as to whether the American colonies, even supposing they could establish their independence, would be able to maintain a condition of unity in the face of so many diverging and often antagonistic tendencies. The doubt was not unreasonable, for, up to that date, the Northern, the Southern, and the Middle States had frequently exhibited a great deal of distrust and want of sympathy. Their populations perpetuated among themselves all the political and religious differences of society in the old land, together with others which had arisen in America itself from distinctions of climate, of natural productions, of commerce, and of general interests. But, as Patrick Henry observed, the oppression of the English Government had effaced the boundaries of the several States, and a common pressure on the freedom and well-being of all had compacted the diffused and straggling life of the colonies into an intense and indivisible force. The debates in Congress had proved, on a grander scale than had yet been seen, that Americans possessed a large amount of debating power, and the genius of statesmanship in no stinted measure. Chatham himself —an authority not easily to be surpassed—declared that the delegates assembled at Philadelphia were, in solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conduct, second to no human assembly of which history has preserved the memorial. Sweeping and facile statements of this character were very much in the taste of the eighteenth century; but, in this particular instance, the compliment involved no great exaggeration.

Yet the Congress did not give unmixed satisfaction even to Americans. The Quakers of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys doubted the propriety of such an Assembly, the proceedings of which, they feared, would provoke a sanguinary war with the mother country. At a meeting held at Philadelphia on the 24th of January, 1775, the views entertained by Friends on the existing crisis, with especial reference to the recent Congress, were elaborately set forth. "The divine principle of grace and truth which we profess," they wrote, "leads all who attend to its dictates to demean themselves as peaceable subjects, and to discountenance and avoid every measure tending to excite disaffection to the King, as supreme magistrate, or to the legal authority of his Government; to which purpose many of the late political writings and addresses to the people appearing to be calculated, we are led by a sense of duty to declare our entire disapprobation of them. . . . From our past experience of the clemency of the King and his Royal ancestors, we have grounds to hope and believe that decent and respectful addresses from those who are vested with legal authority, representing the prevailing dissatisfactions and the cause of them, would avail towards obtaining relief, ascertaining and establishing the just rights of the people, and restoring the public tranquillity; and we deeply lament that contrary modes of proceeding have been pursued, which have involved the colonies in confusion, appear likely to produce violence and bloodshed, and threaten the subversion of the constitutional Government, and of that liberty of conscience for the enjoyment of which our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas, and of settling in the wilderness." They therefore felt compelled publicly to declare against every usurpation of power and authority, in opposition to the laws and government, and against all combinations, insurrections, conspiracies, and illegal assemblies whatsoever; and they expressed a hope that they would be enabled to maintain their testimony against any requisitions which might be made of them, of a nature inconsistent with their religious principles, and the fidelity which they conceived they owed to the King and his Government, as by law established. These views were held by the majority of the American Quakers; but there were some who agreed with the revolutionary party, and mixed themselves up with its proceedings. The dissentients were accordingly advised by their brethren to guard, with the utmost circumspection and care, against joining in any measure which should appear not to be dictated by that "wisdom which is from above; which is pure, peaceable, gentle, full of mercy and good fruits."[*] The loyalty of Quakers, ever since the days of William Penn, is in curious contrast with the extreme opposition to all established forms and authorities manifested by the two founders of Quakerism, George Fox and James Naylor, and by their immediate followers both in England and America. It seems, however, to be a natural result of those principles of quietism which form so large a part of Quaker doctrine and practice. When the King's Government drew the sword on the Americans, the Quakers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey expressed a warm sympathy with the Republicans; but, as a rule, they would not fight.

While the Congress at Philadelphia was debating the great and imminent questions of the day, the people of Massachusetts were making further preparations for the state of war which, there could now be little doubt, was certain to arrive ere long. Gage was obliged to forbear from any assertion of authority beyond the fortifications of Boston, and to content himself with maintaining his rule in the city itself. The male inhabitants of the county of Worcester, from sixteen to seventy, formed themselves into companies and regiments, elected their officers, and agreed that one third of the enrolled should hold themselves ready to march at a minute's notice. Even in Boston, under the immediate eye of the military, a resolute and unflinching spirit was exhibited. The newly-elected representatives of the town were fully determined, in the event of a dissolution, to join the other members for the province in forming a local Congress. In the country, resistance was the only thing thought of, and the twelve towns nearest Boston agreed to withhold from the troops everything that was not strictly necessary to life. The Massachusetts Assembly was to meet on the 5th of October, 1774, and it was known that the elected councillors, now superseded by those of the King's appointment, intended to take their seats. The mandamus councillors shrank from opposing them, and Gage, not knowing what to do, and yet fearing to run the risk of dissolving the Assembly, issued a proclamation on the 28th of September, declining to meet that body at Salem, where it had been appointed to sit, and therefore discharging its members from the duty of attendance. The General was indeed sorely perplexed, and pestered the Home Government by the most contradictory recommendations.

Firm in their resolve to oppose the agents of the English Government, yet doubtful as to the best course to be pursued, the representatives of Massachusetts applied to Congress for advice. Some of the richest people in Boston talked of abandoning their homes, and, with their families, building huts in the woods, rather than submit to military dominion in the city. Gage continued to seize the warlike stores of the people, to fortify the most advantageous spots, to plant cannon so as to command the roads from the country, and to treat the citizens as a conquered race. Gadsden, one of the members of Congress, was in favour of an immediate attack on the English Commander, before reinforcements could arrive; but the general sense of the Philadelphian Assembly was opposed to measures of violence until all pacific means had been exhausted. In Maryland, however, a species of collision occurred. A brig from London arrived at Annapolis with a large consignment of tea, on which the owner of the vessel at once paid the duty. The people were angered at this acknowledgment of the tax imposed by England, and a committee was appointed to keep watch, so that the tea should not be landed. Not only the townsfolk, but the people of the surrounding country, became excited on the subject, and the two importers and the shipowner expressed their sorrow for what had happened, implored forgiveness, and offered to burn the whole cargo. Even this, however, did not appease the mob; and it was at length found necessary to commit the vessel itself to the flames. Such events were of course very regrettable, for they encouraged that tendency to anarchical violence which is always latent in communities, and which is particularly prone to assert itself in the southern colonies of America. But they showed how deep-seated was the opposition to British imposts.

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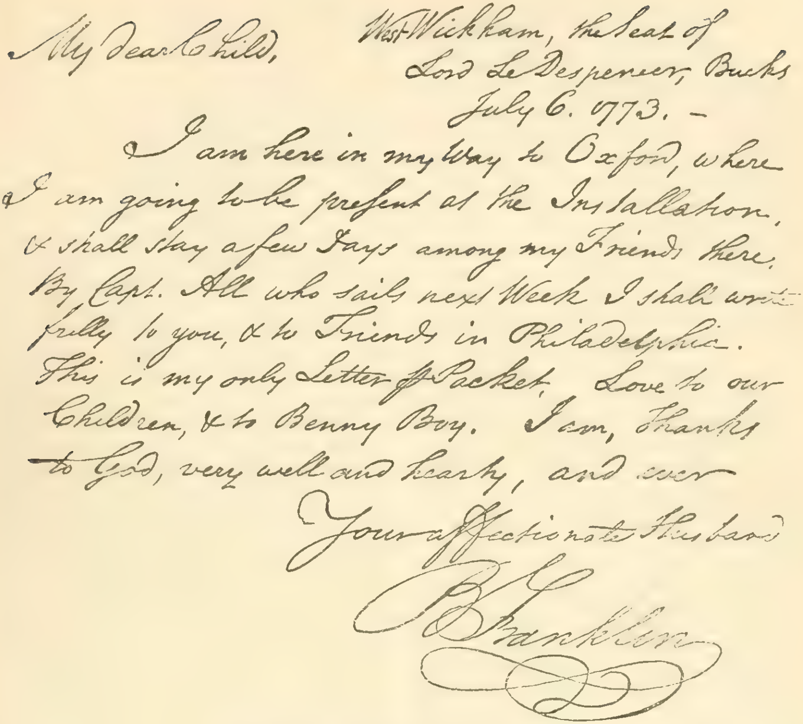
[*] History of the Society of Friends in America, by James Bowden, 1854, Vol. II., chap 12.

The representatives of Massachusetts would not recognise the validity of General Gage's proclamation excusing them from attendance. Ninety members made their appearance, on the 5th of October, at the court-house in Salem. They waited two days for the Governor, and then, finding he did not appear, resolved themselves, on the third day, in accordance with instructions they had received from their constituents, into a provincial Congress. Having adjourned to Concord, which is situated about eighteen miles from Boston, they chose John Hancock their president, and began their proceedings on the 11th of October. Two hundred and sixty members took their seats, and on the 14th sent a message to the Governor, informing him of what they had done, remonstrating against his hostile preparations, and adjuring him to desist immediately from the construction of the fortress on Boston Neck. In his reply, Gage expressed great indignation at the idea that the lives, liberty, or property of any but avowed enemies were in danger from English soldiers. He observed that the troops which he commanded at Boston had been deprived almost of necessaries by the people of Massachusetts; yet they had discovered no resentment. While the malcontents were complaining of alterations in their charter by Act of Parliament, they were themselves, argued Gage, subverting that charter by the mode of assembly which they had adopted, and were acting in direct violation of their own constitution. He therefore called on them to refrain from such unconstitutional proceedings; but his warnings were disregarded. On the 17th of October, the members of the Provincial Congress adjourned to Cambridge, thus removing their official seat to within about four miles of Boston. Here they appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the immediate defence of the province; ordered the enlistment of a number of the inhabitants, who were to hold themselves in readiness to appear in arms at a minute's warning; elected three general officers to command these "minute-men," as they were termed, as well as the provincial militia, if called into active service; and appointed a committee of safety and a committee of supplies. The greatest trouble was with respect to funds. A degree of parsimony was evinced by several of the members; but, after much hesitation, they were induced, on successive days, to vote three distinct sums, amounting in all to nearly £16,000, for defraying the expenses of the coming struggle. They also resolved to pay no more money to the Royal collector, appointed a receiver-general of their own, and instituted a system of provincial taxation. The Massachusetts representatives would gladly have reverted to the charter of Charles I.; but this was not sanctioned by the Continental Congress, and the former body accordingly adhered to that which had been granted by William III. The Assembly at Cambridge then adjourned to the 23rd of November, and the two antagonists stood face to face, mutually distrustful, agitated by hatred and apprehension, yet each making pretence of a desire for some friendly arrangement, and a disinclination to abandon the strict grounds of law.

During this pause, the public mind passed through a state of excitement and tumult similar to that which Shakespeare describes when, speaking in the character of Brutus, he observes that all the interim between the first conception of a dreadful purpose and the carrying of it into execution is like a phantasma or a hideous dream. An American writer of the time has remarked that the events of that period may be transmitted to posterity, but that the agitation of the people can never be fully comprehended but by those who witnessed it. Portentous rumours and vague alarms filled the air like a subtle epidemic. It was said that Gage had commanded his troops to attack the Massachusetts militia, and to fire on the people of Boston. Business was almost suspended, and crowds of armed men filled the country roads, ready for action on the first opportunity that should present itself. Towards the close of the year, a Royal proclamation reached America, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Great Britain. Hereupon the people of Rhode Island removed from the public battery some forty pieces of cannon, and the Assembly gave orders for procuring arms and martial stores, and for the immediate equipment of a military force; while in New Hampshire a body of four hundred men, commanded by John Sullivan, at that time a lawyer, but afterwards a Major-General in the American army, surprised the castle at Portsmouth, and confined the Royal garrison until all the ammunition in the magazine, together with several arms and pieces of artillery, had been carried off. In effect, the sword was already drawn, though the state of peace nominally continued. A fratricidal war, which might have been averted by mutual concessions—by a greater regard for popular rights on the one side, and a greater deference to Imperial claims on the other—was on the eve of breaking out; and the despotic Powers of continental Europe looked on, in scarcely-dissimulated triumph over those principles of freedom which they hoped would perish in the shock.

VIEW IN MASSACHUSETTS.



My dear Child,

West Wickham, the Seat of
Lord Le Despencer, Bucks
July 6. 1773. –

I am here in my Way to Oxford, where I am going to be preſent at the Installation, & shall stay a few Days among my Friends there. By Capt. All who sails next Week I shall write fully to you, & to Friends in Philadelphia. This is my only Letter ℘ Packet. Love to our Children, & to Benny Boy. I am, thanks to God, very well and hearty, and ever

Your affectionate Husband

B Franklin

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

CHAPTER XIV.

Disagreement of New York with the Results of the Continental Congress—Want of Reliable Intelligence in England as to what was going on in America—Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia—His Policy of encroaching on the Limits of Other States—Indian War in the West—A Forest Battle, and subsequent Conclusion of Peace—The Western Huntsmen, and their Position towards American Politics—Elections to the House of Commons in the Autumn of 1774—Speech from the Throne at the Opening of Parliament—Ministerial Difficulties with respect to America—Franklin's Proposals for a Compromise—The Question as between Colonial Rights and Imperial Claims—Proceedings at Boston—Perplexity in England—Lord Howe and Franklin—Chatham's Motion in the House of Lords for an Address to the King on the Affairs of America—His Speech on that Occasion—Reception of the Motion—Bill by the same Statesman for Settling the Colonial Troubles—Rejection of the Measure by Ministers and their Supporters.

THE Congress had been a great success. Its counsels and resolves were ratified by all but one of the Provincial Congresses and Legislative Assemblies of America, and it was very generally felt that a protest of the most authentic and weighty kind possible had been made against the encroachments of the mother country. The one exception, however, was serious. New York refused, in its representative Chamber, to recognise what had been done and affirmed at Philadelphia. In that cosmopolitan province which is watered by the Hudson, a large and influential class was imbued with Royalist principles. Many of the rich colonists were connected with families of distinction in England and Scotland; and the capital had for some time been the head-quarters of the British army in America. The defection of New York from the general cause of the colonies, as represented by the Continental Congress, gave great satisfaction in the old country, where Ministers always supposed that the loyal part of the population was more numerous and more important than it really was. The Government of George III., and the King himself, were in some respects deceived by their representatives in the New World. They thought that the resistance of the people was little more than the hasty ebullition of a discontented mob, and that a firm display of power would rally to their side all the most substantial elements in the land. One great source of error in those days was the want of authentic intelligence. England was really ignorant of what was going on in her own possessions. In our time, an omniscient press reflects the events, the feelings, the aspirations, even the humours and whims, of the most distant communities. But in the reign of George III., Ministers knew nothing of America but what they learned from the interested, and not always truthful, reports of office-holders, or from the statements of American agents in England, whom they not unnaturally suspected of exaggeration, and who may perhaps in some respects have exaggerated.

The soul of the movement now rapidly leading to rebellion was undoubtedly Massachusetts; but Virginia also had a large share in the work of revolution. For the present, however, the attention of public men in the Old Dominion was to some extent diverted by events of a different character. The Governor of Virginia at that period was Lord Dunmore—a Scotch nobleman who had previously occupied, for a short time, the same post at New York, and who had earned a bad name for rapacity and absolutism. In Virginia he made himself more popular, by turning his own greed to the advantage of the colony. In spite of most positive instructions to the contrary from the King and the Colonial Minister, he supported the claims of Virginia to the West, that he might in this way acquire for himself certain immense tracts of land which the Indians of southern Illinois were disposed to sell. He then directed his attention to another quarter, and extended his jurisdiction over Pittsburg and the neighbouring country on the Monongahela, which of right belonged to Pennsylvania, but which Dunmore coveted as a great place for Indian trade, and a region likely to be much sought by western emigrants. When the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania opposed the agent whom the Scotch Earl sent to do his bidding, Dunmore expressed himself as if he had been personally insulted, and a series of petty contentions and collisions took place in the wild lands that opened on the illimitable western world. He ventured to exercise power, and to grant estates, north and west of the Ohio, although that territory had been reserved by Act of Parliament to the province of Quebec. Beyond the Alleghanies, however, the claims of rival jurisdictions were so contradictory that American backwoodsmen were prone to recognise none at all, but such as they could establish for themselves by their own labour and enterprise. The Indians were equally indifferent to the asserted rights of one province or another, and opposed themselves with impartial ferocity to the straggling bands of adventurers, from whatever quarter they came. Single murders, and massacres on a small scale, continually occurred, and at length something like a state of war was created in the wide plains watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries.

In the autumn of 1773, the enterprising explorer, Daniel Boone, was conducting his wife and family, with some others, to a place of settlement in Kentucky, when, as they approached Cumberland Gap, they were attacked by Cherokee Indians. Six of them, including Boone's eldest son, were slain, and the rest were compelled to turn back. The Government of Virginia summoned the Cherokees to give up the offenders; but they managed to evade their responsibility, and one of the white men, who had escaped, killed an Indian at a horse-race on the frontier, in revenge for what his countrymen had suffered. This led to reprisals. Six white men and two negroes were slaughtered by the savages in February, 1774, and a few weeks later they murdered some others on board a trading canoe on the Ohio, and carried away their goods. It soon became known that the several tribes in that part of America were conspiring against the whites, and the backwoodsmen along the frontiers began to organise war-parties. Unhappily, they acted with as much unreasoning cruelty as the Indians themselves. Several of the savages were entrapped, and massacred in cold blood, and a large number of tribes were inflamed with the desire of vengeance. The colonists became alarmed. They implored the Virginian Government for assistance, and Lord Dunmore, carrying out the expressed wishes of the Assembly, ordered the militia of the frontier counties to be embodied for defence. Nevertheless, the settlers continued to suffer from the tomahawk of the red man. Forty scalps were taken into the chief village of the Shawnees, and the summer was rendered horrible by acts of atrocity, in which each side vied with the other in treachery and bloodthirstiness. As the autumn advanced, Dunmore called out the militia of the south-west, and, seeking an interview with the Delawares and the Six Nations, concluded a peace with them. Descending the Ohio at the head of twelve hundred militiamen from the neighbouring counties, he crossed to the opposite bank, and proceeded to the towns of the Shawnees, which he found deserted. But his movements had been too expeditious, for he had promised to wait for the south-western men at the mouth of the Kanawha River, and when the energetic and courageous backwoodsmen, riding over rugged hills and through long reaches of forest, arrived, on the 6th of October, at Point Pleasant, near its junction with the Ohio, they found themselves without any intelligence from the Governor.

The position was one of great danger. The Shawnees were marching through the woods towards the encampment of the south-western Virginians, and these savage warriors had a deservedly high name for valour and warlike skill. On the 10th of October, they burst on the white men in full force. A fierce and prolonged combat ensued. The Indians, protected by the trunks of trees, behind which they lurked with the stealthiness peculiar to their race, poured a devastating fire into the Virginians, mortally wounding several. From sunrise to noon, the fight continued with unabated severity; then the Indians began to retreat under cover of the thickets. A running fire was kept up for some hours longer; but at the approach of night the savages disappeared across the river. Of the Virginians, nearly fifty men were killed, and about eighty injured; while the savages, who are supposed to have numbered eight hundred, must also have suffered gravely, though the exact proportion of their dead and wounded could not be ascertained. Having been reinforced by three hundred troops, the Virginians, some days later, followed the flying enemy across the intervening river, marched eighty miles through a desert country, and on the 24th of October encamped on Congo Creek. The Indians now thought it advisable to come to terms. Lord Dunmore admitted them to a conference, and a treaty was concluded which adjusted all differences, gave up the Kentucky side of the Ohio to Virginia, and further extended the jurisdiction of that colony to regions which, according to the regulations of the British Parliament, belonged to the province of Quebec.

It was not long ere Dunmore, involved in the whirlpool of American revolution, was at deadly issue with the Virginians; but for the moment he was highly popular. The Assembly described his conduct of the campaign as "truly noble, wise, and spirited," and it certainly had the effect of delivering the western territories from the dangers which had threatened them. But these Indian wars, and the wild lives of explorers, hunters, and trappers, which so often occasioned them, educated a large number of Americans in the active virtues of soldiership, and enabled them, in the ensuing struggle with the mother country, to encounter with success the trained regiments of England. Here again the King and his servants were ignorant of what was going on in America. They knew nothing of the fresh and vigorous race which was shooting up in the West—of the young nation which a fortuitous concourse of emigrants from all parts of Europe was creating between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and which a free contact with untamed Nature, with the hardships of the wilderness and the perils of Indian strife, was moulding to the proportion of heroes. But the men themselves knew their power and understood their rights. The soldiers who had just proved their valour against Indian foes, halted at Fort Gower, on the northern bank of the Ohio, when returning from the campaign, in order that they might consider the existing condition of their country, and the relations of the colonies towards the parent State. The upshot of their deliberations was conveyed in a resolution which promised continued allegiance to the King, if he would reign over them as a brave and free people, but which at the same time declared that, as attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweighed every other consideration, they were resolved to exert all their powers for American liberty, when called on by the unanimous voice of their countrymen. These western adventurers, living in a country where there was no visible representative of Royal power, on lands which they had won by their own daring and defended by their own prowess, were peculiarly inclined to the reception of ideas pointing to Republican independence.

If the people of America were determined, the people of England were not less so; and, unfortunately, the resolves of the two pointed to contrary ends. The elections to the British Parliament in the autumn of 1774 resulted in a large majority on the side of Government, and that distinctly on the question of their colonial policy. It is true that bribery was employed in several instances; but this appears to have been resorted to as a means of determining the issue as between man and man, rather than as between principle and principle.* Everything we know of that period shows that the coercion of America was dear to the English heart, and that it was considered disgraceful in an ancient and famous Empire to yield to the menaces of a distant possession. Of course there were exceptions to this rule. A few men sincerely desirous of promoting conciliatory measures found their way to the House of Commons; but they formed merely a small though devoted phalanx. Many even of the liberally-disposed thought that the Americans had been too violent and headstrong; only a few, and those the most factious, were prepared to defend the colonists in everything, and to refuse all support to the Ministry in asserting the dominion of England. The consequence was, that when the Government met Parliament on the 30th of November, they were enabled to assume a confident position with regard to the great question of the day. In his Speech from the Throne, the King reminded the two Houses that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a highly criminal nature; that these proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in his other colonies; that unwarrantable attempts had been made to obstruct the commerce of his kingdom by unlawful combinations; and that he had taken such measures and given such orders as he judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the Acts passed at the commencement of the year relative to the province of Massachusetts.

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* Earl Stanhope affirms that there was less venality at this General Election than at the preceding one. (History of England, chap. 51.)

The Addresses in reply to this Speech, which of course re-echoed the sentiments of the Royal communication, were carried by large majorities; yet Ministers seemed perplexed as to what course they should take in the unparalleled difficulties of the time. Nothing definite had been done when Parliament adjourned for the Christmas holidays. During the recess, however, intelligence arrived in England that a Congress had been sitting in America, and that resolutions of an extreme character had received the sanction of that body. In those days, intercommunication between distant countries was so slow that the English Ministers were always acting with reference to a state of things which had perhaps materially changed since the last despatches. The condition of America was much more serious by Christmas, 1774, than it had been when Congress adjourned on the 26th of October; and even in September, Gage had written home that the Regulating Acts of Parliament could only be enforced by military power, that all the provinces sympathised with New England, and that the people were arming in defence of what they believed to be their rights. The quarrel had been envenomed since that date; the people and the military were already face to face. Gage had previously suggested that the obnoxious Acts should be suspended, and that the colonies should be left to themselves, and to the anarchy and want which, in his opinion, would speedily ensue. This, he thought, would soon bring them to repentance; but, if such advice had ever been reasonable, the time for carrying it out had now passed. The King also rejected every idea of compromise, and said to Lord North that blows must decide whether the colonies were to remain subject to England, or to become independent. The Premier, whose ideas were more liberal than those of his colleagues, by whom he was frequently over-ruled, proposed to send out commissioners of inquiry; but the King would not hear of such an arrangement. He had at any rate the penetration to see that rebellion had begun, and that the day of small conciliations had gone by.

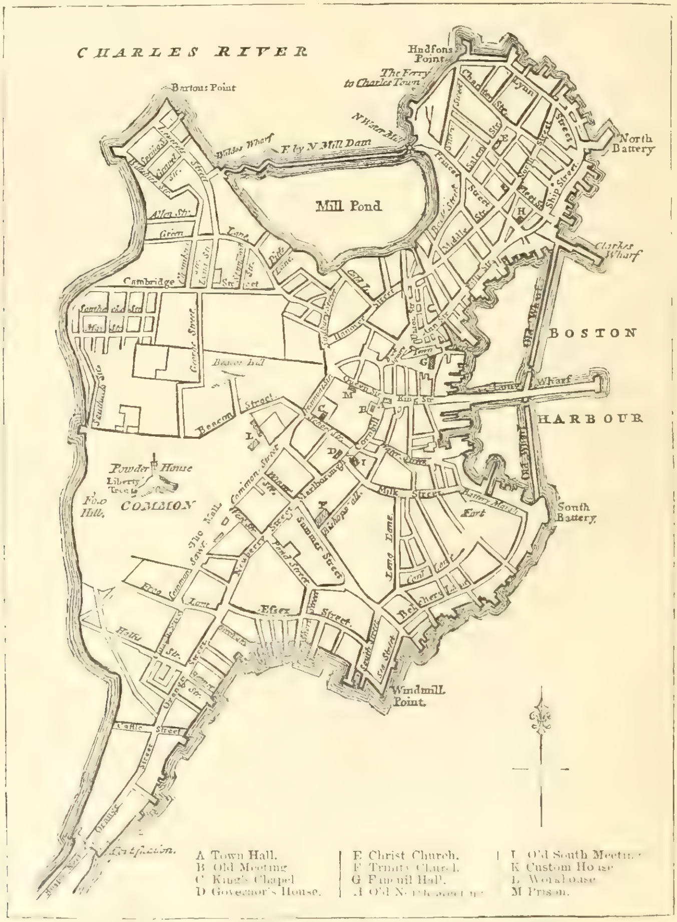
Franklin had by this time come to the conclusion that the colonies must be entirely emancipated from the rule of the mother country; yet he published some hints as to the terms on which a durable union between Great Britain and her American possessions might possibly be effected. These terms were to the effect that the Tea Duty Act should be repealed; that payment should be offered for the tea that had been destroyed; that England should give up her monopoly of American commerce; that America, on her part, should furnish liberal aids in times of war and peace; and that the Quebec Act should be rescinded, together with the Regulating Acts. The repeal of the last-mentioned statutes he particularly insisted on. The charter of William III., he argued, was a compact between the King and the people of Massachusetts, and could be altered only by the consent of both. If it were once admitted that the English Parliament had a right to change the colonial laws at will, the colonists would be deprived of all privileges but what they would hold at the pleasure of the parent State. Franklin might have spared himself the trouble of making these proposals. It was not in the slightest degree likely that they would be accepted; nor, indeed, was the argument convincing from the English point of view. That the Massachusetts charter was a "compact" between the King and the people, in the sense of an agreement by which two perfectly independent parties mutually bind one another, is certainly a position very far from tenable. It was rather a something conferred, which the Power so conferring could, as a matter of strict legal right, withdraw.

To exercise that right may have been unwise, may have been unfair, may have been unjust; but it is not easy to see how it can be described as illegal.

The Revolution of 1688 had modified the functions of Royalty, and, by a gradual increase of popular power, had introduced the authority of Parliament as a necessary element in all but the set forms of government. In this way it had come to be considered that whereas, in the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, the administration of the colonies was the sole prerogative of the King, it had now been transferred to a department of State, to be managed by the responsible Minister of the day, with the sanction of Parliament and the assent of the monarch. Such an arrangement, it is true, was no more satisfactory to the Americans than the simpler form of despotism which it displaced; for it left them at the mercy of a political organisation in which they had no share. Powers so dangerous should always have been used with the most conscientious regard for the interests and reasonable wishes of the colonists; and it is not to be controverted that they were seldom so used. But the denial that they existed, except as an usurpation—the assertion that, do what the colonists might, Parliament was never to exercise any control—was a challenge which the mother country could hardly avoid accepting. Even Burke always contended for a Parliamentary jurisdiction. Had the leading politicians on both sides of the Atlantic been more temperate—more truly inclined to a policy calculated to promote the unity of the Empire and the welfare of all its members—some plan might, at an earlier period, have been discovered for limiting the supervising power of Parliament, and permanently securing the substantial liberties of the Americans. Blamable as the policy of English Ministers had often been, they had generally, up to the close of George II.'s reign, shown a disposition to reconsider any measure against which the colonists respectfully remonstrated. The change of mood after the accession of the Third George may in part be attributable to the haughty nature of the American demands, as well as to the despotic tendencies of the King; and that those demands so suddenly acquired this character of haughtiness, appears to have been owing to the relative increase of American power, and corresponding decrease in the feeling of dependence, consequent on the subjugation of the French in Canada. The desire for a separate national existence had been cherished in New England, and perhaps in some of the other colonies, for generations; the determination to effect it on the earliest opportunity was always borne in mind; but the opportunity itself did not arise until 1763.

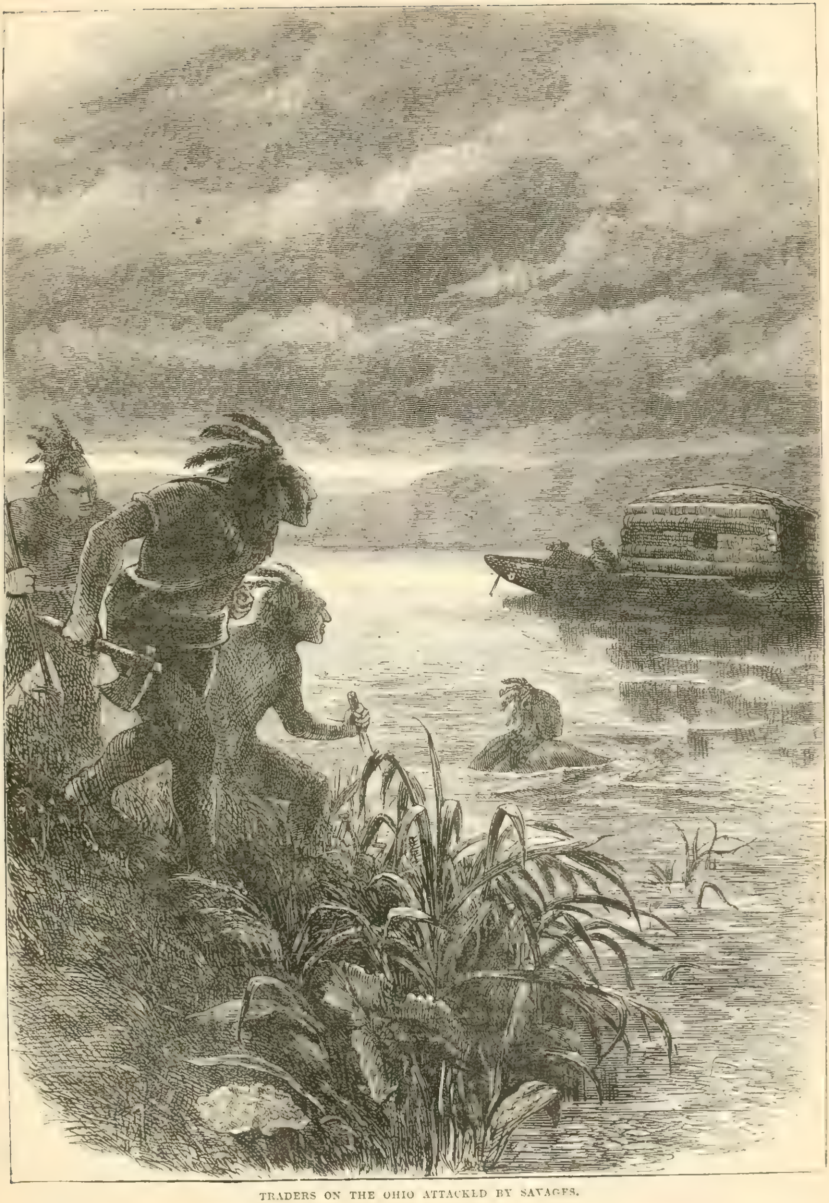
While Parliament was considering the state of America, yet at the same time making no provision for increased expenses, adding not a man to the army, and actually reducing the navy—so little was it supposed that American resistance could ever assume the magnitude of a war—the people of Massachusetts were preparing for the struggle. The Provincial Congress established a secret correspondence with Canada, entreated the religious ministers of New England to aid in averting the dreadful slavery with which the country was threatened, and addressed the people in a stirring appeal which affirmed that it was impossible to conquer a nation in arms, but at the same time urged the immediate necessity of adopting measures of defence, and pointed out that the minute-men not already provided should be at once equipped, and disciplined at least three times a week. The unity of feeling among the great majority of the people was a fact not to be questioned. It was a feeling derived from the primitive traditions of the colony, and fostered by the eloquence of divines who made politics a part of their religion. Gage could do nothing to extinguish it, and he appears to have attempted little. Towards the close of the year, the electors met, according to their ancient forms, to choose delegates to the next Provincial Congress. Proclamations against these irregular assemblies were issued by the English commander; but the prohibition was not enforced. It was as much as Gage could do to hold his ground against the rising tide. With the small force at his disposal, he was powerless to suppress the political action of the colonists.

The petition of the Continental Congress was presented to the King by Franklin and the agents of Massachusetts only, the other colonial representatives refusing to join. The King promised that after the recess it should be submitted to Parliament, and in the meanwhile the professional politicians talked the matter over, with little agreement as to what should be done. Lord North refused to repeal the Regulating Act, but evinced a willingness to leave the matter of taxation in the hands of the Americans themselves. Barrington, the Secretary at War, who knew that the army was ill-organised and far from strong, advised a withdrawal of the troops from Massachusetts, and the granting of liberal concessions. But the King remained firm in his policy of simple and unrelieved coercion. In this juncture, Lord Howe, brother of the gallant officer who fell at Ticonderoga, called on Franklin, with a view to effecting some compromise, such as might incline the English Government to adopt a more conciliatory course.


CHARLES RIVER
Bartons Point
Hudsons Point
The Ferry to Charles Town
N Water St.
Mill Pond
North Battery
Charles Wharf
BOSTON
Long Wharf
HARBOUR
South Battery
Powder House
Liberty Tree
Fox Hill
COMMON
Beacon Hill
Beacon Street
Cambridge
Hanover Street
Queen St.
King St.
Cornhill
Milk Street
Long Lane
Summer Street
Essex
Fort
Windmill Point
Fortification
A Town Hall.
B Old Meeting
C King's Chapel
D Governor's House.
E Christ Church.
F Trinity Church.
G Faneuil Hall.
H Old North Meeting
I Old South Meeting
K Custom House
L Workhouse
M Prison.

A PLAN OF BOSTON. (*From Faden's North American Atlas*, 1777.)

The interview took place on the eve of Christmas Day, 1774; but it led to no material modification of the American demands. Lord North still clung to the idea of sending commissioners to America, and asked Franklin if he would undertake such an office. Franklin replied by a statement of demands which must have staggered the English Premier. The Assembly of Jamaica voted, in December, a petition on behalf of the continental settlements, at the same time declaring that they had no intention of joining the American Confederacy; but nothing sufficed to turn aside the resolve of George III. to attempt the complete reduction of the colonies. All this while Franklin was the great object of regard or of hatred. The day after his interview with Lord Howe, he was received by the Earl of Chatham at Hayes, that nobleman's seat in Kent. The political virtues of the Americans were highly commended by the English statesman, who declared that he would do his utmost to promote their cause, as the last hope of freedom for England herself. But his utmost amounted to nothing, as



TRADERS ON THE OHIO ATTACKED BY SAVAGES.

regarded the ultimate development of events. He had few supporters in Parliament; he was unable to effect a junction with the Marquis of Rockingham; he and Burke were at issue; and the Ministerial majority was so strong that it was hardly possible to break it down.

The wishes of the King prevailed with the Government. Lord North found himself unable to carry out his temporising policy, and, at a Cabinet Council held on the 12th of January, 1775, it was resolved to interdict all commerce with the colonists, and to stigmatise as traitors and rebels those who had set themselves in opposition to the policy of the mother country. On the 20th of the same month,—papers relating to America being then laid before the House of Lords,—Chatham moved to address the King for immediate orders to remove the forces from the town of Boston. The speech which he then delivered was one of his most effective bursts of oratory; and it was listened to by Franklin and many other Americans. Vindicating the colonists in their opposition to the English Parliament, he said:—

"Resistance to your acts was necessary, as it was just; and your imperious doctrine of the omnipotence of Parliament and the necessity of submission will be found equally impotent to convince or to enslave. The means of enforcing thraldom are as weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. General Gage and the troops under his command are penned up, pining in inglorious inactivity. You may call them an army of safety and of guard; but they are, in truth, an army of impotence; and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation. But this tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood, shed in civil and unnatural war, will make a wound that years, perhaps ages, may not heal. Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts; three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity? They have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hostility, has blocked up the town of Boston, and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants. But his Majesty is advised that the union in America cannot last! I pronounce it a union solid, permanent, and effectual. Its real stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land; in their simplicity of life are found the integrity and courage of freedom. These true sons of the earth are invincible. . . . Every motive of justice and policy, of dignity and prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your Acts of Parliament, and by demonstrating amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures, every danger and every hazard impend;—foreign war hanging over you by a thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors. If the Ministers persevere in thus misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone; I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm that, the American jewel out of it, they will make the crown not worth his wearing."

Chatham's motion was supported by the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Camden, and Lord Shelburne; but the vast majority of the peers treated it with scorn and indignation. By some, the great Liberal statesman was accused of openly preaching sedition, and he was held personally responsible for events which were but too likely to take place in America. Such, indeed, were the views of the King himself. On the speech being described to him, he bitterly denounced Lord Chatham, and looked forward, with indecent eagerness, to the time when death, or the infirmities of age, should rid him of so troublesome an enemy. Replying, at the close of the debate, to the strictures of his opponents, the mover of the address to the sovereign reiterated his conviction that the Americans should be exempt from all taxation which they had not authorised by their own representatives. Yet even *he* granted to the mother country the right of regulating the commerce of the whole Empire; while Rockingham, though supporting the motion, still clung to his original view that the Act declaring the supremacy of the English Parliament was just and proper. Amongst the minority of eighteen who voted for the motion, against the sixty-eight who opposed it, one peer was to be found whose presence on the popular side is remarkable. This was the King's youngest brother, the Duke of Cumberland. George must have been annoyed at such a defection; but the largeness of the majority comforted him. He thought that the votes of a few irresponsible lords would overawe the rising spirit and youthful genius of democratic America.

Undiscouraged by the fate of his motion, Chatham, on the 1st of February, made yet another effort to avert civil war. He presented to the House of Lords a Bill, which he entitled, "A Provisional Act for settling the Troubles in America, and for asserting the Supreme Legislative Authority and Superintending Power of Great Britain over the Colonies." It was affirmed by this Bill (which its author described as a basis for measures of a conciliatory character, such as might avert the dangers of disruption by which the Empire was menaced) that the Parliament of Great Britain had full power to bind America in all matters touching the weal of the whole British dominions, and especially in making laws for the regulation of navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce; that no military force could ever be lawfully employed to destroy the best rights of the people; yet that the power of sending troops to the colonies should be maintained, independently of the voice of the colonial Assemblies. The measure furthermore provided that no taxes for his Majesty's revenue should be levied in America without the consent of the colonists; that the Congress of Philadelphia should be legalised, and empowered to meet again on the 9th of May, for the purpose of making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the British Parliament, and of voting a free grant to the Crown of a certain perpetual revenue; that the prayer of the petition of Congress should then be granted, the powers of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty courts in America be confined to their ancient limits, and trial by jury in civil cases be restored wherever it had been abolished; that all the recent Acts of Parliament which had been the cause of agitation in America should be forthwith suspended; and that, in order to secure due and impartial administration in the colonies, his Majesty's judges in America should hold their offices and salaries in the same manner as in England, viz., *quam diu se bene gesserit* (so long as they should conduct themselves properly). At the conclusion of the Bill it was expressly declared that the colonies in America were justly entitled to the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by their several charters or constitutions; and that the said charters or constitutions ought not to be invaded or resumed, unless for misuser, or some legal ground of forfeiture. So little was even Lord Chatham inclined to destroy all control of the colonies by the mother country, that he made a very distinct and emphatic statement to the contrary. If, he said, he could bring himself to believe that the Americans entertained the most distant intention of throwing off the legislative supremacy and superintending power of the British Parliament (which, however, had he been correctly instructed, he would have known really *was* their intention), he would himself be the first and most zealous mover for securing and enforcing that power by every possible exertion that England was capable of making.

The Bill was in some respects a very good one, and at an earlier stage of the quarrel it might have effected its avowed object. But it is certain that, had it been sanctioned by the English Parliament, it would not, in their then mood and temper, have satisfied the Americans. In the composition of his measure, Chatham consulted Franklin, and the latter, while thinking that it might serve as a starting-point for ulterior arrangements, frankly confessed that it was inadequate to the wishes of his countrymen. Neither the English statesman nor the American politician expected that the Bill would pass; it was indeed quite obvious that it would be cast out; and its production seems to have been intended for no other end than to force the Ministry into a more emphatic declaration against the Americans, into a position still more irreconcilable, and thus to strengthen the opposition of the colonists. The measure was encountered by Ministers with a flood of vituperation. It was condemned as the work of Franklin, whom Lord Sandwich described as among the bitterest and most mischievous enemies of England; and in the end it was rejected without even being allowed to lie on the table of the House, although the Duke of Manchester, Earl Temple, and Lord Lyttleton were for adopting a middle course, and, out of respect for its illustrious author, would have allowed the Bill to be introduced, so that it might be read and debated. The consciousness that America would not accept the proffered terms had probably something to do with this summary repudiation of the Bill; but a wiser statesmanship would rather have determined on putting the Americans in the wrong by offering a fair measure of conciliation. The Government of the day preferred to sow the storm, and it was not long before they reaped the whirlwind.

CHAPTER XV

Joint Address to the King from Lords and Commons Debates in the Two Houses—Augmentation of Sea and Land Forces Bill for restraining the Trade and Commerce of New England —Conciliatory Proposals of Lord North—Opposition of the Court Party—The Proposals affirmed by a Large Majority—Burke's Plan of Conciliation His Speech on bringing forward a Series of Resolutions- Arguments of that Statesman on behalf of American Liberties, and against their Subjugation by the British Government - Rejection of the Government Proposals by the Colonial Governors—Communications between Franklin and Lord Howe with a View to Conciliation—Proposals of the Government and of the American Agent Franklin's Interview with Burke —Question as to Franklin's Motives with regard to England His proposed Memorial to Lord Dartmouth, and Departure for America—Dr. Johnson's Tract on the American Question—Extracts from, and Remarks on, that Production.

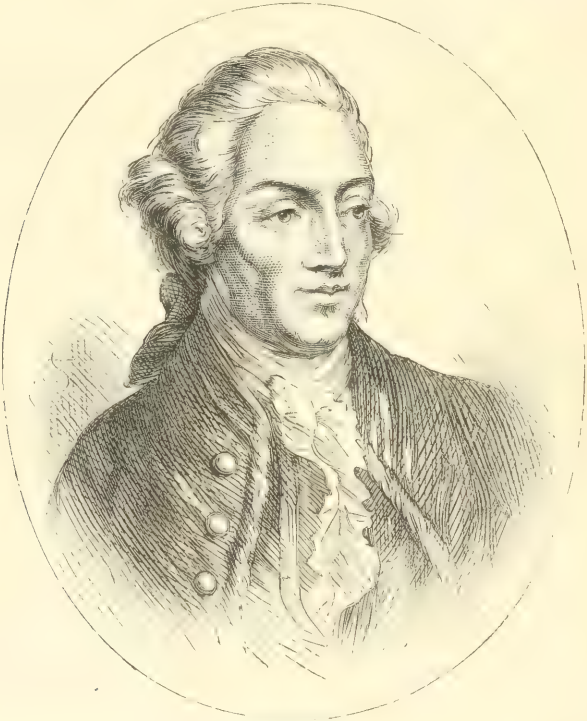
HAVING achieved their double victory over Lord Chatham, Ministers at once proceeded to the development of their own plans for meeting the existing troubles in America. On the motion of the Government, a joint address to the King was carried in the Lords and Commons, the members of which declared their opinion that a rebellion actually existed in the province of Massachusetts; besought his Majesty to pursue the most effective measures for ensuring due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme Legislature; and solemnly pledged themselves, together with their lives and fortunes, to support the sovereign in the maintenance of the just rights of the Crown, and of the two Houses of Parliament, against all rebellious attempts to infringe them. The proposal for this address was brought forward in the Lower House by Lord North on the 2nd of February, 1775, the day after the rejection of Chatham's Bill for the pacification of the colonies; and it led to a very animated debate. In his opening speech, the Premier intimated that a large military force was to be sent to America, and that the foreign commerce of the New Englanders, together with their fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, would be effectually stopped until they returned to their allegiance. Charles James Fox, then in the spring-time of his brilliant career, moved an amendment censuring Ministers for having rather inflamed than healed differences, and praying for their removal. With great eloquence and power of reasoning, he vindicated the Americans in the course they had taken, and upheld their determination to assert the right of all Englishmen to tax themselves, and to retain a due control over the Government to which their interests were entrusted. Dunning declared that the colonies were *not* in a state of rebellion, but were only resisting the attempt to establish a despotism in America, as a prelude to the same system in the mother country. On behalf of the Government, Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, addressed the House with his usual vehemence, and some of the speakers on the same side disgraced their cause and themselves by venomous and highly injudicious mockery of the colonists, their religion, character, and modes of life. It was the fashion in those days to describe the Americans as cowards, who would run at the first sight of an English regiment; and imputations to this effect were freely made in Parliament. When known in America, they must have contributed greatly to exasperate the people, and undoubtedly they rendered still more mortifying the ultimate discomfiture of the Royal army.

Fox's amendment was negatived by a large majority, and the original motion was carried. When the address was reported, on the 6th of February, the opposition was renewed. Lord John Cavendish earnestly deprecated civil war, with its concomitant, a foreign war; and Wilkes, then member for Middlesex and Lord Mayor of London, exclaimed, "Who can tell whether, in consequence of this day's violent and mad address, the scabbard may not be thrown away by the Americans, as well as by us, and whether, should success attend them, they may not in a few years celebrate the glorious era of the revolution of 1775 as we do that of 1688?" A proposal that the address should be recommitted was disallowed, and on the following day it was introduced into the Lords, after a conference between the two Houses. In the Upper as in the Lower Chamber, the questions involved were warmly discussed. The Marquis of Rockingham bluntly declared that he would risk neither life nor fortune in support of the measures recommended. He affirmed that four-fifths of the nation were opposed to the address—a fact of which he could have had no certain knowledge, if fact it were; and he promised that, having set out by supporting the cause of the people, he would never, for any temptation whatsoever, desert or betray that cause. A great deal of personality and mutual incrimination marked the debate. Both Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden disavowed having had anything to do with the original Act for taxing America, which they condemned as the origin of the existing dispute. Camden was reminded by the Duke of Grafton that he was himself Lord Chancellor at the time the law passed, and must therefore have been a consenting party to it. The Duke of

Richmond made similar accusations of insincerity against Mansfield; and Mansfield and Shelburne gave one another the lie direct. With the exception of the taxing Bill, Lord Mansfield supported the whole of the recent legislation on America, sanctioned the measures shadowed forth in the address, and, speaking as a lawyer, asserted that the Americans were undoubtedly in a state of rebellion. The equally high authority of Lord Camden was advanced on the contrary side. That eminent jurist denied that a state of rebellion existed in America, for many distinctions were to be made between actual and constructive treason. Ultimately, the House agreed to the address of the Commons by a majority of nearly four to one. On the 9th of February, it was presented to the King by a numerous deputation from the two Houses, headed by the Lord Chancellor and the Speaker; and George, in his reply, pledged himself to enforce, speedily and effectually, obedience to the laws, and to the authority of the Legislature. To Lord North he spoke of adopting the most coercive measures, and in a message to the Commons he recommended an augmentation of the sea and land forces. The result was a vote of 2,000 additional seamen, and 4,400 additional soldiers—a very small increase, considering that not only were the Americans threatening to give a great deal of trouble, but France was arming on a large scale, with views not at all friendly to England.

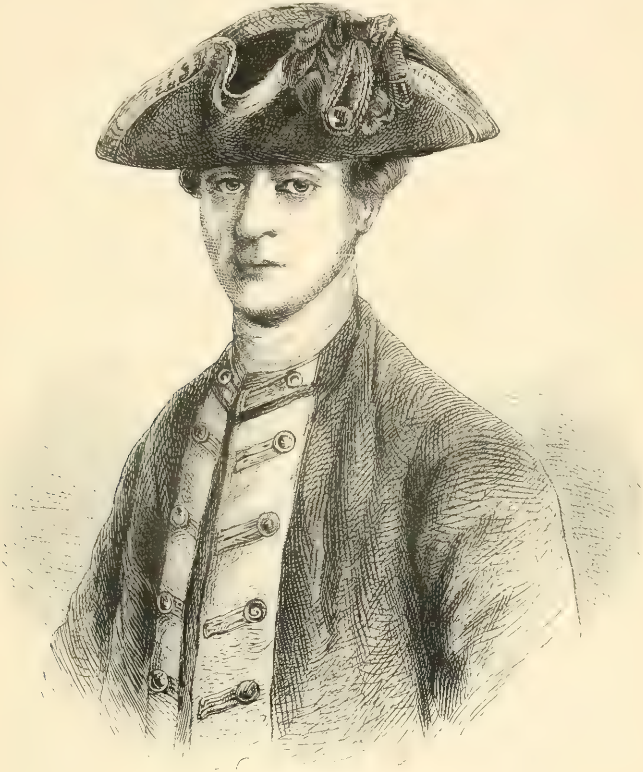
Fortified by the large majority which had ratified the address, Lord North, on the 10th of February, introduced into the House of Commons a Bill for restraining the trade and commerce of the provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West India Islands, and prohibiting them from pursuing any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, excepting in the case of such persons as should procure from their Governors certificates of good and loyal conduct, and who should subscribe a test acknowledging the supremacy of the British Parliament. The penal Acts of the preceding year had been confined to Massachusetts; but, as the other New England provinces had since joined in the movement initiated by the principal colony of that part of America, they were now included in one general punishment. The opponents of the new measure represented that it had the vice of confounding the innocent with the guilty, and of destroying a trade on which whole provinces depended—an act which might have the effect of starving a large number of persons, and of provoking the Americans into repudiating their debts to British merchants. Sir George Saville argued that rebellion is sometimes right, and asked whether a people taxed without their consent, deprived of their charters, tyrannised over by an army, and denied even the privilege of complaining, might not be in justifiable rebellion. In support of the Bill, it was urged, with some pertinence and force, that, as the Americans had resolved not to trade with England, it was but fair to prevent their trading with other countries; that, as they had entered into associations to ruin English merchants, impoverish English manufacturers, and starve the West India Islands, it was a justifiable act of retaliation to return their mischiefs upon their own heads. The colonists, argued the Ministerial party, had incurred the penalties of rebellion, and, as a consequence, had rendered themselves liable to military execution; but, instead of proceeding to such extremities, Government only proposed to bring them back to a sense of duty by a restriction on their trade. The Bill was sanctioned by a large majority, and so was another measure for laying similar restraints on the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, on account of their sympathy with New England. In one of the debates on this measure in the House of Lords, Camden justified the union of the Americans in defence of their liberties, and prophesied their inevitable success. A protest against the Act was signed by Rockingham and Shelburne.

It has been seen that the position of Lord North towards the colonies was somewhat equivocal. His own nature inclined him to conciliation; he was not without liberal ideas, and, with better subordinates in the Ministry, and a more reasonable Parliament, he might possibly have averted the struggle which deprived England of so large a part of her possessions. But the Cabinet consisted, to a great extent, of men holding absolutist views; and the elected, no less than the hereditary, Chamber was only too willing to abet their designs. Still, the Premier endeavoured, by advances of a more friendly character, to mitigate the effects of a severity which he did not wholly approve. On the 20th of February, while the coercive Act was still passing through Parliament, he brought forward, in a committee of the whole House, a resolution to the effect that, whenever any of the colonies should, by their own act, make provision for the common defence, and also for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice, Parliament would forbear to levy any taxation on the provinces so acting, except such as it might be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of which should be carried to the account of such colonies exclusively. This proposal excited very general surprise and



JOHN HANCOCK.

dissatisfaction, and many of Lord North's own adherents and colleagues were offended by it. It was considered to be an abandonment of principles embodied in the joint address of the two Houses and in recent Acts, and to indicate weakness, doubt, and tergiversation. North, however, defended his proposal on the ground that it would afford a test as to the sincerity of the allegations put forward by the Americans. If the ostensible causes of their opposition were the real causes, they would, he conceived, accept the proffered terms; if they refused them, it would be a proof that they had other views, and were actuated by other motives, than those which they professed. "To offer terms of peace," he said, "is wise and humane. If the colonists reject them, their blood must be on their own heads." It appeared at first as if the resolution would have been ignominiously negatived. Some, even of those who sat on the Treasury benches - a section of the Government forming what was called the party of "the King's Friends"—denounced the proposal in no measured terms, and averred that it was intended to pay court to the Opposition by an implied admission that, after all, the taxation of Americans by the British Parliament was unjust and grievous. These uncompromising politicians declared that they would make no concessions to rebels with arms in their hands, nor assent to any measure which did not start with an express assertion of the supremacy of the British Parliament. The position of Lord North was serious, especially when a motion was made that the chairman should leave the chair, which was equivalent to proposing that the House should resume its ordinary business without the resolution being put to the vote. The policy of the Prime Minister, however, was ably supported by Sir Gilbert Elliot and by Wedderburn, who succeeded in convincing the majority that the twofold object of Lord North, as dimly and summarily shadowed forth in the joint Address, was to repress rebellion by measures of restriction, and at the same time to offer indulgence to those who would return to their duty. There was no design, it was stated, to give up the rights of Parliament; and Lord North himself said that his only intention was to separate the grain from the chaff, and to disunite the colonies by opening a door to the loyal. Fox, Burke, Barré, and others, fiercely attacked the resolution; but it was carried by 274 to 18. The measure might have had salutary effects at an earlier date; but it was now feared by many that the quarrel had gone too far to be composed by such means, particularly when taken in conjunction with the coercive laws which had just been passed.



LORD HOWE.

About a month later, the Opposition brought forward their own plan of conciliation. On the 22nd of March, Edmund Burke submitted to the House thirteen resolutions. Their effect was to repeal several Acts of Parliament (dating from 1765) which had injured or offended the Americans, to leave in their hands the payment of the judges (who were to be irremovable except for misconduct), to re-fashion the relations between the mother country and the colonies, and to raise a revenue from those colonies by means of grants and aids voted by the General Assemblies. The resolutions, after a warm debate, were rejected by the House; but they were made by Burke the occasion of delivering a very eloquent and masterly speech. Enlarging on the rapid growth and amazing energy of the Anglo-American race, he said:—

"As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries, you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. And pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits,—whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle,—we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dextrous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. When I contemplate these things; when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty."

Burke went on to show that, in these American colonies, from a great variety of sources, had grown up what he described as a fierce spirit of liberty. To prosecute that spirit as criminal—to apply to so great a public contest the ordinary ideas of criminal justice—appeared to him narrow and pedantic. It was in this speech that Burke made use of that brilliant expression which has since become one of the common-places of political discussion :—"I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." He pointed out—what a mind of less penetration would have failed to discover, but which is certainly as true as it seems paradoxical—that provinces where slaves most abound are all the more, instead of the less, attached to their own freedom on account of that institution. Slavery, by perverting the moral sense of the slave-holders, will in time destroy the very life of freedom in any nation; but, in young communities, the possession of this privilege of domineering over others, with its consequent immunity from painful or ignoble toils, from poverty, and from many forms of suffering, always makes the privileged class more haughty in rejecting the arbitrary rule of others. It is true that slavery was forced on the Americans by England, and that many of the colonists strongly objected to its continuance; yet there it was, and it had its effect on the character of the people, especially in the south. Another subject upon which Burke dilated was the difficulty of governing, except with a loose rein, a dependency so distant from the centre as America from England. "Three thousand miles of ocean," he remarked, "lie between you and your subjects. This is a powerful principle in the natural constitution of things for weakening government, which no contrivance can prevent. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system." This, said Burke, was a weakness inherent in all great and widely-extended Empires: the Turk could not govern Egypt as he governed Thrace, nor exercise the same dominion in the Crimea or Algiers as at Brusa or Smyrna. "My hold of the colonies," he continued, "is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government—they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government is one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith—wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break the unity of the Empire. It is the spirit of the English constitution, which, infused into the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the Empire, even down to the minutest member. Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England?"

The eloquence of Burke's address held the House in rapt attention for three hours; but his arguments persuaded few who were not already persuaded. The vote against him was more than three to one, and it was now evident that the Opposition in Parliament had done all they could. The quarrel was one which, at the stage it had then reached, was not likely to be composed either by reasoning or by oratory. Personal rancour had envenomed it; national pride had stepped in to forbid any settlement but that which should be determined by the sword. The King believed that the dignity of his Crown was concerned in a complete subjugation of the revolted colonists. The colonists, on their part, desired, it can hardly be questioned, not merely to assert their rights, but to humiliate the mother country, in revenge for a series of wrongs under which they smarted. Hot blood had been engendered on both sides, and it was not to be allayed even by eloquence the most splendid. Burke was always in favour of maintaining the supremacy of the Crown and Parliament over the colonies, and to that supremacy he still clung, though, acknowledging the force of events and the difficulties of the time, he felt compelled to make very considerable concessions, and to relinquish the Imperial privilege of taxing the American provinces, for which he had formerly contended. He could not have supposed, after Chatham's failure, that his resolutions would be affirmed; he was content that the subject should be once more discussed, and that he should be enabled to express, in fiery and sonorous words, his latest views on the great question of the day. It is perhaps doubtful whether even these concessions would have been deemed sufficient. The passions of both antagonists had by this time been so excited that probably nothing but complete and unconditional victory would have satisfied either. The proposals of the Government had not the smallest chance of being accepted by the Americans. They were conveyed to the several Governors in a circular letter from Lord Dartmouth, the Colonial Secretary, but were received with contempt. The exemption of New York, Delaware, and North Carolina from the penal enactments of Parliament increased the resentment of the other colonies, without in the slightest degree conciliating the provinces which it was sought to flatter. On the contrary, its effect was to throw those provinces unreservedly into the arms of the malcontents. A series of blunders had reached its natural termination in irreconcilable hostility.

During the early months of 1775, some further communications with a view to a reconciliation had taken place between Franklin and Lord Howe, but without result. Howe had been appointed to the command of the fleet in America, but he was, if possible, to act the part of a pacificator as well. He and his brother, Sir William Howe, to whom the direction of the land forces in the colonies was assigned, under the general orders of Gage, were invested by the King with commissions for the restoration of peace, according to the terms proposed by Lord North. Until about the middle of March, Franklin continued to negotiate with Lord Howe, and with other English gentlemen, in a vain endeavour after some accommodation. At one time there seemed a faint prospect of success. Franklin offered for the consideration of Government a set of seventeen terms, embodying the demands of his countrymen. Of these, the greater number, either in whole or in part, were accepted by the Administration; but the right of Parliament to exercise a power of altering the American constitutions was still asserted, and this condition was so utterly rejected by Franklin that he refused even to discuss it. Counter-propositions were made on behalf of the Government; but, though much was conceded by the Cabinet, and, on the other part, liberal money-grants were promised by Franklin if the requirements of the colonies were allowed, the negotiations always broke down on the question of Parliamentary control, which, as a general principle, would not be waived by the one side, nor allowed by the other. Franklin also insisted on denying the right of the King to send troops to any colony, except with the consent of its Legislature—a condition which even Chatham regarded as inadmissible. It was not until he had made this attempt at an agreement that Lord North brought forward his conciliatory motion in the House of Commons; and, although Franklin and Lord Howe still continued to discuss the matter, it became every day more obvious that agreement was impossible. The American envoy at length made preparations for departure. During his last day in London, he spent several hours in the society of Burke, to whom he lamented the approaching rupture of the connection between England and her colonies, but at the same time declared that it was inevitable. He professed a profound and affectionate admiration for the old country, and remarked that Great Britain presented the only instance in the history of the world of a State whose distant possessions had been as well governed as the capital itself. But the Americans, he said, were threatened with the loss of those advantages, and had to consider, not whether they were still to be governed as before the troubles (for better they could not be), but whether they were to give up so happy a situation without a struggle.

Burke entertained the highest respect for the varied and remarkable abilities of Franklin, and always believed in his sincerity and honour. But it has been doubted by many whether, in making these warm assertions of love for the country of his ancestry, and of sorrow at the approaching separation of the colonies from the seat of empire, the American statesman and philosopher was speaking truthfully. It is painful to cast even a shade of suspicion on a mind so great as Franklin's; yet it is difficult to help feeling that for some years his thoughts had been fully possessed with the idea of an independent American Republic, that he worked quietly and secretly to that end, and that at the same time he amused the heads of parties in London by exaggerated representations of the affection of New England towards Old England. Josiah Quincy, a young Bostonian then in London, wrote to a friend in his native city, on the 27th of November, 1774, that the ideas of Franklin were not contracted within the narrow limits of exemption from taxes, but were extended to total emancipation—a subject on which he was "explicit and bold."* With this covert design (which is not likely to have been conceived at the very time it was confessed to Quincy) his avowed sentiments were not in harmony. If it was true that, up to a very recent date, the colonies had been as well governed by the mother country as that country itself—if it was true that the colonists were aware of that fact, prompt to confess it, and eager in their filial love towards a parent who had done so much for them—it is incredible that a man of Franklin's great influence with his fellow-Americans could not have averted civil war, even after all the errors and wrong-doings of the Governments of George III., especially as a disposition to conciliate was now being shown by Ministers. But the fact appears to be that, in the windings of a somewhat tortuous policy, Franklin overstated the good government of the colonies by England previous to 1763, the degree of bad government since that year, and the amount of affection towards the ruling State entertained by the descendants of Englishmen in the New World. In Massachusetts—always the leader of great political movements—the quarrel with the old country began with the first settlement. It was continued during the reign of Charles II., when the authority of the King was barely acknowledged in any detail of government whatever. It led to a revolution in the days of James II., and his representative, Sir Edmund Andros; it was hardly mollified by the charter of William and Mary. Since then, all through the eighteenth century, the occasions of disagreement had been frequent, not only in New England, but in most of the other colonies. Great Britain had behaved with much selfishness towards her offspring, and there is little to show that the child bore any very ardent love towards its parent. The chief feeling between the two appears to have been one of mutual jealousy and distrust. England desired to use America for the promotion of her own immediate interests. America, angered at the cruelty of such a system, inspired with the new political ideas which a novel situation had created, and influenced by a not unnatural ambition, dreamt of independence long before she was strong enough to take any actual steps for accomplishing that purpose. In the meanwhile, she often needlessly irritated the old country by frowardness and exaggerated opposition. With all her faults, England showed on many occasions a readiness to compromise, a willingness to abandon or retract offensive measures. Had America been equally disposed to waive or modify her utter denial of Parliamentary jurisdiction, the deadly issue of the quarrel might have been averted. But Franklin did nothing to promote such a disposition.

That the feelings of the great American were at that time so bitter as very nearly to lead him into an act of great imprudence, notwithstanding his habitual self-control, is shown by an anecdote which he relates of himself. A few days before he left London, he listened to a debate on American affairs in the House of Lords, during which he was extremely annoyed at remarks by some of the speakers, to the effect that the Americans were all knaves, who sought in the existing dispute a means of repudiating their debts, and that, if they had any sense of equity or justice, they would offer payment for the tea that had been destroyed. Going home somewhat heated, he drew up a memorial to Lord Dartmouth, in which, as the agent of the province of Massachusetts, he protested against the continuance of the blockade of Boston, and solemnly demanded satisfaction for the accumulated injury produced by that measure. He also protested against the Bill, then under consideration in Parliament, for depriving the Americans of their share in the fisheries of Newfoundland and other northern parts, as an act highly unjust and injurious; and he gave notice that satisfaction would probably one day be demanded for all the injury that might be done and suffered in the execution of the law, and that in no future war would either a man or a shilling be granted in aid of the parent State, until full satisfaction should be made. When Franklin read this most injudicious outburst to his friend Mr. Thomas Walpole, a member of the House of Commons, that gentleman looked at it several times, and then at its author, as if he thought the latter a little out of his senses. Having, at Franklin's request, shown the document to Lord Camden, he gave it as their joint opinion that the presentation of such a memorial might be attended by dangerous consequences to Franklin personally, and would contribute to exasperate the nation.* It was therefore suppressed; but the fact that Franklin desired it to go to the Colonial Minister is a curious indication of the state of his mind at that time. This was his last act of importance in England. Soon afterwards he posted to Portsmouth, and, taking ship for Philadelphia, was sailing out of the English Channel as Burke was making his great speech to the House of Commons on behalf of the American cause.

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* Life of Franklin, by Jared Sparks.

While Burke and Chatham, in conjunction with Franklin, were presenting the claims of the colonies in their most favourable light, another leading intellect of that age was working with equal energy to disprove the justice of those claims, and to hold up the Americans to the hatred and vengeance of Englishmen as a set of ungrateful reprobates, little better than parricides, who, after enjoying many years of favour and protection from the parent State, were now, from the mere wantonness of political licence, endeavouring to throw off their allegiance. Dr. Johnson was then a pensioner of the Crown, and his genius was employed by the Court to prop up a cause which even its supporters regarded uneasily. Previous to the elections in the autumn of 1774, he had published, under the title of "The Patriot," an address to the constituencies, in which he sought to prejudice the popular mind against the colonists, and against all who opposed arbitrary power in England; and he now, at the bidding and under the direction of the Ministry, put forth a tractate called "Taxation no Tyranny: an Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress, 1775." This production will always be interesting, not only for the sake of its author, nor merely for the perverse ingenuity with which the argument is conducted, but as a condensed and authoritative statement of the Ministerial view of the case. "A tax," argued Johnson, "is a payment exacted by authority from part of the community for the benefit of the whole. From whom and in what proportion such payment shall be required, and to what uses it shall be applied, those only are to judge to whom government is entrusted. In the British dominions, taxes are apportioned, levied, and appropriated by the states assembled in Parliament. Of every empire all the subordinate communities are liable to taxation, because they all share the benefits of government, and therefore ought all to furnish their proportion of the expense." And again:—"Our colonies, however distant, have been hitherto treated as constituent parts of the British Empire. The inhabitants, incorporated by English charters, are entitled to all the rights of Englishmen. They are governed by English laws, entitled to English dignities, regulated by English counsels, and protected by English arms; and it seems to follow, by consequence not easily avoided, that they are subject to English government, and chargeable by English taxation." The reader who has closely followed the course of this History does not need to be reminded that Johnson's definition of the relation of the colonies to the mother country is far from exact, and that therefore the suggested "consequence" is more easily avoided than the writer supposed. The colonies were governed by laws of their own making, and to a great extent were protected by their own arms; nor could they, according to the theory of the British Constitution, be taxed where they were not represented. But Johnson was debauched by his love of despotism. His reply to the American Congress is a monument of bad reasoning and political immorality, varied by coarse insult and ignorant depreciation. The colonists went too far in their absolute denial of Parliamentary jurisdiction; but, had they accepted the views of Johnson, they would have signed the charter of their own slavery.

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* See "An Account of Negotiations in London for effecting a Reconciliation between Great Britain and the American Colonies," written by Franklin on his voyage to Philadelphia, and addressed to his son. Works of Franklin, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. V.

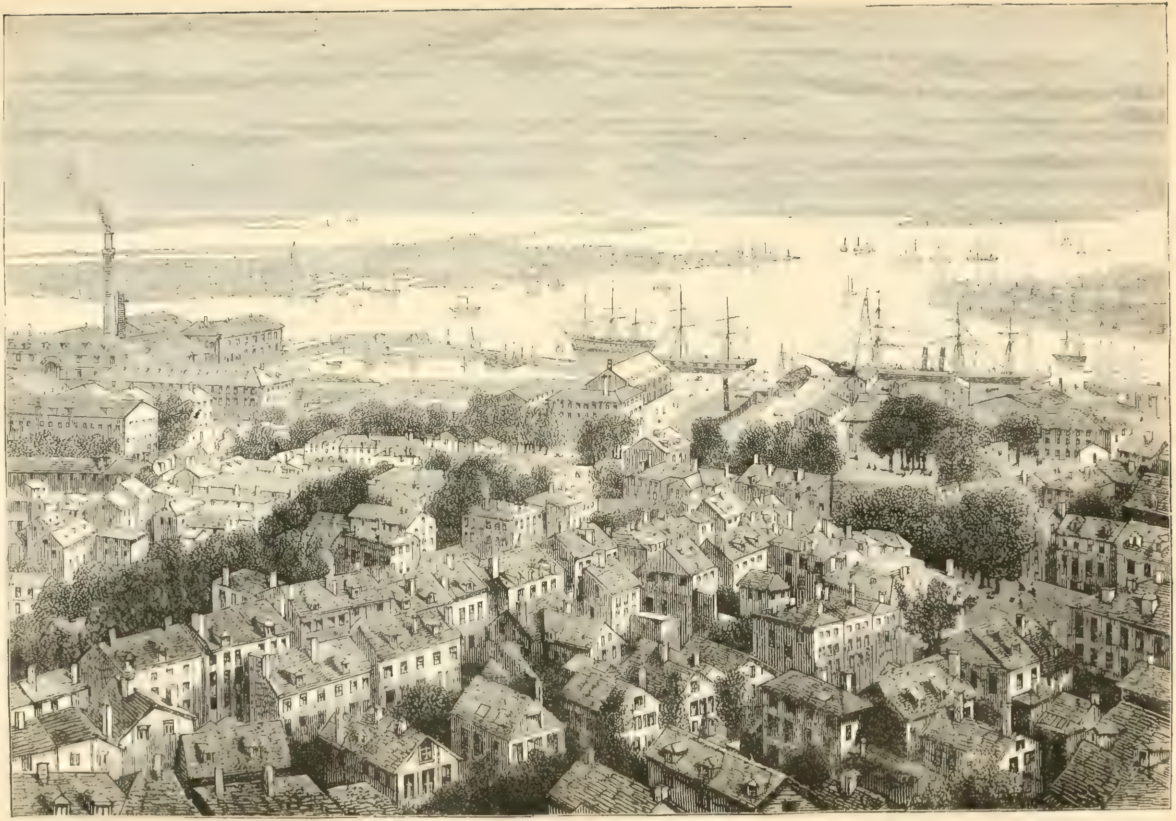
CHAPTER XVI.

Lord Dartmouth's Despatch on the State of Massachusetts—A Command given to Sir William Howe—Quarrel of that General with the Electors of Nottingham—General Burgoyne and his Previous Career—England and the European Powers—Views of France on the American Quarrel—Proceedings of the Second Massachusetts Congress—The New Englanders and their Religious Ministers—Opinions of a Loyalist—Reply by John Adams—Assemblage at the Old South Meeting House to Commemorate the Boston "Massacre"—Retaliation by the Troops—Second Convention of Virginia—Speech of Patrick Henry—Resolution of the Virginian Convention to Aid the National Defence—Menaces of the Governor, Lord Dunmore—The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts—George III. and John Wilkes—Position of New York towards the Other Colonies—Severe Instructions sent out to General Gage at Boston—Insurrectionary State of the Provinces—Lord Chatham on American Subordination—Conciliatory Proposals despatched from England.

NOTWITHSTANDING the grave facts which were continually being reported from America, and the conviction of the King and his Ministers that at any rate Massachusetts was in rebellion, the British Government seemed unwilling to regard the state of affairs as really dangerous. Gage, who, being on the spot, knew well the temper and capabilities of the people, had urgently required twenty thousand men for meeting the gathering forces of the revolution; but the authorities at home denied his request, and made light of his fears. Lord Dartmouth wrote to him, early in 1775, that the violences committed by the malcontents seemed to be but the acts of a rude rabble, without plan or concert, and that a smaller force than what had been asked for would be sufficient. The best plan, he told Gage, would be to arrest and imprison the persons principally concerned in the Provincial Congress; and he believed that this measure, if kept secret until the moment of execution, could hardly fail of success. Even should bloodshed follow, and actual hostilities commence, the efforts of the people, in the opinion of the Colonial Minister, could not be very formidable, as the Americans must necessarily be unprepared for encountering a regular force. "The charter for the province of Massachusetts Bay," he remarked, "empowers the Governor to use and exercise the law martial in time of rebellion. The Attorney and Solicitor-General report that the facts stated are the history of an actual and open rebellion; and therefore the exercise of that power upon your own discretion is strictly justifiable." In using this language, Dartmouth was carrying out the personal instructions of the King. It was resolved to dare the Americans to the uttermost; but it was not believed that their powers of resistance had become considerable.

This was in January. By February, Ministers were less confident, and it was resolved to raise the army in Boston to ten thousand men, and to supersede Gage—not, indeed, nominally, but practically—by a General of greater capacity. The command was in the first instance offered to Amherst, but he refused unless he were placed at the head of twenty thousand troops—so far confirming the judgment of the officer about to be removed. It is said to have been also offered to General Oglethorpe, who would undertake the task only on condition of being furnished with powers of concession and conciliation, which were denied him. The post was then accepted by Sir William Howe, from whom the Americans had been led to expect a very different course. When returned for Nottingham at the recent general election, he had given it as his opinion that the Government had gone too far in their American policy, and that the whole of the British army would not be sufficient to conquer America; and he added that, if offered a command there, he would refuse it. He seems to have recollected these words when informed of his appointment. A sense of inconsistency made him hesitate, and he asked if the command came to him as a mere offer, or as a mandate from the King. On hearing that it was the latter, he said it was his duty to obey; but the electors of Nottingham construed his duty after a different fashion. He had gained his seat by promising to support the Americans, and to vote for the repeal of the four penal Acts of Parliament; and he was now told that he should have refused to act against a people which had shown its gratitude to his name and family by erecting a monument to his brother. Some enthusiasts even went so far as to express a hope that he might fall in the expedition. Howe excused himself by alleging that he was ordered to go, and had no choice; and he argued, in an address to the electors, that it was necessary to secure the stability of English rule in America by promoting a lasting obedience.

Under his command, Howe had two Major-Generals, whose names became conspicuous in American history—Sir Henry Clinton and John Burgoyne. Clinton was a scion of the ducal houses of Newcastle and Bedford, and son of a former Governor of New York. Burgoyne was a man of something more than ordinary ability, and his life had in it that touch of wildness and romance which helps to bring out the most adventurous side of a soldier's nature. While still a very young man, he contracted a clandestine marriage

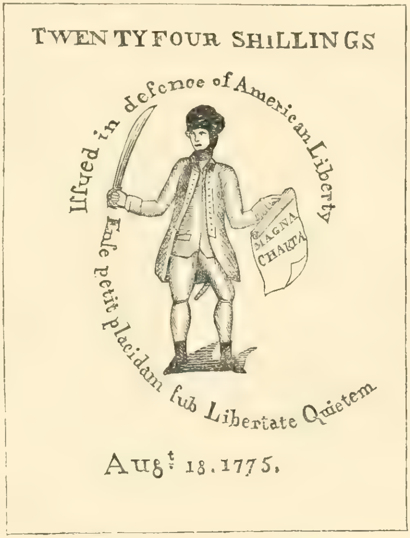


VIEW OF BOSTON FROM BUNKER'S HILL.

with Lady Charlotte Stanley, daughter of the eleventh Earl of Derby, but ultimately made his peace with the offended parent. Afterwards, he distinguished himself as an officer at the taking of Belle-Isle, and, in association with the Portuguese, won high credit for daring courage in a successful attack on the Spanish town of Alcantara, during the war with Spain. On his return to England, he served in Parliament, and, though inclining to the Liberal side in politics, fell under the lash of "Junius," as a presumed partisan of the Duke of Grafton. Burgoyne possessed a ready talent, which, had he cultivated it more, might have given him a higher position than he now occupies in the world of intellect. He spoke with facility, and was the author of dramatic pieces and poems which are yet remembered among the productions of that age. His military abilities were not of the highest order; but they were respectable, and his courage was beyond reproach. Sir William Howe had no reason to be discontented with either of his subordinates.

It being now evident that war was afoot, instructions were sent out to the English consuls and agents in every port of Europe to intercept all munitions of war destined for the colonies. Apprehension was felt that the Dutch would form magazines on the island of St. Eustatius, one of their West Indian possessions, to which the merchant-vessels of New England were in the habit of resorting. The States-General of Holland were therefore peremptorily required to forbid their people to transport military stores to the West Indies, beyond the absolute wants of the colonies. The French Government was addressed to the same effect, but in more guarded and ceremonious language; and the Ambassador of France requested that rigorous and precise orders might be given to all British naval officers not to annoy the commerce of the French colonies. Such orders, it was replied, had already been given; but a feeling of distrust had grown up between the two Powers, and each thought the other insincere in its professions of friendship. France was at that time represented at London by a Minister who watched the progress of events with much shrewdness, and kept his Government well-informed of the position of parties, the fluctuations of opinion, and the views, hopes, and resources of the colonists, as represented to him by their agents. His reports were always very favourable to the Americans, and strongly against the ability of England to suppress rebellion, or to break down the opposition that had grown to such alarming dimensions on the other side of the Atlantic. Louis XVI. and his Ministers were hoping for an opportunity of recovering Canada, and the more far-seeing already contemplated the possibility of French aid being rendered to the insurgent colonists in their battle with the waning power of England.

In America, every week added to the enthusiasm of the people, and Massachusetts still kept the lead. The members of the second Congress of that province took a fresh step in their career of resistance on the 9th of February—the day on which King George received the joint address of the Houses of Lords and Commons. Eleven men were appointed by the Congress as a committee of safety, charged to resist every attempt to execute the Acts of Parliament; and to these men was confided the task of guarding the warlike stores of the province, making returns of the militia and minute-men, and mustering as many of the former as they should consider necessary. General officers were appointed to the command of this force; and among them was the gallant Seth Pomroy, who thirty years before had distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg. The Congress passed resolutions for procuring and making fire-arms and bayonets; directed the establishment of a provincial arsenal at Concord; decreed an issue of provincial bills of credit to the amount of £50,000; and published an address informing the people that, from the large reinforcements of troops that were expected at Boston, the tenor of intelligence from England, and other indications, they had reason to apprehend that the sudden destruction of the colony was intended. With regard to taxes, they did not feel that their powers enabled them to make any demand of that nature; but they recommended the people to pay all their provincial taxes to a treasurer of their own appointment. No work was to be done for the English troops, nor were any supplies to be furnished them; and, to counteract the designs of the Home Government with regard to the Canadians and Indians, communications were opened with the province of Quebec through the committee of correspondence of Boston. It is certain that at this time the Massachusetts people contemplated employing Indian auxiliaries against the King's troops—a resource which had already occurred to the other side as one which might be turned to account. During the sitting of the second Massachusetts Congress, it was ordered that a secret letter should be written to a missionary much esteemed by the Indians in the western parts of New York, entreating him to use his influence with them to join the patriots in the defence of American rights. The letter, which remained secret for more than fifty years, was dated from Concord (a place with a very inappropriate name), April 4th, 1775.[*] "It is worthy of remark," says an impartial English historian, "that the Massachusetts delegates, the framers of this very letter, were among those who expressed the highest astonishment and indignation when, at a later period, a similar policy was adopted on the British side."[†] To each of the converted Indians domiciled at Stockbridge, the Massachusetts Congress voted a blanket and a ribbon as a testimony of affection, which was further expressed in a message affirming that they were all brothers; and the Indians thus flattered promised to intercede with the Six Nations on behalf of the colonists. The session of the Congress lasted rather more than a fortnight, and one of its latest acts was to appoint a fast day. On the bills of credit, issued in consequence of the decrees of this Assembly, was represented an American grasping a sword, and pointing to the words of Algernon Sidney—*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem* (With the sword he seeks quiet rest under the protection of liberty).


TWENTY FOUR SHILLINGS
Iſſued in defence of American Liberty
MAGNA CHARTA
Enſe petit placidam ſub Libertate Quietem
Augt 18.1775.

THE AMERICAN BILL OF CREDIT.

The warlike measures of the colony were now pursued with ardour. Artillery and provisions were collected at various places, and the clergy, as in days of old, roused the popular spirit by fervid religious appeals, and allusions calculated to induce the opinion that the patriots of New England were the special favourites of heaven, and that consequently their cause was certain to prevail. The English were bidden to beware of fighting against the Lord God of their fathers, for they should not prosper. The spirit of the English Republicans of the days of Charles I. and Cromwell was revived in their American descendants, and the very language they employed was the same. The people of Massachusetts were still profoundly steeped in Biblical lore, and the phraseology of the Old Testament came naturally to their lips on all occasions of importance. But some generations of commercial life had created in their midst a number of more worldly-minded thinkers, who preferred to stand well with the Government, rather than with the popular party. One of these, named Daniel Leonard, argued in favour of Imperial taxation, denied that there was any grievance, and, pointing to the prosperity of the country, asked where was the hardship of having to pay a trifling tax on tea. The consequences of rebellion he painted in alarming colours. The country, he said, could not possibly resist the might of England. It would be over-run, torn to pieces, drenched in blood, and utterly ruined. The colonies would never unite; multitudes of the raw, untrained militia would be unable to prevail against a small British army; the southern provinces had enough to do to keep down their slaves; the Canadians and savages would devastate the back settlements; and the loyally-disposed would flock by thousands to the Royal standards. It is impossible not to perceive that there was a good deal of plausibility in these representations; yet the mass of the American people could reason more correctly.

John Adams was their spokesman on this occasion, in reply to the faint-hearted views of Daniel Leonard. In some remarks which he addressed to his countrymen on the causes of the coming war, and on the prospects of the American communities, he said:—"If Great Britain were united, she could not subdue a country a thousand leagues off. How many years, how many millions, did it take to conquer the poor province of Canada, which yet would never have submitted but on a capitulation, securing religion and property? But Great Britain is not united against us. Millions in England and Scotland think it unrighteous, impolitic, and ruinous to make war upon us; and a Minister, though he may have a marble heart, will proceed with a desponding spirit. London has bound her members under their hands to assist us; Bristol has chosen two known friends of America; many of the most virtuous of the nobility and gentry are for us, and among them a St. Asaph, a Camden, and a Chatham; the best Bishop that adorns the bench, as great a judge as the nation can boast, and the greatest statesman it ever saw." Adams denied that the Parliament of England had authority over America. It had none by Old or New Testament law; none by the law of nature or of nations; none by the common law of England; none by the statute law, since no statute for that purpose had been made before the settlement of the provinces, and the declaratory Act of 1766 had been passed, without the consent of the colonists, by a Parliament which, according to the contention of John Adams, had no authority beyond the four seas. Ireland was ruled by England because it was a conquered country; but America had never been conquered by Great Britain, nor had she ever consented to be a State dependent on the British Parliament. Passing from the question of right to the chances of the future, Adams observed:—

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[*] Mr. Sparks has printed the document in full, from the MS. Journals of the Massachusetts Congress, in the Appendix to his edition of Washington's Writings, Vol. III.

[†] Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 52.

"Should the nation suffer the Minister to persevere in his madness, and send fire and sword against us, we have men enough to defend ourselves. The colonies south of Pennsylvania have a back country, inhabited by a hardy, robust people, many of whom are emigrants from New England, and habituated, like multitudes of New England men, to carry their rifles on one shoulder to defend themselves against the savages, while they carry their axes, scythes, and hoes upon the other. We have manufacturers of fire-arms; powder has been made here; nor could the whole British navy prevent the importation of arms and ammunition. The new-fangled militia will have the discipline and subordination of regular troops. A navy might burn a sea-port town, but will the Minister be nearer his mark? At present we hold the power of the Canadians as nothing; their dispositions, moreover, are not unfriendly to us. The savages will be more likely to be our friends than our enemies. The two characteristics of this people, religion and humanity, are strongly marked in all their proceedings. We are not exciting a rebellion. Resistance by arms against usurpation and lawless violence is not rebellion by the law of God or the land. Resistance to lawful authority makes rebellion. Hampden, Russell, Sidney, Holt, Somers, Tillotson, were no rebels. If an Act of Parliament is null and void, it is lawful to resist it. This people, under great trials and dangers, have discovered great abilities and virtues, and that nothing is so terrible to them as the loss of their liberties. They act for America and posterity. If there is no possible medium between absolute independence and subjection to the authority of Parliament, all North America are convinced of their independence, and determined to defend it at all hazards."

In the main, the arguments of Adams were just; but in denying to the English Parliament any control over America, he denied the right of all mother countries over their dependencies. The right of the United States to make laws for their Territories might be questioned on the same grounds. The Americans were in the main the descendants of British subjects, dwelling in what was at that time a part of the territory of England. As their ancestors could not, by their removal from one part of English territory to another, divest themselves of their allegiance, so they themselves still remained subject to England. That this subjection was not to the King only, but to the State, resulted from the change effected at the Revolution of 1688, which bound up the authority of the monarch with that of the Parliament. The change had been accepted at the time by the Americans, and could not be repudiated, except by an act of rebellion. Parliament may have pushed its powers too far, and may thus have justified in the Americans that right of insurrection which, in the last resort, belongs indefeasibly to all people; but, on legal and constitutional grounds, the jurisdiction of Parliament, whatever its limitations, could not be utterly denied.

The winter wore away in preparations for strife on both sides; but those preparations were much more vigorous on the part of the colonists than on that of the British officials. Assistance flowed in to Massachusetts from the other colonies, and a determination to die in defence of the common liberty was very generally expressed. In the north, Gage looked on with that indolent good-nature which he occasionally varied by unsuccessful attempts at severity. It cannot be said that his forbearance was met by any exhibition of a similar feeling on the part of the New Englanders. On the contrary, they lost no opportunity of irritating the authorities by every demonstration of their sentiments which it was possible to make. The military were insulted with the utmost elaboration of studied affront, and deserve some credit for the self-control which for the most part they exhibited. Any one considered favourable to Government was liable to intimidation and to actual outrage. Tarring and feathering was frequently practised, and it was a much-approved device to smear the houses of the loyal with filth, so as to render them almost uninhabitable.* That the leading Americans of that day did not directly incite to these vexatious forms of terrorism, is doubtless true; that they did little or nothing to check them, but, on the contrary, encouraged the state of mind out of which they issued, is equally certain.

Having succeeded, on the 26th of February, in checking the advance of a body of soldiers sent to Salem in quest of military stores, the patriotic party were emboldened to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the collision between the troops and the people which had occurred on the 5th of March, 1770, and which they thought fit to designate as a massacre. A large number of Bostonians assembled at the old South Meeting House, and were addressed by Joseph Warren, who chose for the text of his speech the evil effects of standing armies in time of peace. The holding of such a meeting at all was against one of the recent Acts of Parliament; but this of course added zest to the performance. Some forty officers of the English army and navy were present, and were placed by Samuel Adams, who occupied the position of moderator, in conspicuous positions on the platform, close to the speaker. Warren made an inflammatory address, the real purport of which was but thinly disguised by obviously insincere expressions of a desire to remain united with Great Britain. This most imprudent, if not actually malicious, piece of declamation was heard by the officers with exemplary patience; but, on a motion being made to appoint an orator for the ensuing year, "to commemorate the horrid massacre," they began to hiss. The people threatened vengeance, and there would probably have been a riot on the spot, had not Adams, by his influence with the citizens, managed to restore order. But, although a collision was thus avoided, the military were greatly exasperated by what they could not help regarding as a set purpose of provocation. They determined to adopt the favourite custom of their adversaries, and to subject the obnoxious to the brutal practice of tarring and feathering. A countryman who had bought an old firelock from a private, in contravention of an Act of Parliament which forbade trading with soldiers, was paraded through the streets in that ignominious state, surrounded by a guard with fixed bayonets, playing "Yankee Doodle" in derision.† Samuel Adams took great credit to his fellow-citizens for their virtuous self-control in putting up with such indignities, rather than precipitate a crisis. He said nothing of the numberless provocations by which this counter-provocation had been preceded.

In Virginia, there was some hesitation as to supporting Massachusetts to the extent of actual fighting. The second convention of the former province assembled on the 20th of March; but, although the proceedings of the Continental Congress were approved, it was doubted by some whether it would be prudent to adopt a motion by Patrick Henry, that the colony be immediately put into a posture of defence, and that a committee prepare a plan for embodying, arming, and subjecting to discipline, as many men as might be sufficient for that purpose. Could a non-military people, it was asked, stand up against one of the most formidable nations in the world? It would be time enough to fly to arms when all hope of peace had vanished. Patrick Henry, in impassioned language, replied that they had tried argument, entreaty, supplication, remonstrance—all in vain. They had petitioned the Throne, and had been spurned from it. To indulge the hope of reconciliation was therefore idle. "There is no longer any room for hope," said Henry in emphatic tones. "We must *fight.* I repeat it, sir—we *must* fight. An appeal to arms, and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us. We are not weak if we make use of those means which the God of Nature has placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as ours, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged: their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable—let it come! Gentlemen may cry, Peace, peace!—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms." For himself, Henry added, he chose either liberty or death; and it is related that, as he spoke, his features glowed, and were transfigured by the light of intense emotion. His burning words had a prodigious effect on the convention; and his appeal was strengthened by the expression of a confident belief that they would not fight their battles alone—that God would raise up friends to aid them.

The arguments and exhortations of Patrick Henry were supported by Richard Henry Lee, who, estimating the force which England had at her command, gave it as his opinion that the resources of America were fully able to cope with it. In the end, the resolutions were adopted, and a committee was formed for carrying them into effect. Henry Lee, Washington, and Jefferson, were among the members of this committee, which in a few days produced a plan for the creation of a militia that should be in constant training and readiness. After re-appointing their former delegates to the Continental Congress which was to meet in May, and carrying several resolutions for the encouragement of provincial manufactures, and for the making of gunpowder, iron, and steel, the convention broke up. As Lee was bidding farewell to two of his colleagues, who were standing in the porch of the capitol, he wrote with a pencil on one of the pillars:—

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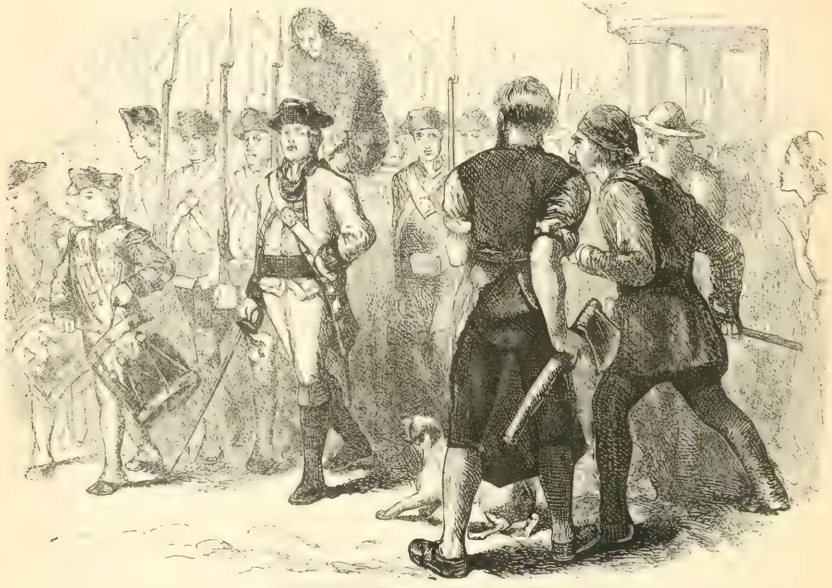
* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 48.

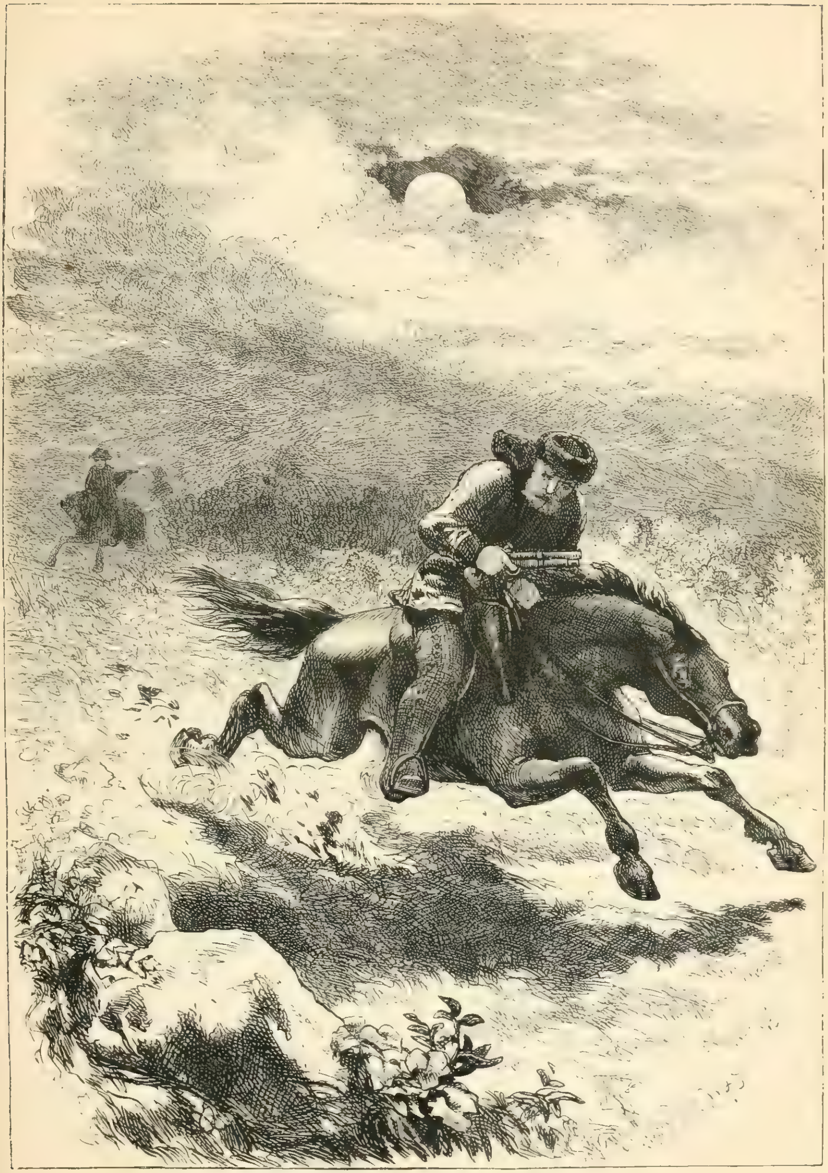
† The term "Yankee" is supposed to be an Indian corruption of the word "English" or "Anglois." The grotesque designation of the American national air has been explained in various ways, but none very satisfactory.

> "When shall we three meet again
> In thunder, lightning, or in rain?—
> When the hurlyburly's done,
> *When the battle's lost and won.*"

The Governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, who, as we have seen, had for a time been very popular with the people, because of the aid he gave to their designs on western territory, became alarmed at the proceedings of the convention; and certainly not without cause. He seized the gunpowder stored in the provincial magazine at Williamsburg, and created a serious agitation in consequence. Drums were beaten through the city; the men of the independent company stood to their arms; and the Mayor and corporation asked the Governor for an explanation of what he had done. There had been a rumour that Dunmore, if driven to extremities by a popular revolt, would excite an insurrection among the slaves; and this naturally made the municipal authorities all the more alarmed at the seizure of the powder. They demanded that it should be restored. "The whole country," replied Dunmore, after some attempts at equivocation, "can easily be made a solitude; and, by the living God! if any insult is offered to me, or to those who have obeyed my orders, I will declare freedom to the slaves, and lay the town in ashes." The Virginians, however, were not prepared to submit tamely to the act of the Governor, and it was proposed by some hot spirits in various parts of the country to march on Williamsburg. On hearing that some were already on their way, Dunmore charged the magistrates on their allegiance to stop the march of these avengers, on pain of his executing the threats which he had previously uttered, and which he now repeated. That the project was really entertained by him is proved by a communication to Lord Dartmouth, in which he proposed



A COUNTRYMAN TARRED AND FEATHERED.



PURSUIT OF PAUL REVERE, THE SCOUT.

to reduce the colonists to submission by means of a force of Indians and negroes, acting in conjunction with a small body of troops. On the advice of Washington and Peyton Randolph, the patriots who had assembled in arms at Fredericksburg on the 29th of April agreed to disperse; and the danger was averted. But, ere the volunteers disbanded, they entered into a solemn pledge to one another to reassemble at a moment's warning, if either Virginia or any sister colony should require protection.

The inevitable collision, however, was fast coming on. Sunday, the 2nd of April, had seen the arrival at Marblehead of two vessels bringing the news that both Houses of Parliament had bound themselves to suppress the rising rebellion in America, and that severe military and other measures were to be resorted to. The Provincial Congress, on the very next day, required the attendance of all absent members, and directed the towns not yet represented to send members without delay. They then proceeded to the organisation of their military resources, and, while forbidding anything which might seem like the commencement of hostilities, authorised the militia to act on the defensive. The adjournment took place on the 15th of April, and the country awaited, in grim yet quiet expectation, the bursting of the storm. In England, the King and the Court party looked forward with entire confidence to the result. A large proportion of the people still adhered to the Ministerial view of the quarrel, and believed that the national honour required the subjugation of rebellious colonists. But there were by this time many others who held that England was not justified in taxing the Americans without their sanction, and then making war on them because they resisted. To some extent a reaction had taken place in public feeling since the determination of the Government to draw the sword. This may be attributable in part to the effect of those eloquent speeches in Parliament which had flowed from the lips of Chatham, Burke, Fox, Colonel Barré, and other advocates of the colonial cause; but it is doubtless also to be referred in a degree to that natural feeling of repugnance to a fratricidal war which is never utterly wanting in a great and manly nation. Lord Camden, writing to Chatham on the 12th of February, 1775, said that the lower classes held the approaching war in abhorrence; that the merchants and tradesmen, from interested motives, were against it; but that the landed interest was almost entirely anti-American. It is doubtful, however, whether all the trading classes were opposed to the war, and it is probable that the majority of the nation were in favour of coercive measures. Still, the opponents of such a policy were numerous, and they made themselves heard. On the 10th of April, Wilkes, in his capacity of Lord Mayor, approached the Throne, together with the aldermen and livery of London, in order to present a remonstrance against the proposed measures with reference to America, and to request his Majesty to dismiss his advisers on the instant, as the first step towards a redress of grievances which alarmed and afflicted his people. The King replied:—"It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in my Parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdom." A few days afterwards, the King, who was seriously offended by the remonstrance which had been presented to him, especially when submitted by the hand of Wilkes, issued a notice that he would not receive any address from the city except in its corporate capacity. The address, it seems, had been got up by a minority of the livery, the greater number of whom were in favour of the Ministerial measures.

The King placed great dependence on the disinclination of New York to join the other colonies in resistance to England. He also hoped to detach North Carolina and Georgia by special favours; and, in order to propitiate the Highlanders of the old 47th Regiment, then settled in the former of these provinces, he sent out one Allan Maclean as an agent for working on their loyalty. But neither North Carolina nor Georgia was disposed to abandon the general cause of the colonists; and even New York counted many malcontents, who only awaited their opportunity to become rebels. The Assembly had, indeed, refused to elect delegates to another Congress; but the people took the matter into their own hands, and, by large majorities, chose forty-one delegates to a convention which should represent the real wishes of the province. This convention re-elected all the members of the first Congress but one, with a view to their attending the second, and charged them to "concert measures for the preservation of American rights, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies." It is probable that, for reasons already described, New York was less willing to proceed to extremities than many of the other settlements; yet it was not nearly so loyal as the King and his advisers supposed. Its heterogeneous population was full of pent-up fires, which at any moment a spark might kindle.

Nevertheless, it was in Massachusetts that the chief danger lay, and it was there that the Government determined to strike their hardest blow. On the 15th of April, instructions were sent out to Gage to take possession of every colonial fort; to seize and secure all military stores collected by the rebels; to arrest and imprison such as should be thought to have committed treason; to repress rebellion by force; to make the public safety the first object of consideration; and to substitute more coercive measures for ordinary forms of procedure, without pausing to obtain the aid of a civil magistrate. The General was invested with the power of granting pardon in certain cases; but clemency was not to be extended to the president of the Massachusetts Congress (which was described as a "seditious meeting"), nor to its principal members, who were to be tried for their offences, either in America or England.* It is easy to blame these instructions, and to denounce their cruelty; and certainly the acts of the British Government which had created the feeling they were designed to check, are, in the main, beyond defence. But matters had come to such a pass that some vigorous exercise of authority was absolutely needful. The representatives of the Sovereign were habitually defied. Illegal assemblies were being held with systematic precision. Preparations for civil war were openly made. The armed forces of rebellion held possession of the country. The press teemed with seditious writing. The loyal were silenced by a species of terrorism; and insult, outrage, and menace flourished with scarcely a check. If the authority of the mother country was to be asserted at all, it was imperative to make the assertion with emphasis and power. Anything less decisive was certain beforehand to be attended by disastrous failure and accumulated discredit.

Chatham himself, as far back as 1770—and matters had grown far worse since then—had warned the Americans that some of them were going too far. In a speech delivered in the House of Lords on the 2nd of March of that year, he had said:—"I have been thought to be, perhaps, too much the friend of America. I own I am a friend to that country. I love the Americans because they love liberty, and I love them for the noble efforts they made in the last war. But I must also own that I find fault with them in many things. I think they carry matters too far; they have been wrong in many respects. I think the idea of drawing money from them by taxes was ill-judged. Trade is your object with them, and they should be encouraged. But (I wish every sensible American, both here and in that country, heard what I say), if they carry their notions of liberty too far, as I fear they do—if they will not be subject to the laws of this country—especially if they will disengage themselves from the laws of trade and navigation, of which I see too many symptoms,—much of an American as I am, they have not a more determined opposer than they will find in me. They must be subordinate. In all laws relating to trade and navigation especially, this is the mother country—they are the children; they must obey, and we prescribe. It is necessary; for in these cases, between two countries so circumstanced as these two are, there must be something more than connection—there must be subordination, there must be obedience, there must be dependence." Lord Chatham was unfortunate in his selection of the Trade and Navigation Laws as illustrations of the legitimate subordination of the colonies to England; for those laws were amongst the most cruel interferences of the mother country with her possessions. But his main principle was correct, and it was every day being more openly defied by the Americans. The chief seat of this rebellious spirit was Massachusetts; yet it was to be found strongly developed in other provinces as well. The Royal authority was almost at an end, except in a few localities. Men still talked of their desire to preserve the old connection with the land of their ancestry; but they repudiated every means by which that connection might be made efficacious. Nor were they disposed to listen to the most liberal offers of conciliation. "An Address of the People of Great Britain to the Inhabitants of America," written by Sir John Dalrymple at the request of Lord North, was sent out in the spring of 1775. It contained a renunciation of the right of taxing the colonists; promised that they should be allowed to appoint their own judges, and pay them from their own resources; offered the perpetuation of existing charters; and proposed to take the first step in concession, if the colonists would not. Yet the Americans do not seem to have cared even to inquire how far this document had a really official character. Dissension had ripened into rage, and the first blood of civil war was on the eve of being shed.

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* Bancroft.

CHAPTER XVII.

Determination of General Gage to seize the Military Stores at Concord—Preparations of the Massachusetts People for resisting the Attempt—Scouts sent out to rouse the Neighbouring Towns—Gathering of Volunteers on Lexington Common—Approach of the British Troops—Collision of the Soldiers and the People at Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775—The Moral of that Event—The Troops at Concord—The Fight at that Town—Disastrous Retreat of the British—A Breathless Flight and Pursuit—Return of the Discomfited Forces to Boston—Losses of the British and the Americans—Effects of the American Victory—Gathering of Provincial Troops for the Blockade of Boston—Gage shut up within his Lines of Defence—Composition and Character of the New England Army—Want of Warlike Commodities, and Scarcity of Money—Large Emissions of Paper—Proceedings at New York on Receipt of the News from Massachusetts—Address of the General Committee to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London—Patrick Henry and the Virginians—The Spirit of the South—Rebellion general throughout the Land.

General Gage, roused at length from his apathy by the increasing perils of the time, resolved to strike a blow against the warlike preparations of the enemy. The Massachusetts Congress adjourned on the 15th of April, 1775, and, on the afternoon of that day, Gage (at the repeated solicitations, it is said, of the Massachusetts loyalists) made arrangements for an expedition to destroy the colony's stores at Concord, an inland town, rather more than eighteen miles from Boston. This was not unknown to the popular leaders, who took measures to obstruct the attempt. A portion of the gunpowder was removed; the cannon were hidden; and signals were concerted for announcing the first despatch of troops towards Concord. The English General probably knew nothing of these countermeasures, and, at any rate, enough powder still remained in the arsenal to make the enterprise worth undertaking. On the night of the 18th of April, about eight hundred of the Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and Marines crossed in boats from Boston Common to East Cambridge, situated on the opposite side of a creek which there runs up from the sea, and forms the outlet of the river Charles. Being then provided with a day's provisions, they passed the marshes, and gained the road to Concord. Along this road, several English officers had posted themselves at various points, in the hope of intercepting any expresses that might be despatched from Boston to rouse the country; but Joseph Warren had already sent out scouts in the directions of Lexington and Charleston, and they had spread the alarm before the troops were in motion. As the expedition was leaving Cambridge, a voice from the crowd of sight-seers was heard to say that the soldiers would miss their aim. An English officer asked "what aim?" "The cannon at Concord," replied the speaker. The remark was at once reported to General Gage, who ordered that no one should be suffered to leave the town; but the precaution came too late. Paul Revere, the scout who had been despatched along the road to Charleston, was very nearly captured by two officers; but he contrived to elude them, and, riding rapidly through the little town of Medford, he waked the minute-men of that place, and kept knocking at doors as he passed on until he reached Lexington.

The night was now some way advanced. The clear darkness of an April sky was faintly illuminated by a setting moon; and, as the soldiers plodded through the country ways which lay between them and Concord, they were startled by the sudden apparition of two lights streaming from the tower of the North Church in Boston across the dusky stretch of marsh and meadow-land that lay beyond,—by the ringing of bells, the firing of guns, and the rapid and sharp volleying of small arms. Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, who was in command of the expedition, considered it prudent to send back for a reinforcement; but, meanwhile, the news of what was on foot spread like wildfire along the road to Concord, and, although Revere, and another scout named Dawes, were captured by the English, and detained for a short time, the exciting intelligence reached the place of storage by two o'clock on the morning of the 19th, and young and old were soon on the alert. The hasty summons rolled on from town to town, from village to village, from homestead to homestead. It wakened the sleepers in solitary farmhouses, no less than in the close ways of humble boroughs. Men started from their beds at the cry of danger, or at the clash of bells from the meeting-house. The whole country-side was roused; and from many scattered localities a small band of resolute patriots drew together, and prepared to repel the threatened danger. In the early hours of the morning, about a hundred and thirty of the Lexington men assembled on the common of that town, under the command of John Parker, who ordered the members of his little force to load with powder and ball, but not to be the first to fire. As nothing was seen of the approaching troops, a watch was set, and the company dispersed, with strict injunctions to remain within call, should they be required. It was not long ere several were again drawn towards the common by the necessity of action.

Day was nearly breaking when the foremost ranks of the English regulars were seen advancing quickly, under the orders of Major Pitcairn, of the Marines. At this time, it would appear, there were not more than sixty or seventy of the Lexington men on the common, the rest having failed to obey the summons to re-assemble. The troops halted, that their comrades might have time to come up; and, hearing the alarm-guns, they began to load. The whole column having re-united, Major Pitcairn ordered his men to charge, and, riding forward at their head, addressed the Americans. He is said, according to adverse narratives, to have exclaimed, "Disperse, ye villains! ye rebels, disperse! lay down your arms! why don't you lay down your arms, and disperse?"* Whether he used this precise language is doubtful;† but he certainly called on the assembled militiamen to disarm and separate, as, indeed, he was in duty bound to do. The summons was unheeded, except by a few who began to break the ranks; and Pitcairn ordered his troops to fire. On the English side it is alleged that this order was not given until the troops were themselves fired on from behind a stone wall, and from the adjacent houses; the Americans assert that the firing came first from the English. However this may be, the discharge of musketry, accompanied by the loud cheers of the soldiers and their rapid advance, struck terror into the unseasoned and ill-disciplined militia-men. They soon turned and fled, leaving several of their number dead or wounded on the ground; then, rallying for a moment, they returned the fire of their adversaries, wounding one soldier, and striking Major Pitcairn's horse. Anything like effectual resistance, however, was in vain, and thus the first armed collision between the people and the troops ended badly for the former. The incident was gloomy and mournful enough; but it has led to a vast amount of idle and misleading declamation. Men have written as if the slain on this occasion were an army of martyrs, who, while engaged in some peaceful or even religious pursuit, were suddenly set upon and murdered without resistance. Even assuming the truth of the accounts most favourable to the American side, this is clearly far from being the case. The Massachusetts people had in the first instance stored up several materials of war, with a view to carrying on hostilities against the Sovereign Power, under certain contingencies. They had then made preparations for opposing the march of troops towards the town where these stores had been collected. They placed themselves, with arms in their hands, in the way of those troops; and, when summoned to disperse and to lay down their weapons, they refused. Even if we admit that the first firing did not come from their side (and the point is doubtful), it is obvious that, as regards this particular collision, the Americans themselves created a state of war, and had no right to complain if they suffered the consequences which a state of war usually entails.

After drawing up for a brief time on the village green of Lexington, and cheering with very unnecessary and (as it afterwards proved) premature exultation, the troops hurried on to Concord. The men of that town were already busily engaged hiding cannon and military stores, while the women and children were seeking shelter in the neighbouring woods. The alarm-company rallied near the liberty-pole on the hill, and were joined by a number of minute-men from the adjacent towns of Lincoln and Acton. On seeing the approach of the British, and observing that they greatly outnumbered their own forces, the Americans retreated across the river Concord to some high ground about a mile from the middle of the town. The troops reached Concord at seven o'clock in the morning, when the Light Infantry took up a position along the hills, and the Grenadiers on the lower road. Search was made for arms and powder, but without any great success, as the larger part of the stores had been removed. However, the soldiers were enabled to spike three cannon, and to throw into the river five hundred pounds of ball and sixty barrels of flour, together with some gunpowder; but, while they were performing this duty, the Concord men had been reinforced by others from the surrounding towns, so that they now numbered about four hundred. American accounts state that private dwellings were rifled by the English; but Colonel Smith, in his despatch to General Gage, says that both he and Major Pitcairn did their utmost to convince the people that they meant them no injury, and that, if they opened their doors when required for the purposes of the search, no mischief would be done. "We had opportunities," writes this officer, "of convincing them of our good intentions; but they were sulky, and one of them even struck Major Pitcairn." The balance of evidence is in favour of the assumption that the troops, on the whole, behaved with remarkable forbearance under very trying circumstances; but it is certain that the Americans were determined the day should not pass quietly. Seeing smoke rising from the town, and conceiving that it had been set on fire, they resolved to attack the intruders. The English soldiers had in fact burned the liberty-pole of the place, together with several carriages for artillery, and the flames had communicated to the court-house, where, however, they were speedily extinguished. Barrett, the colonel in command of the American forces, gave the word to advance, but, it is said, told his men not to fire unless they were actually attacked. Marching in double file, and trailing their arms, the minute-men and militia, after a moment's hesitation, moved towards the bridge, which the English soldiers, seeing what was intended, began to destroy by taking up the planks that formed the roadway. The Americans pressed forward in manifestly hostile array, and were received by a few shots, one of which killed Isaac Davis, the captain of the minute-men of Acton, who, at daybreak, had taken leave of his young wife with words of solemn farewell. The name of this brave man is cherished in the United States with great affection, as one of the earliest heroes of the War of Independence. His widow lived to be more than ninety years old, and died in comparatively modern times, after seeing the American Republic great and prosperous, the memory of her husband honoured by the recognition of Congress, and herself aided by the country with whose history she was so pathetically associated.*

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* Bancroft. † Earl Stanhope's History of England.

The action of the British produced on the Americans the effect that might have been expected. Major John Buttrick, of Concord, exclaimed, "Fire, fellow-soldiers! for God's sake, fire!" The word ran, like fire itself, along the line, and a ringing volley leapt out from the levelled pieces. The troops at the bridge fell back in disorder on the main body, and the whole force, having accomplished as much of the original design as was practicable, and seeing that the town and country were roused, began to retire, after half an hour's hesitation. The retreat, after awhile, lost its first character, and became a rout. The English were seized with an irrational panic, for which, as yet, there was insufficient cause; and this emboldened the militia and volunteers to dash forward in pursuit. A cry was raised by the Americans that the "lobsters" were afraid of them. In a little while, numerous armed men, posted behind trees and walls, and in houses on the line of march, poured an incessant and galling, though irregular, fire into the retreating ranks of the English. In front, on both flanks, and in the rear, a rain of shot burst forth, and the adversary was so well concealed that it was impossible to reply with effect. The line of retreat on Lexington was by a narrow and winding road, six miles in length, passing over hills and between thickets of trees, which offered admirable coverture for the lurking marksman. Every advantage was taken of these positions, and the regulars suffered severely. Now and then they turned, and checked the enemy; but it was only for a moment. One woody defile succeeded another; and from rock and knoll and hurst, from budding hedge and grey stone wall, the stinging fire leapt out, as if the earth itself had changed into a deadly foe. The retreat was very like that of Braddock's army from before Fort Duquesne. It was a rout of terrified men, varied occasionally by frenzied contests with an unseen antagonist. Colonel Smith, in his despatch to General Gage, taunts the Americans with not having made one gallant attempt during the whole action, and with keeping under cover, although his troops were so much fatigued. It cannot, however, be fairly said of them in this respect that they did more than avail themselves of the opportunities for effective action which they found. For the common credit of humanity we must hope that another charge made by Colonel Smith was founded on misinformation. "In this affair," he records, "it appears that, after the bridge was quitted, they [the Americans] scalped and otherwise ill-treated one or two of the men who were either killed or severely wounded, being seen by a party that marched by soon after."†

As they approached Lexington, the retreating troops quickened their pace to a run, and seemed to think of nothing but saving their lives. They had expended nearly all their ammunition, yet were quite unable to shake off their pursuers. The officers endeavoured to check their flight; but it was not until they had got a little beyond the scene of the early morning's encounter that they were once more reduced to something like order. At this point, some officers succeeded in getting to the front, and, by menaces of death, began to form their ranks afresh. But the fire of the concealed enemy was still extremely hot, and it is more than doubtful whether the companies would have rallied, had not assistance very opportunely arrived. The wounded were beginning to drop from loss of blood, and the flanking parties were so fatigued that they could no longer act with vigour. Fortunately, General Gage, on hearing of the opposition which his forces had experienced at Lexington in the morning, had sent forward a reinforcement, consisting of sixteen companies from the 4th, 23rd, and 49th Regiments, and some Marines, with two field-pieces. This detachment, which numbered about twelve hundred men, was under the command of Earl Percy, who reached the neighbourhood of

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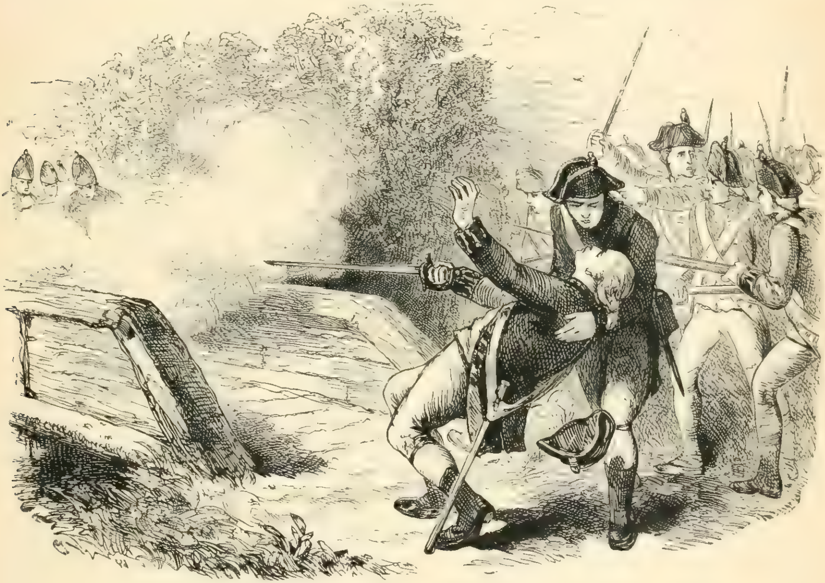
* Dana [illegible].

† It is probably to some such incident, in a less exaggerated form, that Mr. Bancroft alludes when he says that "one wounded soldier, attempting to rise as if to escape, was struck on the head by a young man with a hatchet."

Lexington a little after two o'clock in the afternoon, just at the moment when the defeated army under Colonel Smith had rushed in disorderly flight through the town, and was being to some extent rallied by its commanding officers. Percy's artillery at once opened fire upon the pursuers, and the new-comers formed into a hollow square for the reception of the fugitives, who, scared, panting, and utterly exhausted, flung themselves down on the ground, with their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase.*



DEATH OF ISAAC DAVIS.

The Americans were kept at bay, but they were not driven back. On the contrary, fresh reinforcements continued to arrive, and in numbers so large that the whole English company, including the detachment under Earl Percy, stood in danger of being overwhelmed. Youths still in their teens, and old men of seventy, joined the ranks of the Massachusetts protecting force. Mounted messengers rode through the towns and villages, shouting "To arms!" The pastors of small country communities sent forth their flocks with words of prayer and benediction, and a powerful body of militia-men and minute-men converged on the road from Lexington to Boston. The gathering was so strong at some points that two waggons sent out with supplies for the English troops were captured. Percy could see that his foes were thickening all around, and he recognised the necessity of renewing the retreat. After half an hour's rest, the army was again in motion, once more pursued by the implacable adversary; once more struck, in front, in flank, and in rear, by concealed marksmen; once more fighting desperately at particular localities, yet unable to gain any positive advantage. It is said that the regulars set fire to houses on their way, and murdered unarmed men; but statements of this kind are often rashly, if not malevolently, made, and should be received with doubt, unless strongly supported. The soldiers on the present occasion seem to have had enough to do to protect themselves, and it appears hardly probable that they should have paused to commit acts of wanton cruelty. The Americans ran with unwearying activity from one point to another, lying down to load, and then firing from behind a tree or bush. Where cover was wanting, they raised breastworks of shingle; and whenever any company was out of powder and shot, its place was immediately supplied by another. Panic had again set in among the discomfited troops; their ammunition was once more beginning to fail; and matters looked extremely threatening when, towards sunset, the appearance of Charleston Harbour raised the drooping spirits of the regulars. Some ships of war were stationed there, and under protection of their guns the fugitives crossed the river Charles, and got safely into Boston. On that disastrous day, Earl Percy's brigade had marched thirty miles in ten hours: Smith's detachment had retreated eighteen miles in six hours. Forty-nine Americans had been killed, thirty-four were wounded, and five were missing. The English altogether lost two hundred and seventy-three. Amongst the severely wounded was Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, the commander of the original expedition.

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* The fact and the comparison are to be found in Holmes's "American Annals," Vol. II., and in other American histories.

The fighting had continued at its hottest for seven hours, and the result contributed in no small degree to raise the spirits and confidence of the Americans, and to depress the English. The news of what had been accomplished was carried by mounted messengers from town to town in every direction, so that in a remarkably short time the fact was known over the whole length and breadth of Anglo-America. The enthusiastic response which it awakened was proof conclusive that the whole of the colonies, from Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the western prairies, were ripe for rebellion. Some of the early settlers in Kentucky were so charmed with the triumph of Massachusetts that they gave the name of Lexington to their encampment. From the several colonial Governments and Legislatures came expressions of devotion to the common cause, and preparations were hurried on for coping with the aroused power of England. When Earl Percy marched out of Boston on the morning of that momentous 19th of April, his band had derisively played "Yankee Doodle," and some of the officers had boasted that the rebels would take to their heels the moment they caught sight of the military. The beaten soldiers were now told that they had been made to dance to the tune which they had so insultingly played; and on the retreat the Americans jeeringly called out for "Chevy Chace"—in allusion, of course, to Percy. The colonists had, in truth, made a fairly successful commencement of their great contest, and some exultation was natural and excusable. But it is certain that a great deal of exaggeration was introduced into the several accounts of the battle, and that the Americans were unduly elated at the results of what was, after all, nothing more than a well-contrived and fortunate ambuscade. One thing is clear—that the civil war was commenced more by the action of the colonists themselves than by that of the English authorities.* Unless for the purpose of provoking a collision, there was no sufficient reason for making such a display of military force in the very teeth of the army, for the greater part of the stores had been effectually concealed; nor can the collection of those stores, with the confessed intention of employing them against the British Government, be regarded as anything but an act of covert hostility. The despotic conduct of the mother country towards her colonies may or may not be a justification of the civil war which ensued; but hostilities were precipitated by the initiative of the colonists, and this initiative was taken at the very time when a disposition to offer liberal concessions was gathering force in England, and had found expression in the Ministry itself.

The die, however, being now cast—the sword being openly drawn from its sheath—the Americans acted prudently in making ready for the shock of battle which was certain to follow. It could not be supposed that the Power they had defied would tamely accept the defiance. A long and bloody war was inevitable, and, at the urgent demand of the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, sitting at Cambridge, the militia-men of New England flocked towards the vicinity of Boston, to form one large host for besieging that city, as the head-quarters of the British force. In Connecticut, Colonel Israel Putnam, an officer who had served with credit in the war with France, but who, since the peace, had cultivated a farm and kept a tavern at Pomfret, received news of the fight at Lexington while, dressed in a leathern frock and apron, he was working at some stone fences on his land. Remarking that "Putnam dared to lead where any dared to follow," he at once took horse, and rode to Cambridge, which he reached by sunrise on the following morning, after a ride of a hundred miles in eighteen hours. Soon afterwards he was placed at the head of three thousand men who had followed him from Connecticut; large numbers came in daily from other directions; and, in a little while, an army of volunteers, amounting probably to some twenty thousand, was drawn round Boston Harbour. The chief command was conferred on

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* The latest American oration, that by Mr. R. H. Dana, jun., on the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Lexington, fairly concedes this point. "Let us never forget," says Mr. Dana, "that the men of Lexington, on that morning, were martyrs—*intentionally and intelligently* martyrs."

Colonel Artemas Ward, with the rank of Major-General, under whose directions a long line of blockade was formed. Of the equipment of this army, it is sufficient to say that the men had very little artillery, and that they were only provided with such necessaries as they could carry, or could obtain from the kindness and sympathy of friends. The contingents from the neighbouring colonies had been requested by the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts to bring their own military stores and provisions with them, as the chief of the New England provinces had nothing more than what she required for her own use. With such meagre resources, the enterprise which was now being undertaken might well have seemed desperate; but the struggle had been long contemplated, and it was well known by the revolutionary leaders that they had the majority of the people at their back. Joseph Warren, on the morrow of Lexington, declared that the next news from England must be conciliatory, or the connection between the provinces and the mother country would be at an end. He knew, as all knew, that no offers of conciliation would follow the receipt of intelligence that the colonists were in full insurrection, and had blockaded the British troops in Boston.

The Massachusetts Provincial Congress, sitting on the 22nd of April, resolved unanimously that a New England army of thirty thousand men should forthwith be raised, of which Massachusetts itself should contribute nearly fourteen thousand. The term of enlistment was to expire on the 31st of December; and, in a little while, the several New England Governments sent, by their simultaneous action, a large number of citizen soldiers to swell the patriot ranks before Boston. Nothing could be more embarrassing than the position of General Gage. He had not yet received his reinforcements from England, and although the works which he had previously constructed on Boston Neck were a sufficient guarantee against assault, he feared that his disheartened forces were not strong enough to pass beyond, and drive back the foe. A large proportion of the citizens were of more than doubtful loyalty, and Gage hit upon a device for getting rid of them. If they would promise not to join in an attack upon his troops, and would deposit their arms with the select-men at Faneuil Hall, he was willing that the men, women, and children, with all their effects, should have safe conduct out of the town. The offer was accepted; and the road to Roxbury was for several days covered with waggons and trains of exiles, who, at some inconvenience to the people of the surrounding country, were disposed of by the Provincial Congress among the villages of the interior. Subsequently, however, on the suggestion of the Boston loyalists, who thought the disaffected should be detained as hostages, this permission was revoked, on the plea that the arms had not been faithfully delivered. The incident had no other result than to exasperate the besiegers, and they talked boastfully of driving the English army into the sea. But the difficulties in the way of such an exploit were greater than at first appeared. Not only were the fortifications on the Neck impregnable without better artillery than the insurgents possessed, but the investing force lacked many of the most necessary qualifications of an army. It was wanting in discipline; it had no exact military knowledge; it was made up of a number of separate divisions from distinct provinces, very loosely held together, very little inclined to recognise any paramount or general sway. Artemas Ward, the chief commander, was old and infirm, and his authority, as far as it went, was over-ruled by the Committee of Safety. As the first enthusiasm of the Lexington and Concord success died out, many of the volunteers grew tired of keeping watch over Boston, and discovered that they must return to their homes, to put their affairs in order, or to obtain a stock of provisions. Furloughs were largely applied for and liberally granted, and the absentees showed no great haste to rejoin their ranks. Ward feared that his whole army would melt away. An inquiry into the number of guns in store gave very unsatisfactory results. Cambridge owned six three-pounders and one six-pounder; and at Watertown there were sixteen pieces of various sizes. But many of the latter were too bad for use, and the ammunition ran so short that the larger guns could not be served at all. In the whole province of Massachusetts, hardly sixty-eight barrels of gunpowder could be discovered, and the other colonies were no better off. In the whole American camp there were not nine cartridges to a man. The investing line was extended over an area of ten miles, and the condition of the provincial army (if it can be called an army) was such that it could not possibly have resisted an energetic assault, had Gage and his troops been spirited enough to deliver one.

Another difficulty with which the Americans had to contend, and one that was even more serious than the failure of ammunition, was the want of money. During the preceding winter, Massachusetts had raised scarcely £5,000 of currency to meet all her numerous expenses. Funds being now the great necessity of the hour, it was found expedient, in May, to legalise the paper-money of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and to issue Treasury notes in Massachusetts. Two large emissions were made within a few weeks, and of these notes some were specially called "soldiers' notes," the lowest of which was for one dollar. The "soldiers' notes" were intended for the prepayment of the troops, and were made a legal tender, without discount or abatement. Notwithstanding the paucity of coin, the ardour of the Massachusetts Congress suffered no decay. It was resolved in that body, on the 5th of May, "that General Gage had disqualified himself for serving the colony in any capacity, that no obedience was in future due to him, and that he ought to be guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate enemy." The feeling that prompted these words can very easily be understood. It was inevitable that the Americans should regard Gage with anger and dislike; but to Englishmen it did not appear that he had done more than his duty. Indeed, it had for some time been thought that he had done much less than his duty, and had allowed the spirit of rebellion to grow to alarming proportions by treating it with blamable forbearance.

The news of the British repulse at Concord and Lexington reached New York on the 23rd of April. It had the effect of so greatly encouraging the malcontents in that city that the Tories, or loyalists, who had previously enjoyed a majority in the Provincial Legislature, and who were strong among the wealthy and official classes, were now completely overwhelmed, and afraid to assert themselves. Two sloops at that time lay at the wharfs, laden with a large quantity of flour and other supplies for the English army at Boston. It was Sunday; but the people, overcoming any religious scruples they may have felt, unloaded the ships of their cargoes, and brought them ashore. The merchants whose vessels were cleared out dared not let them sail; the custom-house was closed by a popular intervention; and it was determined to stop all vessels going to Quebec, Newfoundland, Georgia, or Boston, the chief strongholds of the British power. Volunteer companies made demonstration of their resolve to support the cause of Massachusetts, as being the cause of the American colonies generally; several arms were seized by the mob; a new committee for the city and county, consisting of a hundred members, was chosen by the people at their usual places of election; and all parts of the colony were summoned to send delegates to a provincial convention. One of the earliest acts of the new general committee was to form an association, the members of which engaged themselves to submit to committees and to Congress, to withhold supplies from the English troops, and, at the risk of life and fortune, to repel every attempt at enforcing taxation by Parliament. Even the loyally-disposed thought it prudent to yield in some degree to the prevalent sentiment. Fourteen members of the New York Assembly transmitted a petition to General Gage, begging that hostilities might cease till fresh orders could be received from the King, and in particular that no military might be stationed in the province of New York. Moreover, the Royal Council despatched two agents to England, to protest against the conduct of the army at Boston; and at the same time, the New York committee sent an address to the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, in which they said:—

"Born to the bright inheritance of English freedom, the inhabitants of this extensive continent can never submit to slavery. The disposal of their own property with perfect spontaneity is their indefeasible birthright. This they are determined to defend with their blood, and transfer to their posterity. The present machinations of arbitrary power, if unremittedly pursued, will, by a fatal necessity, terminate in a dissolution of the empire. This country will not be deceived by measures conciliatory in appearance. We cheerfully submit to a regulation of commerce by the Legislature of the parent State, excluding in its nature every idea of taxation. When our unexampled grievances are redressed, our prince will find his American subjects testifying, by as ample aids as their circumstances will permit, the most unshaken fidelity to their sovereign. America is grown so irritable by oppression, that the least shock in any part is, by the most powerful sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt through the whole continent. This city is as one man in the cause of liberty; our inhabitants are resolutely bent on supporting their committee and the intended Provincial and Continental Congresses; there is not the least doubt of the efficacy of their example in the other counties. In short, while the whole continent are ardently wishing for peace upon such terms as can be acceded to by Englishmen, they are indefatigable in preparing for the last appeal. We speak the real sentiments of the confederated colonies, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, when we declare that all the horrors of civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of Parliament."

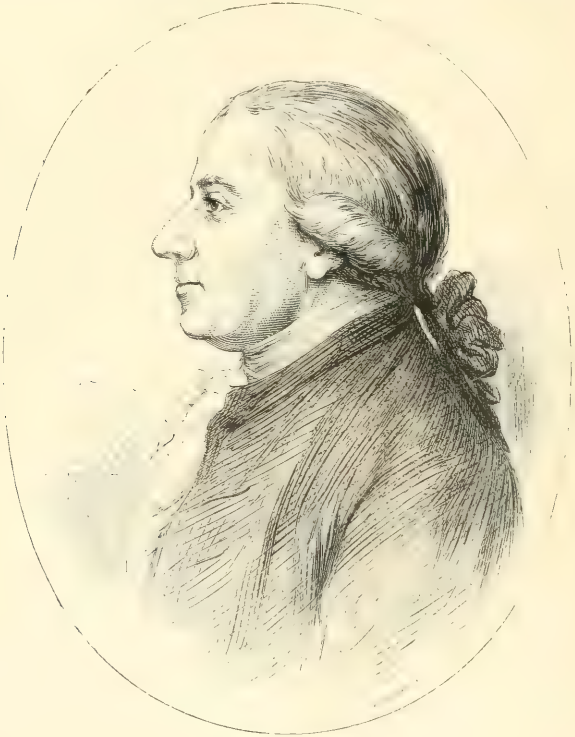
Shortly after the despatch of this appeal, the Massachusetts and Connecticut delegates to the Continental Congress arrived at New York. They were met, three miles beyond the city, by large bodies of the provincial soldiery, by numerous carriages, by citizens on horseback and citizens on foot; and the town was entered amidst the ringing of bells and the shouting of enthusiastic crowds. New Jersey was equally emphatic in supporting the action of the New England colonies; and Pennsylvania, despite the opposition of most of the Quakers, began to make preparation for service in the field. All this occurred early in May, and on the 5th of that month Franklin arrived at Philadelphia. The very next morning he was unanimously elected a deputy to the Congress, and his voice undoubtedly did much to strengthen the desire for independence, though the Pennsylvanian delegation was instructed to combine, if possible, a redress of grievances with a perpetuation of the union between Great Britain and her colonies. Virginia was strongly disposed to action. The independent company of Hanover, and its county committee, were summoned by Patrick Henry, who was elected as their head, and under whose command they marched for Williamsburg, adding to their numbers at every town and hamlet. Lord Dunmore himself testified, in a despatch to his Government, that there was scarcely a county in the whole province wherein part of the people had not taken up arms, and declared their intention of forcing him to make restitution of the powder he had seized. Hoping to quiet the popular commotion, he convened the Council; but Henry continued his march, and Lady Dunmore, apprehending that she might be seized as a hostage, retired with her family to the *Fowey* man-of-war. Dunmore considered it advisable to temporise. He sent out a messenger to meet Henry on the way, and to pay him £330 for the gunpowder. The volunteers then retired, though, if the country was in danger before, it was no less so after the payment of the money; and, two days later, Dunmore issued a proclamation against Patrick Henry, whom he secretly denounced to the Ministry as a man of desperate circumstances and disobedient spirit. But the insubordinate tendencies of Patrick Henry were shared by the majority of the people in most of the American colonies. Maryland, indeed, mollified by the act of its Governor, who gave up the arms and ammunition of the province, instructed its delegates to Congress to bring about a reconciliation. But the people of South Carolina seized the weapons in the Royal Arsenal; the Provincial Congress of that colony, under the presidency of Henry Laurens, resolved to create an army to aid in the national defence; and the militia officers threw up their commissions from the Royal Governor. North Carolina was animated by the same feelings, and in Georgia the King's magazine was rifled, that ammunition might be sent to Boston. Rebellion had openly declared itself throughout the land.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Plan for seizing Ticonderoga—Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys—Taking of the Fort by the Patriots—Character of Ethan Allen—Seizure of Crown Point, and other Successes of the Insurgents—Meeting of the Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia—Proceedings of that Body—Appointment of a Generalissimo over the United Colonial Army—The Post conferred on Washington—His Fitness for such a Command—Formation of a New Colony in Kentucky—Daniel Boone, the Explorer—Declaration of Independence by the Settlers in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina—Meeting of the Virginian House of Burgesses (June 1st)—Flight of Lord Dunmore—Answer of Virginia to the Conciliatory Proposals of Lord North—Thomas Jefferson—Proclamation of General Gage—His Letter to Lord Dartmouth touching the Employment of Indian Auxiliaries—Appeal of the Continental Congress to the American People—Relative Positions of England and America—Reception in England of the News of Lexington and Concord—The City of London and the Civil War—Determination of the King to prosecute Hostilities—Refusal to receive the Petition of Congress.

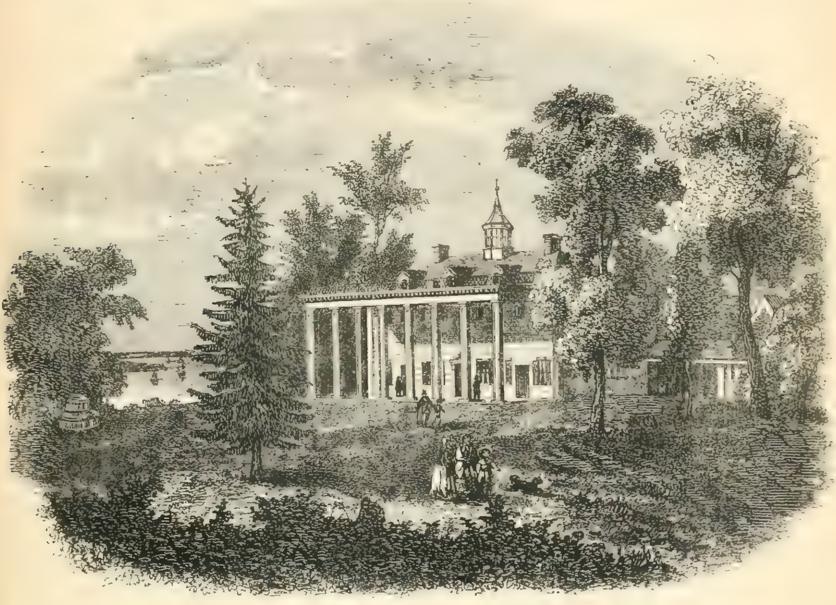
It is sometimes alleged by American writers that, up to the collision of the colonists with the Royal troops at Lexington, hardly any of the former, even in New England, or in Massachusetts itself, believed that blood would be shed, or that the connection between the mother country and her dependencies would be broken. If so, the designs of the American patriots must have been matured with extraordinary rapidity. Ten days after the unfortunate affair with the soldiers of Gage, a scheme which had already been talked over in another quarter took final shape at Hartford, Connecticut. While passing through that city on the 29th of April, Samuel Adams and John Hancock secretly met the Governor and Council, to settle the details of an expedition to surprise Ticonderoga. The plan had originated with the Green Mountain Boys—a body of active partisans recently formed in Vermont, from the name of which colony they took their designation. Ethan Allen—a man who had formerly been outlawed by the Government of New York for encouraging the people of

Vermont to assert their independence of that province—was to be one of the leaders of the attack, and Connecticut was to furnish the necessary funds. A few men were got together in Massachusetts, and word was quickly spread through the hills of Vermont that the attempt was forthwith to be made. A hundred of the Green Mountain Boys joined the volunteers from Massachusetts on the 7th of May, and elected Ethan Allen as their chief, in spite of a commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, which conferred the command on Benedict Arnold. On the following day, the party began their march. Near Orwell, which was reached late on the 9th, a few boats were discovered, and eighty-three men crossed the narrow waters between Lakes George and Champlain, and, guided by a farmer's son, who was well acquainted with the fort and its vicinity, landed not far from the position. As several of the men were thus left behind, the boats were sent back to bring up the rest; but it was found impossible to wait for them, lest the expedition should be discovered, and the advantages of a surprise be missed. In the early morning of the 10th, Allen drew up his men in three ranks on the slopes of the high ground, and told them he would not insist on their going forward against their will. Not a man, however, hung back, and Allen then led his little band up to the gate of the fortress. Through the wicket, which was open, the Americans rushed into the enclosure with a cry as of wild Indians, and formed on the parade in such a way as to face each of the barracks. After a slight skirmish with cutlasses, one of the sentries, who had been slightly wounded, surrendered himself, and volunteered to show the way to the apartment of the commandant, Delaplace. On being summoned to come forth, that officer presented himself half-dressed, and



HENRY LAURENS.

asked by what authority he was required to deliver up the fort. "I demand it," answered Allen, "in the name of the Great Jehovah, and of the Continental Congress!" The Continental Congress, however, knew nothing of the matter, and did not assemble for its second session until a few hours later. Delaplace might have objected to the validity of the alleged commission; but there is no arguing with superior force. The commandant had no more than forty-four soldiers under him; Allen had nearly double that number. On being menaced by the drawn sword of the American leader, Delaplace gave up the position, which he had allowed to remain in a state of insufficient defence because he had no reason to suppose that it was threatened with any danger. The whole affair was over in a few minutes.



WASHINGTON'S RESIDENCE, MOUNT VERNON.

It was no inconsiderable advantage that was thus gained. The seizure of Ticonderoga placed in the hands of the Americans more than a hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen-inch mortar, a number of swivels and small arms, and other stores; and so marked a success, though not very singular under the circumstances, helped to raise the spirits of the patriots, and to make them think they could accomplish whatever they attempted. It has sometimes been supposed that Ethan Allen was a religious fanatic of the Puritanical type; and the style in which he addressed Delaplace seems to favour such an impression. But it appears that he was a freethinker, who, like several of the American revolutionists of that period, rejected Christianity. He was the author of a work entitled "Reason the only Oracle of Man;" yet he cherished some singular notions. The ancient doctrine of metempsychosis had obtained a hold on his mind, and he used to assure his friends that he expected to return to this world after death in the form of a large white horse.*

A detachment of the Green Mountain Boys, under Seth Warner, shortly afterwards seized on Crown Point, which had a garrison of only twelve men, who, seeing the futility of resistance, surrendered on the first summons. Another party succeeded in capturing a British agent named Skeene, and getting possession of the harbour of Skeenesborough. The forces investing Boston destroyed or carried off the forage and cattle on the islands adjacent to that city, despite the efforts of the English troops to prevent them, and burnt a schooner which had been sent to interfere with their operations, but which was ultimately abandoned, with four small guns and twelve swivels on board. The lighthouse at the entrance to Boston harbour was set on fire by the insurgents, and consumed; and Benedict Arnold, in command of a schooner called the *Liberty*, captured an English sloop on Lake Champlain—the only vessel belonging to the Royal Navy on those waters. On the 25th of May, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived at Boston with their reinforcements; and they found the posture of affairs much more serious than they had reason to suppose when they left England.

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* Earl Stanhope, quoting from the Life of Ethan Allen by Sparks.

In the midst of these events, the second Continental Congress pursued its deliberations at Philadelphia. Its first meeting was on the 10th of May—the day on which Ticonderoga was captured; and America had undergone a new birth since the 19th of April, the day of Lexington. Whatever the cherished designs of the popular leaders up to the middle of April, the country had at any rate refrained from the most extreme forms of defiance. Now, there could no longer be a question that the colonies of New England were in a state of open rebellion. A report on the collision between the Royal troops and the popular forces was read, and entire approval of the conduct of Massachusetts was expressed. The action of that one province thus became, by adoption, the action of the whole confederation of colonies. Nevertheless, Congress hesitated as to voting assistance to the army of Massachusetts, which the representatives of that province requested, but postponed the question for some days for mature deliberation in a committee of the whole body. On the 13th of May, a delegate from Georgia was admitted to the Congress; and on the 15th the people of New York were directed not to oppose the landing of troops, but at the same time to prevent the erection of fortifications. They were to act on the defensive, and to repel force by force, in case of need. These instructions were very much in accordance with those of New York itself. More loyalty was still to be found in that part of English America than in most others. The colonists were, indeed, angry at the encroachments of the English Ministry on colonial freedom, and they expressed to the people of Massachusetts their warm sympathy and hearty good wishes; but they disapproved the action of their own mob in seizing the Royal arms, and, having established a kind of truce in their capital city, they laboured for the restoration of a good understanding between America and England. John Jay, the representative of the colony in the Continental Congress, made a motion for a second petition to the King, which was debated for several days. The delegates were still undecided whether to adopt this motion or to reject it, when, on the 18th of May, news arrived of the taking of Ticonderoga. It had the effect rather of dismaying than of inspiriting the representatives assembled at Philadelphia. They appear to have dreaded the retribution which so daring an act was likely to provoke, and they accordingly recommended to the provincial committees of New York and Albany to cause the artillery and stores to be removed from Ticonderoga to the south end of Lake George, and to make an exact inventory of them, in order that they might be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and her colonies (an event which the members of the Congress declared, in their resolution, they ardently desired) should render such an act "prudent, and consistent with the over-ruling law of self-preservation." There was even some talk of abandoning Ticonderoga and Crown Point altogether; but the Massachusetts Congress remonstrated, and Connecticut, with the consent of New York, sent a thousand men to the defence of the two fortresses.

Yet the Continental Congress did not neglect those precautions which the necessities of the case seemed to require. During the month of May and several successive weeks, the delegates made many important arrangements. They determined to stop all exportation of provisions to the British fisheries, or to any colony or island subject to the British Government. They established a Post Office under the direction of Franklin. They prohibited the negotiation of bills of exchange on behalf of British officers, and of all orders issued by army and navy agents or contractors. They rejected the conciliatory proposals of Lord North, and renewed their former application to the Canadians. They passed resolutions for organising an American army, and for the emission of a paper currency, to be guaranteed by the whole of the provinces; and they formed those provinces into a perpetual union, to which was given the title of "The Twelve Confederated Colonies." The twelve were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Georgia, at present, was not included, but it made a thirteenth not many weeks later. In answer to a representation from Massachusetts, setting forth that the province was destitute of all regular government, Congress declared that, by the violation of their charter, the people of that part of America were absolved from allegiance to the Crown, and might lawfully appoint a government of their own until the charter was restored. On the other hand, the second petition to the King, proposed by John Jay, was ultimately adopted, together with an offer to open negotiations with a view to an arrangement.

The most important step was to appoint, on the invitation of Massachusetts, a Generalissimo over the forces of the Confederation, and on the 15th of June this post was conferred, by a unanimous vote, on George Washington, then forty-three years of age. The subject had been discussed some time before, and the incompetency of Artemas Ward for the post he was filling at the head of the New England levies was universally allowed. Besides, the army beleaguering Boston was now to be made subsidiary to a Continental Army, which was thenceforward to be known by that name, and to be distinguished from the Provincial Militia of each colony; and, as Virginia was the oldest and largest of the provinces, it was considered advisable to give the supreme command to a Virginian, and especially to one who had already distinguished himself by valour and capacity in the field. Some of the deputies from New England would have placed the conduct of military affairs in the hands of Putnam; but they readily gave way on finding that the general sense, even including that of Massachusetts, was strongly in favour of Washington. That great man at once felt that duty to his country imperatively required him to accept the proffered position; but his diffidence was such that he whispered to Patrick Henry, with great emotion, "This day will be the commencement of the decline of my reputation." Nevertheless, he appeared in his place in Congress on the 16th of June, and, after refusing all pay beyond his expenses, said:—"As the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. But I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not feel myself equal to the command I am honoured with." On the following day, the delegates of all the colonies resolved unanimously in Congress to maintain, assist, and adhere to, the General of their choice "with their lives and fortunes." By his commission he was invested with the command of all the forces raised or to be raised by the United Colonies, with full power and authority to act as he should think for the good and welfare of the service; and he was to take special care that the liberties of America should receive no detriment. It was felt that by none could the sword of the confederated colonies be so fitly wielded as by this Virginian gentleman, whose courage was matter of history, whose abilities were well known, whose integrity was above suspicion, whose patriotism was ardent yet temperate, and whose possession of an independent fortune placed him above the reach of ordinary temptations.

We must here for awhile turn aside from the main stream of American history to observe the progress of events in an outlying portion of the national territory, then beginning to take shape beyond the Alleghanies. A number of adventurers, headed by one Henderson, had negotiated a treaty with the Cherokees for certain lands situated between the Ohio, the Cumberland mountains, the Cumberland river, and the Kentucky river. They were presently joined by the famous explorer, Daniel Boone, and by a party of colonists not easily daunted by Indian opposition and Indian ferocity, from which they were made to suffer on more than one occasion. Other leading adventurers were Richard Calloway, John Floyd, and James Harrod; and these men—a mere handful in all—assembled on the 23rd of May beneath a great elm-tree which overhung the walls of a stockade erected a few weeks before by Boone, near the mouth of Otter Creek. The meeting was organised as a convention, and prayers were read by a clergyman of the Church of England. That the land was within the territory over which Virginia claimed jurisdiction did not deter these settlers from taking the first steps towards establishing an independent administration, on the strength of the recent purchase of land from the Cherokees. All power, they asserted, is originally in the people, and therefore no doubt should be felt as to the efficacy of any laws they might be pleased to make. A committee, of which Calloway was the head, was then appointed, and, in a report which the members of that committee delivered on the 25th, they pledged themselves to attempt with vigour the organisation of the new province, adding,—"That we have a right, as a political body, without giving umbrage to Great Britain or any of the colonies, to frame rules for the government of our little society, cannot be doubted by any sensible or unbiassed mind." The name first given to this infant settlement was Transylvania, since altered to the barbarous designation of Kentucky. The legislation of the emigrants was avowedly based on what they described as "the happy pattern of the English laws." Courts of justice were speedily instituted in the wilderness, and a militia was formed for defence against the Indians. The main features of the constitution were, that there should be an annual choice of delegates; that taxes should be raised by the convention only; that all official salaries should be fixed by statute; that land-offices should be always open; and that perfect religious freedom and general toleration should be observed.

Daniel Boone, who must be regarded as the father of Kentucky, was certainly one of the finest characters of that age—a man made by Nature for an explorer, for a discoverer of new lands, for a founder of new States, for one of the noble army of pioneers who cause the desert to recede, and enlarge the horizon of the civilised world. The chief of American historians has said of him:—"The State, now that it has become great and populous, honours the memory of the plain, simple-hearted man, who is best known as its pioneer. He was kindly in his nature, and never wronged a human being, not even an Indian, nor, indeed, animal life of any kind. 'I with others have fought Indians,' he would say, 'but I do not know that I ever killed one; if I did, it was in battle, and I never knew it. He was no hater of them, and never desired their extermination. In woodcraft he was acknowledged to be the first among men. This led him to love solitude, and habitually to hover on the frontier, with no abiding place; accompanied by the wife of his youth, who was the companion of his long life and travel. When at last death put them both to rest, Kentucky reclaimed their bones from their graves far up the Missouri, and now they lie buried on the hill above the cliffs of the Kentucky river, overlooking the lovely valley of the capital of that commonwealth. Around them are emblems of wilderness life; the turf of the blue grass lies lightly above them; and they are laid with their faces turning upward and westward, and their feet towards the setting sun."*

At the same period, events of importance were passing in the county of Mecklenburg, in North Carolina—a region peopled chiefly by Presbyterians of Scoto-Irish descent. It was in May that the settlers in this remote spot heard of the proceedings in the British Parliament which had taken place in February, and which had for their object to declare that the American colonies were in a state of rebellion. As a measure of retaliation, it was proposed to abrogate all dependence on the Royal authority. A representative committee, formed by two delegates from each company of militia, was called together at the town of Charlotte, and, during its deliberations, news arrived of the collision at Lexington. This excited so strong a feeling against the English authorities that one of the delegates, named Ephraim Brevard, proposed a series of resolutions, which amounted to a declaration of independence. By these resolutions, all laws and commissions confirmed by or derived from the authority of the King or Parliament were annulled and vacated; all commissions, civil and military, already granted by the Crown to be exercised in the colonies, were declared void; the Provincial Congress of each colony, under the direction of the great Continental Congress, was invested with legislative and executive powers within its own jurisdiction; and it was affirmed that no other legislative or executive power did or could exist at that time in any part of those colonies. What right a small frontier settlement of North Carolina had to legislate for the whole body of the American provinces, it would be difficult to say; but the militia-men of Mecklenburg county seem to have had no doubt at all on the subject, and the resolutions were carried without hesitation. They then proceeded to form themselves into nine military companies, to elect their own officers, and to constitute a species of judicial administration. All former taxes were sequestrated, and it was resolved that persons receiving new commissions from the King, or exercising old ones, should be dealt with as enemies of the country. These arrangements were made binding on all until the Provincial Congress should provide otherwise, or until the British Parliament should abandon its pretensions to legislate for America. As soon as they had been affirmed, the resolutions of the colonists were despatched to Charleston, and to the Provincial Congress sitting at Philadelphia. They appear to have met with a very favourable reception from the western counties of North Carolina generally.

These events took place in the closing days of May, 1775. On the 1st of June, the House of Burgesses of Virginia was convened for the last time by a Royal Governor. The Speaker was Peyton Randolph, who had just been officiating as President of the Continental Congress, but who had resigned that post to John Hancock, President of the Massachusetts Congress in the autumn of 1774 When Randolph arrived at Williamsburg, at that time the capital of the province, he was seen to be attended by an escort of independent companies of horse and foot, and it was generally understood that this was in consequence of the office he had just been discharging in what may be called the Federal Assembly—a body of which the legality had never been recognised by the English Government, and which the patriotic party, therefore, felt all the more pleasure in honouring. Further evidence of the spread of Republican principles was discernible in the fact that several of the Burgesses appeared in the uniform of the recently-instituted provincial troops—a hunting-shirt, of coarse linen, thrown over their ordinary clothes, and a woodman's axe by their sides. After transacting some purely local business, the Burgesses proceeded to consider the conciliatory proposals of Lord North. While they were thus engaged, the Governor, Lord Dunmore—who had previously sent in an apology for his removal of the colonial gunpowder—received an express from General Gage, informing him of his intention to issue a proclamation proscribing Samuel Adams and John Hancock. Fearing that this fact, when generally known in Virginia, would create so great a commotion as to endanger his life, or at least his liberty, Dunmore hastily withdrew, during the night of June 7th, to the *Fowey* man-of-war, then lying at York. The Burgesses, five days later, addressed to him their answer to the proposals of the British Government. They averred that, next to the possession of liberty, they desired most a reconciliation with the mother country, but that the resolution of the House of Commons only changed the form of oppression without lightening its burden. They added that the British Parliament had no right to meddle with their constitution, or prescribe either the number or the pecuniary appointments of their officers; that they had a right to give their money without coercion, and from time to time; that they alone were the judges, alike of the public exigencies and of the ability of the people; that they contended not merely for the mode of raising their money, but for the freedom of granting it; that the resolve to forbear levying pecuniary taxes still left unrepealed the Acts restraining trade, altering the form of government of Massachusetts, changing the government of Quebec, enlarging the jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty, taking away trial by jury, and keeping up standing armies; that the invasion of the colonies with large armaments by sea and land was a style of asking gifts not reconcilable to freedom; that the resolution did not propose to the colonies to lay open a free trade with all the world; that, as it involved the interest of all the other colonies, they were bound in honour to share one fate with them; that the Bill of Lord Chatham on the one part, and the terms of Congress on the other, would have formed a basis for negotiation and reconciliation; but that, leaving the final determination of the question to the General Congress, they were now determined to weary the King with no more petitions, nor the British nation with any more appeals.* The author of this important State paper—which Lord Shelburne described as masterly—was Thomas Jefferson, afterwards third President of the United States, one of the most remarkable of the revolutionary leaders of that time; a man of keen, practical intellect, of strong sense and judgment, sceptical in religion, yet with a firm faith in political justice and the rights of humanity. Having produced his reply to the proposals of the English Government, Jefferson left Williamsburg for Philadelphia, to assist in the deliberations of the Continental Congress.

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* Bancroft's History of the United States.

Gage, in his capacity as Governor of Massachusetts, now began to assume a bolder tone towards the insurgents, feeling, probably, that since the arrival of reinforcements he was in a better position to make his power felt. He accordingly issued, on the 12th of June, a proclamation offering a general pardon to all who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the habits and duties of peaceable subjects, but excepting from this act of grace Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences, it was stated, were "of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." The same proclamation announced the operation of martial law in Massachusetts as long as the unhappy occasion should require. About the same period, Gage wrote a despatch to Lord Dartmouth, the Colonial Minister, requesting him to concentrate at Boston fifteen thousand men, of whom a part might be hunters, Canadians, and Indians; to send ten thousand more to New York; and to despatch an additional seven thousand composed of regulars, Canadians, and Indians, for service in the vicinity of Lake Champlain. It had come to the knowledge of Gage that certain savages domiciled in Massachusetts had been in communication with the camp before Boston; and he therefore felt the less scruple in looking for aid to the same source. The Americans had undoubtedly made advances to the red men as possible allies against the English Government: how far they were justified in so doing by the fact of similar advances having been previously contemplated, although perhaps not actually made, by the representatives of the Crown, is a nice point of casuistry, which will never find a satisfactory solution as long as the morals of such questions are obscured by partisan feeling.

On the same day that Gage issued his proclamation, the Continental Congress published an appeal to the people of the twelve united colonies, enjoining them to keep a fast on one and the same day,

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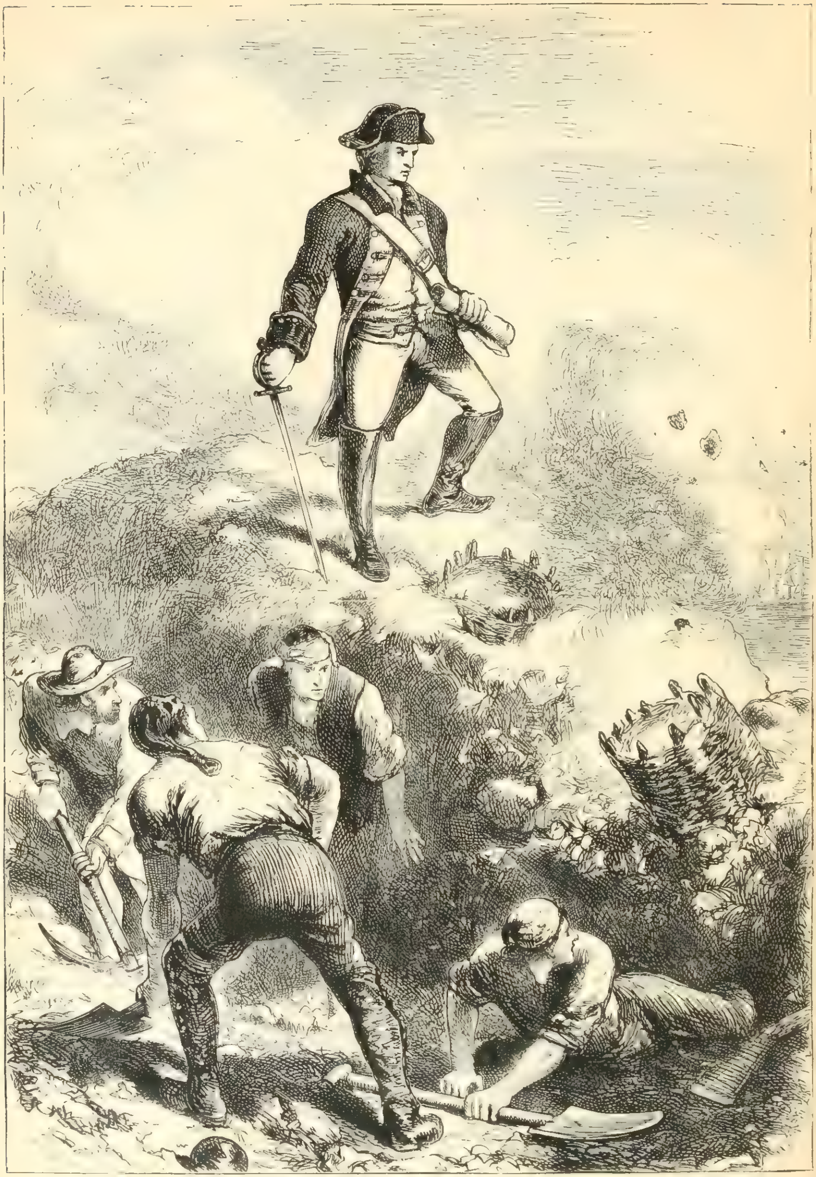
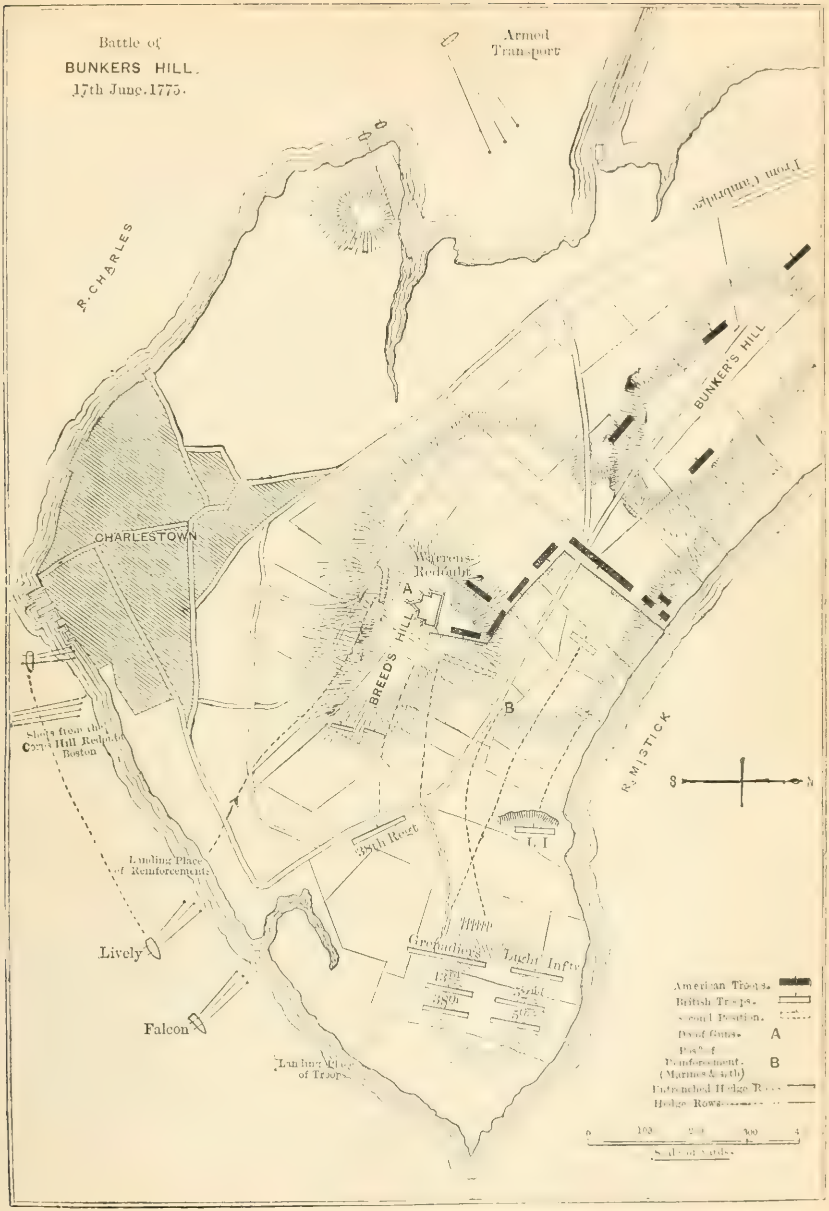
* Bancroft.



[illegible] ON BREED'S HILL: PRESCOTT IN THE REDOUBT.


Battle of
BUNKERS HILL.
17th June.1775.
Armed
Transport
R. CHARLES
From Cambridge
BUNKER'S HILL
CHARLESTOWN
Warrens
Redoubt
A
BREEDS HILL
B
R. MISTICK
S
N
Ships from the
Copps Hill Redoubt
Boston
38th Regt
L. I
Landing Place
of Reinforcements
Lively
Falcon
Grenadiers
Light Infty
43rd
52nd
38th
5th
Landing Place
of Troops
American Troops.
British Troops.
Second Position.
Posn of Guns.
A
Posn of
Reinforcement.
(Marines & 47th)
B
Entrenched Hedge Rows
Hedge Rows
0
100
200
300
400
Scale of Yards.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL. (*Showing the First and Second Positions of the Troops*) when they were to recognise "King George III. as their rightful sovereign, and to look up to the supreme and universal superintending Providence of the great Governor of the world for a gracious interposition of heaven for the restoration of the invaded rights of America, and a reconciliation with the parent State." It may, without any considerable violation of charity, be doubted whether this injunction was not rather a politic keeping up of appearances than a sincere expression of feeling. A British historian of America, very favourably inclined towards the colonists, has pithily and pertinently observed that "it is a general practice of mankind, and the peculiar policy of Governments, to veil the most implacable animosity, and the most decisive martial purpose, under a show of professions more than ordinarily forbearing and pacific; nor can any proclamation be more ominous of violence than that in which a kingdom or commonwealth judges it expedient to vaunt its own moderation."* The patriotic party very naturally desired to stand favourably with the European Powers; it was their policy to put themselves in the position of affectionate subjects who desired nothing so much as to retain their connection with the mother country, but who were being goaded into separation by the obstinacy and cruel oppression of the Imperial Government. Their acts, however, were not in harmony with this assumption. They continued to insist on conditions which they knew that England would not grant. They were aware that civil war had already begun in the north; they themselves were making preparations for carrying on that war with the utmost possible vigour; and they were fostering the sense of injury out of which the desire for complete independence was taking shape. Individual members of Congress may have truly wished for a peaceful solution of all difficulties, and a perpetuation of the old relations between England and her colonial possessions; but such was not by this time the feeling of the country generally (though doubtless the dissentients were numerous), nor, it is to be suspected, was it the real aspiration of Congress as a whole. It had not been the drift of the leading New Englanders for some years.

The degree of insincerity thus apparent in the proceedings of Congress is not greater than what is usually observable in the policy of States when conducting difficult negotiations with other Powers. The representatives of the American colonies were persuaded of the justice of their cause, but they had to struggle with a Government possessed of immense resources. It was essential that they should gain time, and it was desirable that they should preserve before the world the credit of meekness and much-suffering—of reluctance to sever old ties, and tenderness in the cherishing of old memories. But the quarrel had been envenomed past cure, and it would be idle to blame the Americans for taking every measure to ensure success in the trial of strength that had become inevitable. It would be equally idle to condemn the English Government for accepting a defiance which could not be evaded, and making a supreme effort for the retention of a magnificent colonial empire which was slipping from their grasp.

Intelligence of what had happened at Lexington and Concord reached England at the end of May. The astonishment and anger which it created may easily be imagined. We have seen in our own day how fierce an outburst of national spirit was evoked by the uprising of the native races of Hindostan in 1857. Very similar, though it is to be hoped less ferocious, was the feeling of Englishmen in 1775 towards their rebellious brethren in America. There were exceptions, however, at the earlier as well as at the later date. The celebrated Admiral Keppel begged not to be employed in the colonies. The Recorder of London put on a full suit of mourning on hearing the news, and, being asked if he had lost a relative or friend, replied, "Yes; many brothers at Lexington and Concord." Lord Effingham, who had been a military officer since youth, threw up his profession to avoid the misery of fighting against his brethren, in the justice of whose cause he believed; and Lord Chatham, at a somewhat later date, withdrew his eldest son from the army of Canada, where he had been serving as aide-de-camp to the Governor. But the chief seat of disaffection towards the policy of the King and the Cabinet—which must also be described as the policy of Parliament, and probably of the majority of the nation—was the City of London. The citizens had been in opposition for some years, and had recently elected John Wilkes to the chief magistracy: indeed, a certain habit of antagonism to the Crown is one of the traditions of the great English municipality. On the 24th of June, the citizens of London voted an address to the sovereign, praying for the dissolution of Parliament and the dismissal of Ministers, as they had prayed once before. The King refused to receive this address on the throne, and it was therefore never presented, the City chiefs insisting, with a pertinacity which was scarcely decent, that it ought to be so received. When, in August, a

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* Grahame, Book XI., chap. 4.

Royal proclamation was issued for the suppression of rebellion and sedition in America, and for the prevention of traitorous correspondence with that country, Wilkes would not allow the mace to be carried before the authorities whose duty it was to read the proclamation in front of the Royal Exchange, nor the usual forms of respect to be observed. At the close of the reading, a hiss was raised among the crowd; but it is a matter of some doubt whether the expression of feeling should be charged on the citizens generally, or simply on Wilkes's own partisans. However this may be, it is certain that loyal addresses, promising support against the insurgents, flowed in from every part of the kingdom even from the great seats of industry and commerce, such as Manchester and Liverpool.*

None the less was the situation embarrassing and difficult in the highest degree Lord North, with the humanity for which he was always distinguished, hesitated about taking active measures against the rebels, and desired to resign, but was compelled by the King to remain at the head of the Government. George himself knew not what to do, yet was still determined to prosecute the war with vigour. The chief trouble was to procure troops sufficient to operate in so large a country against an enemy so numerous. At one time the King thought of subsidising Russia, and thus obtaining the assistance of a Muscovite army to suppress the aspirations and fetter the liberty of Anglo-Americans. But, as this arrangement could not be carried out with sufficient celerity, it was for awhile abandoned (though we shall see it revived further on), and regard was mainly had to such elements of coercion as were supposed to exist in America itself. The Highlanders in North Carolina might, it was thought, be induced to fight against the native Americans. In Virginia, the red man and the negro were to be armed against the whites; and muskets, cannon, powder, and ball were sent out in large quantities to Dunmore for distribution by him. The Indians of Canada were asked for help; and thus the aborigines of North America, whose ancestors had been deprived of their inheritance by the superior energy of European races, found themselves solicited as allies by two antagonistic branches of the nation from which they had chiefly suffered. While these matters were being considered, Richard Penn brought over from Pennsylvania the petition from Congress to the King, to which the Americans had given the title of "the Olive Branch;" and on the 1st of September he delivered it for presentation to Lord Dartmouth. Three days later, he was informed by letter that no answer would be given. The Congress was an illegal assembly, held against the sovereign's express injunction; it had sanctioned and directed the taking up of arms against his Majesty; and its existence, in the opinion of the King and his Ministers, could not be recognised. The refusal of this address removed the last chance of a pacific settlement; but we can hardly wonder at the fact. The insubordination of the Americans had long rendered an accommodation difficult; their resort to civil war at Lexington and Concord had made it impossible.

CHAPTER XIX.

Disorganised Condition of the Colonial Army before Boston—Designs of the Commanders—Bunker's Hill and Breed's Hill—A Perilous Expedition—Seizure of Breed's Hill by the Patriots, and Formation of a Redoubt—The Position cannonaded by the British—Prescott's Arrangements—Dangerous Situation of the Americans—Advance of the English Troops—Rapid Strengthening of the American Position—The Scene of the Encounter—Disposition of the Troops—Burning of the Village of Charleston—Burgoyne's Description of the Struggle—Repulse of the First British Attack on Breed's Hill—Failure of the Simultaneous Attack on the Spur of the Redoubt—Renewal of both Attacks, and Second Repulse of the British—Terrible Slaughter of the Assailants—Failure of Ammunition on both Sides—Arrival of Reinforcements under Clinton—Combined Attack on Three Sides of the Position—Defeat of the Americans—Gage on the Lessons of the Battle—Contradictory Accounts of the Engagement—Death of Major Pitcairn—Results of the Action as regards the English and the Americans.

Several weeks before the day on which the King intimated, through Lord Dartmouth, that the second petition of Congress could not be received, an event had happened which made amicable arrangements all the more improbable. The armed collisions at Lexington and Concord had been followed by an action of a much more serious character, the effect of which was necessarily to inflame the passions of both sides to fever-heat, and to preclude the idea of any other settlement than that which could be won at the sword's point. The great events of April 19th, however, had not been immediately followed by any military measures of importance on either side. Gage was waiting for his reinforcements, and the Americans were far too disorganised to risk any offensive movement. It was even a matter of doubt with thoughtful observers whether they would be able to maintain their position. The colonial army before Boston was distracted by the conflicting directions of the Committee of Safety and of the council of war. The number of men in arms was considerably less as a matter-of-fact than it appeared on paper. Commands were given to all who raised companies or regiments, without any reference to their fitness to discharge such duties; and the result was not unfrequently seen in fraudulent muster-rolls, in officers who had all the worst characteristics of Falstaff without his wit, and in levies such as those with whom Falstaff himself was ashamed to be seen marching through Coventry. The men left their ranks whenever it pleased them, and often did not care to return. It was an abuse of language to talk of an encampment, for there were but few tents, and several of the soldiers were lodged in private houses. Of ammunition there was so little that fears of its speedily running out were not unreasonably entertained; and the request which had been sent to other colonies for assistance in this respect had not resulted in any great addition to the stock. To all these causes of weakness were to be added the want of money, and the lack of any commanding officer with genius sufficient to turn to the best account whatever elements of heroism, endurance, and military capacity may have existed in the army. That such elements were really there, was proved by subsequent events; but, in the spring months of 1775, the baser and weaker qualities of the popular muster were more apparent than the nobler and stronger, and lovers of their country felt uneasy at the sight of so much insubordination and feebleness.

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* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 53.

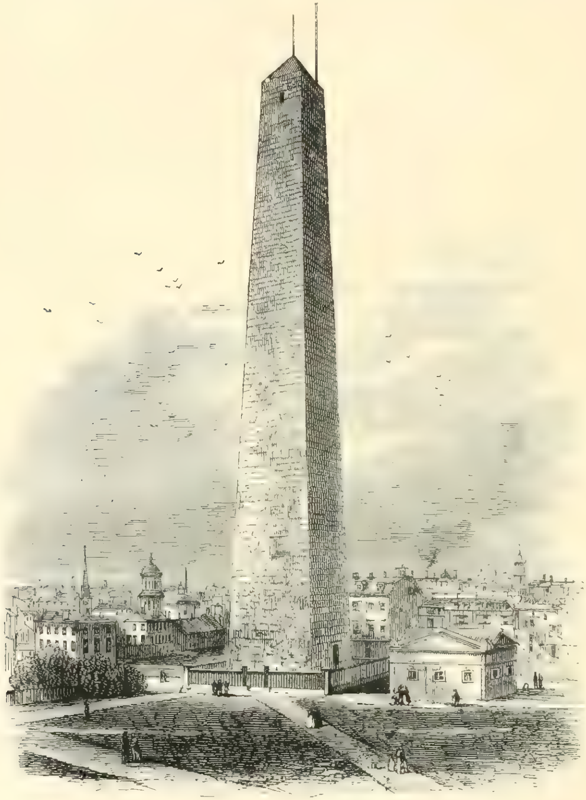
As the weeks wore on, it became increasingly evident to the ruling authorities among the patriots that it was a matter of absolute necessity to take possession of certain heights in the neighbourhood of Charleston and to the north of Boston, of which the two principal elevations were called Bunker's Hill and Breed's Hill. It was therefore determined that these eminences should be occupied, and that a strong redoubt should be raised on Bunker's Hill. Some of the proposed works were forthwith begun; but, before the project could be fully carried out, it became known that a similar design was entertained by the English commanders, who had determined to extend their lines from Dorchester, in the south, to Charleston, in the north. The contemplated operations were to take place on the 18th of June, and were to be facilitated by a vigorous cannonade from Boston Neck. If the enemy was to be anticipated, it was high time for the Americans to make their move; and Ward was accordingly ordered to fortify Dorchester Heights, and to establish a post on Bunker's Hill. To understand the ensuing battle with clearness, it should be borne in mind that the city of Boston stands on a small peninsula in the harbour of the same name; that north of the city stands the suburb of Charleston, separated from the capital by a narrow arm of the sea, and built on another small peninsula, which at the farther or north-western end is connected with the continent by a strip of land; that both Breed's Hill and Bunker's Hill are within this second peninsula; and that the former of those hills is the one nearest to Boston, while the latter is more contiguous to the mainland.

The determination to seize on the position was taken by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety on the 15th of June, and Ward at once made arrangements for effecting the desired object. The immediate conduct of the enterprise was assigned to Colonel William Prescott, of Pepperell, who had desired to be placed at the head of this dangerous expedition. At nine o'clock on the evening of the 16th, a detachment of the colonial forces, consisting of about a thousand men, not in uniform, and armed for the most part merely with fowling-pieces unprovided with bayonets, started from Cambridge, after having been previously paraded on the common, where one of the chaplains to the army—Langdon, the President of Harvard College—had prayed with them and for them. Silently and solemnly, in the gathering dusk of a summer's night, they began their march; but, by some mistake, Prescott had received orders to occupy Breed's Hill, though the idea of the Committee of Safety was to take possession of Bunker's Hill. The detachment was accompanied by waggons filled with entrenching tools; and when Prescott and his men, after traversing Charleston Neck, unmolested and undiscovered, attained the high ground to which they had been directing their course, the engineer and field-officers began, by the uncertain light of the stars, to make a redoubt of some eight rods square. The position is so elevated as to overlook the whole of Boston; but this advantage to a force operating against that city is counteracted by the hill being within easy range of cannon-shot from those who hold the town. It was midnight before the first sod was turned up; yet by dawn the redoubt had risen to a considerable height. The work had been performed in such perfect silence that not the slightest intimation of what was going on had reached the numerous ships of war and transports that lay in the waters around the peninsula. Prescott had set a watch to patrol the shore, and from time to time had himself gone down to the water's edge, to be personally assured that the operations of his men were undetected. But all was well, and it was only the early light of morning that revealed to the English the presence of the Americans on Breed's Hill.

The discovery was first made by the *Lively* sloop-of-war, which speedily opened fire on the redoubt. Boston was roused from its sleep by the cannonade, and a battery of heavy guns was soon mounted on Copp's Hill, immediately opposite, at a distance of not more than twelve hundred yards. The insurgents, though in part protected by what they had already reared, were still in a great degree exposed, and the enterprise required careful management to prevent an utter failure. Richard Gridley, the chief engineer, had left, not caring to abide the fire of the British; and Prescott had to do what he could by himself. He made every endeavour to strengthen his lines; but the fire of the English was so powerful that little progress could be effected. With admirable coolness and valour, he mounted the parapet, and walked to and fro, giving directions to his men, who, animated by his example, worked on with steady resolution. The courage of Prescott was well-known and splendidly sustained. He had resolved never to be taken alive; and when Gage, who was watching the movement through a telescope from Boston, asked Willard, Prescott's brother-in-law, and a man of loyal principles, whether the commander on Breed's Hill would fight, Willard replied, "Ay,—to the last drop of his blood!" Under this vigorous command, the redoubt progressed with rapidity, and by nine o'clock in the morning had become sufficiently strong to make an attack simply in front unadvisable. By that time, Prescott had partly constructed a small breastwork, extending from the east side of the redoubt in a northerly direction towards the bottom of Breed's Hill, beyond which was a slough and a stretch of open grass-land, intersected by fences and sparely dotted with trees, which extended to the banks of the river Mystic. It was determined by the British commanders to attack the enemy towards the rear of his entrenchments, and on the flank, at the same time that the redoubt was assaulted in front.

The 17th of June, 1775, must always remain one of the most memorable days in American History. It was the day of the Battle of Bunker's Hill—the day on which the first general action was fought between the colonists and the troops of the mother country. That action illustrated in vivid colours the obstinate bravery of both branches of the English race, for on both sides it was conducted under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The regulars had to fight unsheltered against an enemy who stood behind entrenchments. On the other hand, the Americans were not disciplined soldiers in any sense of the word. They were ill-armed, ill-directed (except by their immediate chief and a few others), and unsupplied with necessaries. Their stock of powder was insufficient; they had only the food which they had carried with them; and for a long while no succour was sent from the main body. The day was extremely hot; the men were exhausted with their night's work at the trenches; and a strong force of British regulars was now advancing to attack their position. Some quitted their posts, and evaded the struggle; but Prescott was not the less determined to stand his ground. He sent messengers to the head-quarters at Cambridge, earnestly demanding reinforcements. The second of these messengers met Putnam, who, on arriving at the redoubt, required that the trenching tools should be sent off to Bunker's Hill, where he proposed to throw up works of defence. Owing to numerous desertions, however, and to the varied complications of the fight, Bunker's Hill was not completely fortified, and in fact that eminence had very little to do with the events of the day, though, by a strange misappropriation, its name has been given to the battle which ensued.

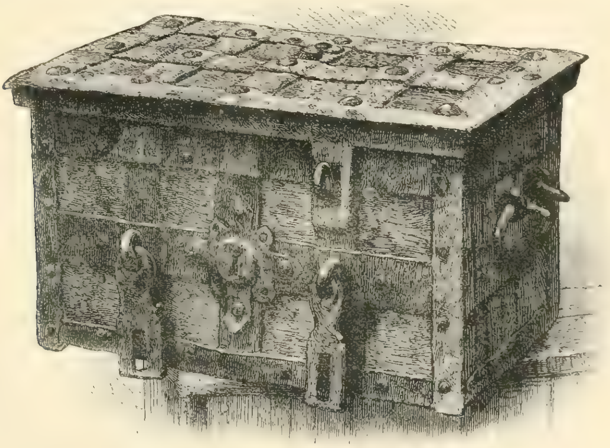
The English troops were in motion by a little after noonday. Under protection of a hot and sustained fire from the *Glasgow* sloop-of-war, and from two floating batteries which had been moored close by, they passed in boats and barges over the piece of water intervening between the Long Wharf of Boston and Moulton's Point, on the east side of Charleston. Their number was about two thousand, and they were under the command of Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Pigot. The place of landing was not far from the mouth of the river Mystic, and the object of the attacking force was to outflank the Americans, to cut off their retreat by gradually closing round them, and thus to capture the whole. The provincials were by this time greatly fatigued. Prescott had no artificial protections in his rear; and his flank, on the side which the English were approaching, was guarded only by that prolongation of the redoubt in a northerly direction which he had begun to construct, and which, being still unfinished, possessed no great strength. If Howe had advanced at once, he would probably have carried the position very speedily; but, seeing that the Americans calmly awaited the assault, he thought it prudent to draw up his men on the first rising ground, and send back for reinforcements. Taking advantage of the delay, Prescott fortified his camp with promptitude and ability. Behind the breastwork, at a distance of about two hundred yards, was a low stone wall, surmounted by a fence of posts connected by two lines of horizontal rails, which extended towards the Mystic for a distance of rather more than three hundred yards. On the inner side of this line was a ditch; and the most was made of these elements of defence. The Connecticut forces, under Knowlton, were ordered forward by Prescott, and, with two field-pieces, they marched towards the fence. This they strengthened by piling up a quantity of newly-mown hay between the rails, and hastily erecting a second rail-fence parallel with the first, and filling up with more hay the space between the two. Nearly a hundred yards, however, were left without any protection but such as the natural difficulties of the ground, which could not be regarded as very considerable, were capable of affording.



THE MONUMENT ON BUNKER'S HILL.

Towards the English attack was the slope of a bank, declining to the water; and at the foot of Breed's Hill was the slough already mentioned.

Prescott's position was most serious, and so it appeared to the Committee of Safety and to General Ward, to whom appeals were sent for reinforcements. Ward was opposed to risking a battle, and it was urged by others that the expenditure of powder might be ruinous. There were in truth not more than sixty-three half-barrels of powder in store, and it was feared that the consumption of this by cannon might leave the patriots with scarcely any for future operations. Ward at first determined not to despatch reinforcements from his camp, fearing that if he did so the main attack of the British would be made on Cambridge itself; but he sent some New Hampshire regiments to the support of Prescott, and later in the day he made a contribution from head-quarters, when he found that the English had really no design on Cambridge. Several officers voluntarily joined the scene of action; among them, the veteran Seth Pomroy, who had fought at the taking of Louisburg, in 1745, and Joseph Warren, one of the Committee of Safety, who refused to accept a command, but solicited and obtained a post of danger. There were also several free negroes mingled with the whites. On the arrival of fresh regiments, the conduct of the defence was pursued with greater briskness. A breastwork of stones was thrown up close to the brink of the Mystic, and three ranks of men, with others lying down on the grass, were posted behind it. This was done by order of Colonel John Stark, of the New Hampshire levies, who fought quite independently of Prescott, and gave his particular attention to the protection of the flank. At the same time, Putnam was endeavouring, though unsuccessfully, to erect works on Bunker's Hill, where he considered that there should be a great concentration of troops. He also frequently went over to the foot of Breed's Hill, and at other times was at Cambridge, urging the necessity of reinforcements. His restless energy formed a line of connection between the several points of danger or defence.



WASHINGTON'S TREASURE-CHEST. (*From a Photograph.*)

Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon the Royal troops advanced to the assault. They were formed into two lines, and marched under cover of a heavy fire of cannon and howitzers. Howe was in command of the right wing, Pigot of the left; and it was arranged that the former should attack the American lines in flank, while the latter assailed the southern front of the redoubt. The regiments moved slowly, in order that the artillery should produce full effect on the works; and in a little while Pigot found that his left flank was being severely galled by a number of American riflemen posted in houses in the village of Charleston, which lay below the position of the insurgents. Howe therefore sent over orders to Clinton and Burgoyne, who remained on the Boston peninsula, to set fire to the village, which was effected by a discharge of shells from Copp's Hill. The flames were aided by a party of men who landed on the opposite peninsula for that purpose. Fire and smoke soon rose in large volumes into the burning and brilliant midsummer day; but a sudden shifting of the wind prevented the dun vapours from obscuring the movements of the attacking force, as had been hoped. The buildings in Charleston, some five hundred in number, were all constructed of wood, and the blaze of their ignition flared far and wide over the neighbourhood and the surrounding country, attracting crowds of spectators, who assembled on the hills, on the roofs of the houses in Boston, on the tops of the church-towers, and on the masts of the shipping, to watch the grand but terrible spectacle. General Burgoyne, writing an account of the action to a friend, described with considerable force the effect of this impressive feature of the engagement. "The enemy," he wrote, "all in anxious suspense; the roar of cannon, mortars, and musketry, the crash of churches, ships upon the stocks, and whole streets falling together, to fill the ear; the storm of the redoubts, with the objects above described, to fill the eye; and the reflection that perhaps a defeat was a final loss to the British Empire in America, to fill the mind,—made the whole a picture and a complication of horror and importance beyond anything that ever came to my lot to witness."* The setting fire to towns and villages is always one of the least justifiable operations of warfare. The justification on the present occasion was the alleged circumstance of Charleston being turned into a cover for offensive operations; but the act has ever since been regarded by the Americans as a barbarous outrage.

The military dispositions of General Howe were commended by Burgoyne as "soldier-like and perfect." He was well seconded by his men, but they had no light task before them. The troops under Pigot ascended the rising ground towards the redoubt steadily and in good order. They had to wade through grass reaching to the knees, and frequently to surmount walls and fences. The fire of their small arms did not produce much effect, as they aimed too high and began too soon; and Prescott ordered his men to reserve their return volley until he should give the word. When he thought the British near enough, he exclaimed "Fire!"—and, with a simultaneous report, the leaden death smote the front rank of the advancing force, stretching many in mortal agony on the turf, and bringing the rest to a stand. It was not long, however, before the soldiers rallied; but the Americans fired again and again, loading under cover, and springing up on the wall of the redoubt to deliver their shots. These rapid volleys were replied to by the regulars with great spirit, and a fierce combat went on for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour. The Americans were determined to sustain the reputation for courage which they had won at Concord, and to disprove the idle and ungenerous taunts as to their cowardice which had been uttered in Parliament by Lord Sandwich, Colonel Grant, and others. They recollected those taunts with bitterness, and to the commanding officer of one of the English regiments some of the opposing ranks exclaimed, "Colonel Abercrombie, are the Yankees cowards?" It is unquestionable that great courage and resolution were exhibited on both sides; but the situation was now worse for the English than for the Americans. The latter were to some extent under cover; the former, without any protection whatever, had to attack a redoubt and its supplementary works, and that under very trying conditions. For some reason which it is impossible to divine, the soldiers were encumbered with three days' provisions, and carried their knapsacks on their backs. They were overburdened, fatigued, exhausted by the hot sun, and mown down by a close, continuous, and well-delivered fire. After awhile, the line wavered and gave way. Another moment, and the whole mass staggered in disorderly heaps down the side of the hill, and crowded tumultuously on the shore, close to the landing-place.

Meanwhile, the column under Howe was attacking the spur of the redoubt that ran north towards the Mystic, and presented its face to the east. Having arrived within eighty or a hundred yards of the rail-fence, the troops deployed into line with great coolness and precision. The Americans under the command of Stark and Knowlton reserved their fire with the same quiet self-restraint that their fellows at the chief redoubt had shown. Resting their guns on the rail in front of them, they discharged, at the proper moment, a heavy volley, from which the British, as at the other position, recoiled in disorder until they reached such shelter as they could find. In about a quarter of an hour, the detachment under Pigot was again ready to advance against the south face of the redoubt. The men had been rallied by their officers, who were seen, by spectators on the opposite shore, pushing them forward at the sword's point, and using passionate gestures. They advanced the second time with some reluctance, but, getting within musket-shot, pressed on with renewed energy and spirit. The American volley, delivered this time at still closer quarters than before, was afterwards described by

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* General Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 25th, 1775—a letter first printed in the newspapers of the day.

Prescott as like a continuous stream of fire; and it produced a terrible effect on the British. Again they wavered and broke. Their officers exposed themselves with reckless daring, and even struck the soldiers to drive them on; but they could no longer be got forward. The bottom of the hill was once more sought in headlong flight; yet the wall of the redoubt had been very nearly gained. Some of the dead and dying lay within a few yards of it; others a little farther off on the now crimsoned slope.

A second advance was also made against the flank by Howe's division. The Grenadiers and Light Infantry marched close up to the fence, but were unable to carry it. Some of the companies, it is said, lost three-fourths, some even as many as nine-tenths, of their numbers, as soon as they presented themselves. In several instances, not more than three or four men were left in a company, so terrible was the fire. The dead, as Colonel Stark testified, lay as thick as sheep within a fold. So many of the English officers were killed, that for awhile Howe was left nearly alone; yet the struggle was still maintained. The guns of the ships in harbour, and the artillery of the batteries planted on the opposite shore, continued to ply with vigour; but towards the end of the action the field-pieces were reduced to silence for want of proper ammunition. Some ball sent over from Boston during the course of the battle proved to be too large for the calibre of the guns; and the infantry were thus left to do their work without the aid which field artillery would have afforded them. On the other hand, the ammunition of the Americans also was very nearly exhausted after the defeat of the second attack. The Committee of Safety insisted that every shot ought to kill a man, and that a lavish supply of powder would only tempt the men to neglect accuracy of aim, and thus throw away their fire. They had therefore omitted to furnish fresh supplies, and, although there had been no waste, the stock was now almost at an end. The colonial forces had but few bayonets among them, and the chances of a third assault looked unpromising for the Americans. The powder in some artillery-cartridges was distributed, and strict injunctions were given not to waste a grain of it. Prescott hoped that, if the English could be repulsed a third time, their discomfiture would be final and complete; but no such fortune was in store. Howe was resolved not to be beaten, and he made a fresh disposition of his forces, so as to deliver a simultaneous attack on three sides of the American position. He was enabled to do this by an unexpected arrival of reinforcements. Clinton, having observed from Copp's Hill the very critical posture of affairs, had, on his own authority alone, started for the scene of action at the head of two battalions, including a body of marines. The whole force was now divided between the south, the east, and the north sides of the entrenchment; and the three divisions, disencumbered of their knapsacks, moved forward more swiftly to the supreme effort.

The insurgents had retired to the inner part of the fort, the outer lines being raked by the batteries. Once again they waited with calm self-possession the near approach of the enemy; then, as before, a terrific fire leaped forth with that concentration and regularity which made the Americans of those days the best marksmen in the world, and which they derived from their habits of open-air sport, and from the practice of shooting at marks. But this time, after a momentary pause, the British, instead of giving way, sprang forward, without any return volley, to the outer wall. The American fire grew less and less, and presently almost ceased. On the southern side of the redoubt, the front rank of the assailing force scaled the parapet with a rush. Many were shot down; amongst them, Major Pitcairn, the officer associated with Lexington, who fell mortally wounded. But the regulars, now that they had surmounted the breastwork, rushed on with an impetuosity which nothing could check. Driven to desperation, and devoid of ammunition, the colonists clubbed their muskets, and struck wildly at the foe, who steadily pressed on, and carried the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. At nearly four o'clock, the Americans fled from the position they had so long and gallantly defended, and, in disorderly masses, made in the direction of Bunker's Hill. "Nothing," wrote a young officer of marines, who was present on the occasion, in a letter to his brother, "could be more shocking than the carnage that followed the storming of this work. We tumbled over the dead to get at the living, who were crowding out of the gorge of the redoubt in order to form under the defences which they had prepared to cover their retreat." Prescott was the last to leave the fort; but the example of his daring was insufficient to amend the fortunes of the day. Though his coat and waistcoat were rent with bayonet-thrusts, which he parried with his sword, he got off unhurt. The British had burst in at the north-eastern angle of the fort, as well as at the south; and for a few minutes the redoubt was a mob of raging combatants, wildly intermingled. But the provincials after a time fought their way out, and escaped under a cloud of dust which their trampling feet beat up from the parched and pulverised soil. Their retreat was further aided by the obstinacy with which the Connecticut and New Hampshire companies, under Knowlton and Stark, held the outlying defence in the direction of the Mystic. As soon as the main body had left Breed's Hill, these auxiliaries also retired. Utterly worn out by the events of the day—by their two unsuccessful attempts to carry the enemy's entrenchments, and their final success—the English troops could do no more than make a show of pursuit; but the fugitives suffered severely, in passing Charleston Neck, from the cross-fire of two floating batteries, and of the *Gloucester* man-of-war. Of six pieces of artillery which they possessed, the insurgents were not able to carry off more than one. Their personal loss, however, was but slight, considering the length and vehemence of the contest. It is set down by American writers at a hundred and forty-five killed and missing, and three hundred and four wounded. Among the killed was Joseph Warren, one of the most active and distinguished of the patriots of that time. He was among the last in the trenches, and fell as the retreat began; but his name is cherished in grateful memory by his countrymen, as that of a man who gave all his varied faculties, and finally life itself, to the service of his native land, and to the cause which he believed to be just.*

The cost of the battle on the side of the English was very serious. More than a third of the forces engaged were slain or disabled. The killed were above two hundred and twenty in number; the wounded, more than eight hundred and twenty. Gage, in his report of the event to Lord Dartmouth, made some striking observations, that must have opened the eyes of English statesmen to the serious nature of the task they had undertaken. He wrote:—"The success, which was very necessary in our present condition, cost us dear. The number of killed and wounded is greater than our forces can afford to lose. We have lost some extremely good officers. The trials we have had show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be, and I find it owing to a military spirit encouraged among them for a few years past, joined with uncommon zeal and enthusiasm. They entrench, and raise batteries; they have engineers. They have fortified all the heights and passes around this town, which it is not impossible for them to annoy. The conquest of this country is not easy; you have to cope with vast numbers. In all their wars against the French, they never showed so much conduct, attention, and perseverance, as they do now. I think it my duty to let your lordship know the true situation of affairs." Had the Government been equally well-informed at an earlier period, they might have shown a greater inclination towards a pacific policy.

The Americans have sometimes claimed the Battle of Bunker's Hill as a victory, but certainly without justice. They have also indulged in some over-statements as to the number of the English engaged, and some understatements as to the proportions of their own army; though probably these perversions are not greater than what is frequently observable where national feeling comes very strongly into play. Attempts have been made to show that the British forces greatly outnumbered those of the colonists—that the latter were to be counted by hundreds, and the former by thousands. It is probable, however, that, by the time they had received all their reinforcements, the Americans mustered about four thousand; while it does not seem likely the Royal troops were ever above three thousand, if so many. Another point with respect to which some qualifications are needed, is the conduct of the American officers. That some of these behaved with unsurpassed courage, is certain; but we have the most unimpeachable testimony that there were many very serious exceptions. Washington, who joined the camp shortly afterwards, stated, in a confidential letter to the President of Congress, that complaints were made to him of the cowardice of some of the officers, but that, although there were several strong circumstances and a very general opinion against them, none were condemned, except a Captain Callender, of the artillery, who was immediately cashiered, but who, on subsequent occasions, as a private, displayed the most desperate and persistent valour. It is added by Washington, however, that the conduct of the men generally, and of several of the officers, was admirable. The retreat seems to have been no worse than such movements commonly are; it was better than some in which disciplined troops have been concerned. The fugitives were met by Putnam on the northern side of Bunker's Hill. He had been endeavouring to collect further reinforcements, and now assumed the command of the discomfited regiments. Uniting them with a detachment of fresh troops, he encamped for the night on Prospect Hill.

Of the numerous British officers killed on that memorable day, not one was more sincerely lamented than Major Pitcairn. As he fell, his son, Lieutenant Pitcairn, was standing by his side. Their eyes met for a moment, but the wounded man, with a look of eager affection, expired without speaking a word. "My father is killed," cried the youth, as he knelt down by the side of the body; "I have lost my father!" The soldiers slackened fire for more than a minute. "We have all lost a father," exclaimed many of them.* Such are the incidents which in some degree redeem the moral corruption and physical horror of war. It is not likely that a man so much beloved by his own soldiers could have behaved at Lexington with the brutality attributed to him by some American writers.

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* Bancroft's and Grahame's Histories of the United States; Earl Stanhope's History of England; Jesse's Memoirs of the Life and Reign of King George III. Some accounts of the action are rather confused.

The English forces entrenched themselves, on the night of June 17th, at the summit of Breed's Hill, lying down on the ground they had conquered, and which had been occupied in the morning by their enemies. They had achieved a victory, but it was one of a very barren nature. The peninsula of Charleston was, indeed, recovered by the Royalists; but the colonial forces were strongly posted beyond, and maintained an effective blockade. Had this success been followed up with vigour and at once, it might have resulted in a scattering of the insurgents before they had time to organise themselves. But a strange apathy possessed the counsels of British officers, and the golden opportunity was allowed to slip by. Before the affair of Bunker's Hill, the English soldiers had complained that they were kept on Boston Neck, twisting their pig-tails and powdering their hair, while the Americans were gathering in their front and on their flanks like clouds. The same indolence prevailed after the battle, and led to most unfortunate results. The Americans gained more from Bunker's Hill than their opponents. They acquired self-confidence and self-reliance. They convinced their adversaries that they could fight; and to the nations of Europe they presented the spectacle of an united people, resolved to establish their independence at whatever cost of bloodshed. Franklin, on hearing of the event, wrote to his friends in England that Great Britain had lost her colonies for ever. Washington formed sanguine anticipations from the action; and Artemas Ward, in a general order, confidently prophesied that America would be victorious in the great struggle, and triumph over the enemies of freedom. But, before the accomplishment of the end proposed, a long and miserable path had to be traversed, thick with the graves of many virtuous men, and rife with evil memories.

CHAPTER XX.

Appointment of Four Major Generals by the Continental Congress—Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Horatio Gates: their Characters and Antecedents—Appointment of Eight Brigadiers—Washington at New York—Plan of Accommodation proposed by the New York Congress—Statement of Grievances by the Continental Congress—Addresses to the People of Great Britain and Ireland—Proceedings of Washington on joining the Camp before Boston—His Opinion of the New England Soldiers—Their General Appearance, Discipline, and Equipment—Negotiations between Lee and Burgoyne—Massachusetts creates a New Government—Washington's Report on the State of the Army—Franklin's Fresh Proposals for a Confederation—Hesitation of Congress—Difficulties of Washington—Daniel Morgan and the Western Riflemen—Treatment of Prisoners—The American Lines advanced nearer to Boston—Difficulties of the Time—Position of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, towards the General Cause of the Colonies.

At the very time that the forces of New England were withstanding British troops in the vicinity of Boston, the Continental Congress was engaged in nominating four Major-Generals to act under Washington in command of the regiments that were to be raised by the whole of the provinces. The first of these was Artemas Ward, who, considering his age, infirmities, and very moderate capacity, must have been appointed more out of compliment than any other feeling. The second was Charles Lee, an officer in the Royal army, who had quitted England in consequence of being denied preferment on account of certain writings of his which had given offence to the military authorities. He had seen active service, not only in America, but in Portugal, Poland, and Turkey. Possessed of abilities and knowledge, he was nevertheless an unfortunate selection on the part of the patriots, for, while professing great enthusiasm for the cause of liberty, he appears to have cherished a secret contempt for the Americans, and to have been influenced less by regard for his adopted country than by pique against those by whom he had been injured in his native land. Lee was a man of ambitious desires and jealous disposition, gloomy and irritable, and too prone to aristocratic and despotic ideas in politics to work harmoniously with the democratic institutions then rapidly taking shape in America. In religion, he was a free-thinker, and therefore incapable of sympathy with the several forms of religious fervour with which the colonies still abounded. Self-interest was a leading principle in his nature; and before he would consent to accept the post which was offered him (his aspirations pointing to the chief command), he exacted a promise of indemnity for renouncing his half-pay.

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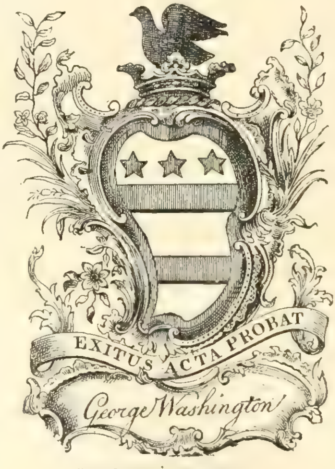
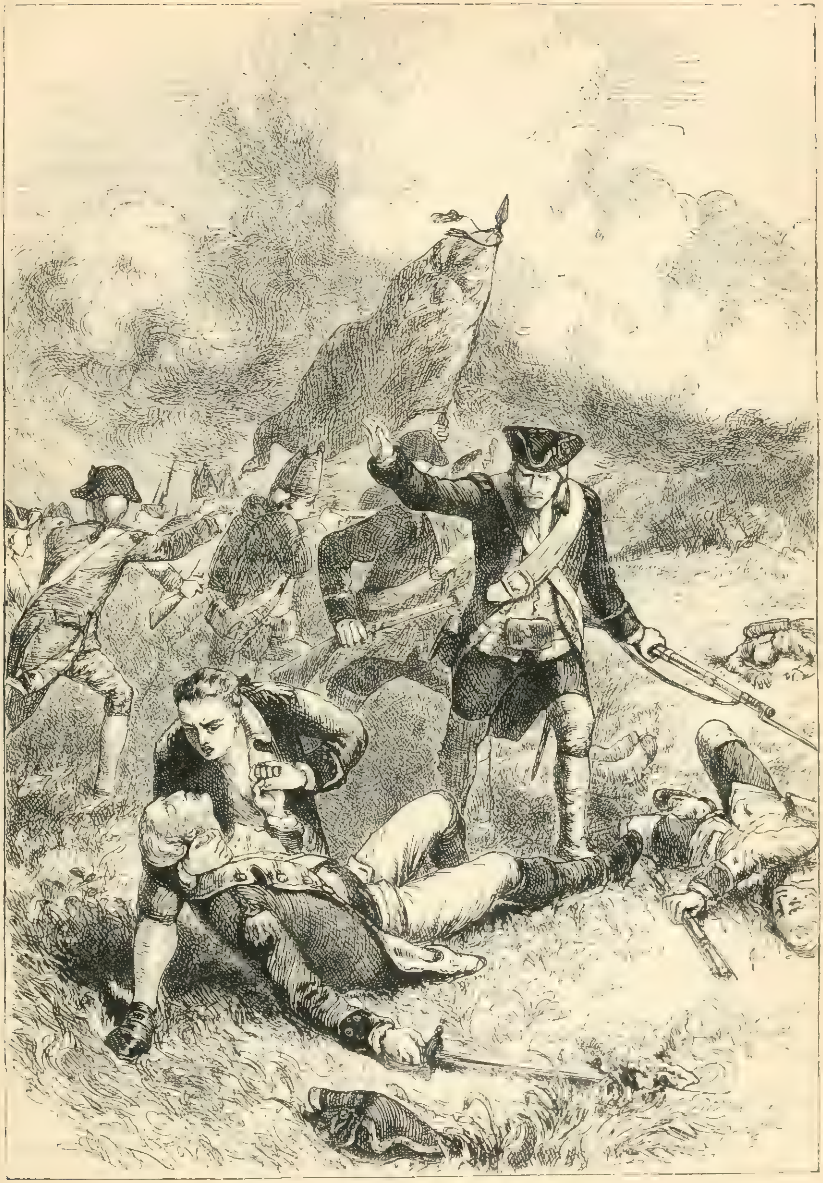
* Moore's Diary of the American Revolution.

The third Major-General was Philip Schuyler, of New York—a man of great consideration in that province, of high character, and of unquestionable patriotism, yet in some respects unsuited to military command. Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, was the fourth of these general officers. His calling was that of a tavern-keeper, and, although he had led an adventurous life as a Ranger, and was a man of courage, he was too ignorant and headstrong to assume anything like an important part. Another of the commanders was Horatio Gates, a godson of Horace Walpole, who was made an Adjutant-general with the rank of Brigadier. He, like Lee, had served in the English army, and possessed the advantages of technical knowledge. He had been one of Braddock's officers, and was wounded in the unfortunate expedition against Fort Duquesne; had afterwards acted under Monckton at the siege of Martinique, and had more recently been stationed in Nova Scotia. His name became conspicuous in the War of Independence, and it seemed at one time as if he might be a rival to Washington. The eight Brigadiers whom Congress elected about the same time were (excluding Gates, as not being strictly of that category) Seth Pomroy, of Massachusetts; Richard Montgomery, of New York; David Wooster, of Connecticut; William Heath, of Massachusetts; Joseph Spencer, of Connecticut; John Thomas, of Massachusetts; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire; and Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island: all, with one exception, men of New England birth, and, for the most part, ill-fitted for the duties with which they were charged. Pomroy, perceiving that his capacity was doubted in the camp before Boston, declined to accept his commission; the others undertook the responsibilities with which they were invested. It is worthy of remark that, among the officers about to contend with the power of Great Britain, two were Englishmen—Lee and Gates—while Montgomery was a native of the north of Ireland. The last-named, like the other two, had served under the Royal standards, and could boast high qualities as a soldier.



WASHINGTON'S BOOK-MARK.

Washington quitted Philadelphia on the 23rd of June, 1775; on the afternoon of the 25th, which was Sunday, he was escorted into New York with a good deal of military parade, and in the midst of a large concourse of people. Late in the evening of the same day, Tryon, the newly-appointed Royal Governor, landed from the harbour, and was received with a general coldness and indifference. Next day, the Provincial Congress of New York discussed the state of affairs. The delegates, in an address to Washington, expressed their strong desire for an accommodation with the mother country, and trusted that the General-in-Chief would cheerfully return to his position as a private citizen as soon as matters had been satisfactorily settled. Speaking for himself and his companions-in-arms, Washington replied that they had not laid aside the citizen in assuming the soldier, but that, nevertheless, the sword having been drawn, all thoughts of private life must be postponed until the establishment of American liberty on firm and solid foundations. The New York Congress, however, was not indisposed to make a strong effort in the direction of peace. The members of that body produced a plan of accommodation, in which, while demanding the repeal of oppressive Acts of Parliament, the undisturbed exercise by the colonies of the powers of internal legislation and taxation, and the free enjoyment of the rights of conscience, they conceded to Great Britain the power to regulate the trade of the whole Empire, and promised to aid in the general defence, on proper requisitions being made. This plan was transmitted to the delegates who represented New York in the Continental Congress, and they were instructed to use every effort to com-



DEATH OF MAJOR PITCAIRN.

promise the unhappy quarrel which had broken out. New York was ill-prepared for war, and its material interests inclined a large proportion of the citizens to desire a restoration of old ties.

The larger body sitting at Philadelphia was less urgent in this respect. It was thinking more of the grievances under which the country was suffering, and of the best way of putting its case before the world. A document was agreed to on the 6th of July, in which the wrongs of America were recapitulated; and Lord North's conciliatory proposals were condemned, as insidiously designed to divide the colonies. The affairs at Lexington and Concord,—the alleged embodying of Canadians, Indians, and insurgent slaves to serve against the provincials,—the seizure of ships, the intercepting of provisions, and other acts of hostility,—were also mentioned; and the document (which, like that of June 12th, was the production of Jefferson) concluded with a direct and unequivocal declaration of an intention to oppose the Royal Government to the utmost extremity. "We are reduced," said the members of Congress, "to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to irritated Ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Our cause is just, our union is perfect, our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. Before God and the world we declare that the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume we will employ for the preservation of our liberties; being, with one mind, resolved to die freemen rather than live slaves." It was denied by the delegates that they had raised armies with a design of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent States. Necessity, they observed, had not yet driven them to that desperate measure. They had taken up arms to protect their property against violence actually offered; and they would not lay them down until hostilities should cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed should be removed.

In addition to this document, and to the second petition to the King already mentioned, Congress voted an address to the people of Great Britain, who were addressed in affectionate language as "Friends, Countrymen, and Brethren." After another statement of the wrongs of America, it was asked if the descendants of Englishmen could tamely submit to such injuries. "No!" exclaimed the delegates of the United Colonies, answering their own question, "we never will. While we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious privileges for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your fleets and armies can destroy our towns and ravage our coasts: these are inconsiderable objects—things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardour of liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury which, from that period, you will want,—the luxury of being free. Our enemies charge us with sedition. In what does this sedition consist? In our refusal to submit to unwarrantable acts of injustice and cruelty? If so, show us a period in your history in which you have not been equally seditious. We are reproached with harbouring the project of independence; but what have we done that can warrant this reproach? Abused, insulted, and contemned, we have carried our dutiful petitions to the throne, and we have applied to your justice for relief. What has been the success of our endeavours? The clemency of our sovereign is unhappily diverted; our petitions are treated with indignity, our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy apprehension of your wanting either the will or the power to assist us. Even under these circumstances, what measures have we taken that betray a desire of independence? Have we called in the aid of those foreign Powers who are the rivals of your grandeur? Have we taken advantage of the weakness of your troops, and hastened to destroy them before they were reinforced? Have not we permitted them to receive the succours we could have intercepted?" After reminding the English people that the extinction of liberty in America would prepare the way for its destruction in the old country also, the address proceeded:—"A cloud hangs over your head and ours. Ere this reaches you, it may probably burst upon us. Let us then (before the remembrance of former kindness be obliterated) once more repeat these appellations which are ever grateful to our ears; let us entreat Heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction that threatens our friends, brethren, and countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic."

It is impossible to believe in the sincerity of these expressions; but they may have seemed justifiable to the members of Congress as a means of securing the good-will of the people of England, and separating the nation from its rulers. To speak of Englishmen as their "gallant and virtuous ancestors," to address them as "friends, brethren, and countrymen,"—was the most likely way to strengthen the kindly regards of those in the old country who had taken up the cause of the colonists, and to give them a fair ground for continuing their disinterested advocacy with decency and reason. Yet, at the very moment that the members of Congress uttered these honeyed words to the people of England and Scotland, they issued an address to the people of Ireland, which was little else than a covert incentive to that country to rise in revolt against the race by which it had been subjected. They dwelt much on the oppression of the Irish people; hinted at the opportunities of redress which were then opening; and added that the innocent and cruelly ill-treated Americans naturally desired the sympathy and good-will of a humane and virtuous people, who had themselves suffered under the rod of the same oppressor. The two-fold intention of this address was to create a diversion in Ireland in favour of the colonists, and at the same time to conciliate the support of the numerous Irish emigrants in America. In one respect the delegates fell into a curious error. They expressed to the Irish great amazement and sorrow at finding the name of Howe in the catalogue of their enemies; as if the Howes had been an Irish family.* They were apparently misled by the fact that an Irish peerage had been conferred on the grandfather of the existing generation. The Howes were an old English stock, and the mother of the three brothers associated with America was a German lady.

On the 2nd of July, Washington reached the camp before Boston, where his great organising genius was sorely needed to give something like form and consistency to the chaotic mass of raw material of which the patriotic army consisted. The separate corps raised by the provinces were governed by distinct rules, so far as they could be said to be governed by any rules at all. The men had entered for varying terms of service, and the longest was but short. Even the army of the United Colonies was only to be enlisted until the end of the year. Amongst the New Englanders there was an entire absence of the feeling of professional troops—a total want of order and discipline. Nobody even knew how many men there were in the field, and the soldiers came and went as they liked. One of the first acts of Washington was to direct that a return of the state of the army should be made. The Commander-in-Chief thought but poorly of the New England levies from a scientific point of view, and never sympathised with, or perhaps very clearly understood, the character of the people in that part of America. It is curious to note how completely the northern and southern colonies had divided into two distinct nationalities—a circumstance which, in our own times, conspired with other causes to bring about the civil war of 1861–5. In various communications written about this period, Washington spoke of the Connecticut troops as pervaded by a dirty and mercenary spirit, and as being guilty of scandalous conduct. He complained of the dearth of public spirit and want of virtue; spoke of stock-jobbing and fertility in low arts for the obtaining of advantages; and prayed God that he might never witness the like again. And, in a letter dated the 10th of February in the following year, he remarked that, notwithstanding all the public virtue ascribed to the people of Massachusetts, he had never come across any nation that paid greater adoration to money than they did. As, however, Washington's experience of nations can scarcely be described as very wide, his opinion in this respect may not be of the highest value. It is worth citation only as illustrating the diversity of character existing between Virginia and New England—the child of Monarchy and the child of Republicanism. All the more intense must have been the feeling of antagonism to Great Britain, which could bind together, "into a mass irrefragably firm," the discordant elements of American colonial life.

The two opposing armies were now encamped very near one another. The Royal forces occupied not only Boston, but the whole of Charleston peninsula, their sentries extending a short distance beyond the Neck. Redoubts and batteries were scattered about, and between six and seven thousand highly-disciplined and seasoned troops stood prepared for any further action. The colonial army was posted in a semi-circle from the west end of Dorchester to Malden, a distance of nine miles. The centre of the line was at Cambridge, where Ward commanded: and all about the little towns, and country ways, and steep passes between hill and hill, were defensive works, contrived with no small tact. The men were not dressed after any uniform pattern, and, with a few exceptions, did not present a very soldier-like spectacle. Some were lodged in tents; others in extemporised huts, made of boards, sailcloth, turf, brushwood, reeds, or anything that came to hand; others, again, in regular dwelling-houses.† In these hurried musters there was a great deal of excellent material; but it needed education and the stern rigours of command. Despite his rather contemptuous opinion of New England virtue, Washington admitted that the men gathered about Boston were active, zealous, and courageous. But he perceived a degree of insubordination which made him uneasy, and he could not but be sensible that the officers, for the most part, were quite inadequate to their duties. For the correction of their repeated wrong-doings, the Commander-in-Chief was obliged to hold frequent courts-martial, and to make many examples. It was with difficulty that he could enforce a proper degree of respect for the officers, and of obedience to their orders; for, as both the privates and their military superiors came from the same class, the former saw no reason why they should not, at all seasons and under all circumstances, be on a footing of equality. The result was that each did what seemed to himself most advisable, and concerted action became almost impossible. A species of despotism was necessary among these unregulated masses of men; and, with a firm hand, a wise head, and a cheerful disposition, Washington soon effected an important change. Whenever he considered it necessary, he did not scruple to administer the lash. The men were kept at labour even on Sundays, strengthening the lines, and fortifying weak places. These engineering works were in part planned and executed by Henry Knox, of Boston, who had been appointed to the command of a battalion of artillery, and who in time introduced so much improvement into the American ordnance that some of the best judges in Europe expressed their admiration of his genius. The largest number of effectives then under the command of Washington was fourteen thousand five hundred. Of these, many were very inferior soldiers; but, altogether, the force, when to some extent organised, promised not ill for the future of the revolted provinces.

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* Mr. Bancroft has proceeded on the same false assumption.

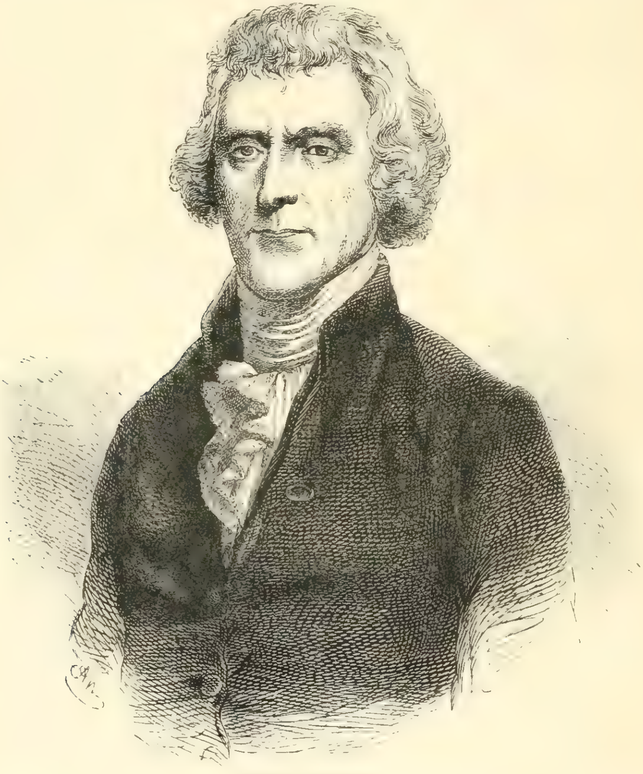
† Letter of the Rev. William Emerson, printed by Mr. Sparks in the Appendix to Vol. III. of his edition of the Writings of Washington.

At this period, Lee mixed himself up with certain negotiations which appear to have excited against him a degree of suspicion on the part of the patriots. In answer to a note which he had addressed to Burgoyne from Philadelphia in June, the latter invited Lee to an interview within the British lines, for the purpose of mutual explanations with a view to the restoration of peace. In this communication, which was sent in July, Burgoyne said he *knew* that Great Britain was ready to open her arms upon the first overture of accommodation. Without asking advice of a council of war, Lee requested the Massachusetts Congress to depute one of their body to be a witness of what should pass; but the delegates declined to sanction the meeting, and Lee thereupon publicly declined to accept the invitation which had been conveyed to him, but transmitted to Burgoyne a secret missive, in which he declared that the Americans had the certainty of being supported by France and Spain. Although this statement may have been imprudent, and Lee was apparently not authorised in making it, there is surely very insufficient ground for charging him with anything like a treacherous intention. He seems throughout the war to have been unable entirely to divest himself of his character of an Englishman (though inclined at times to an excess of violence), and he probably hoped, up to a rather late period, to bring about a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country, in which he would himself occupy the position of an armed mediator. But his subsequent efforts in the cause of American independence are not such as to warrant the supposition that he was a traitor to the people whose sword he had consented to hold, though his conduct may in some respects have been blamable. Doubtless his position was equivocal; but he had thrown in his lot with the Americans, and with them he remained to the close of his life.

Frequent skirmishes occurred from time to time, but nothing of importance during the remainder of July. In the field of politics, however, Massachusetts was exhibiting all her old energy. The people chose a House of Representatives, and the Provincial Congress dissolved itself. By the 21st of July, the Massachusetts Government was permanently constituted, and an annual Council of twenty-eight was elected by the Legislature, which was itself to be re-elected every year. The executive powers of the province were confided to this Council, and a share in the work of legislation was also conferred on it. Forty thousand pounds were assessed on polls and estates, and a further sum was raised on bills of public credit for small amounts. The support of the army before Boston was for the present left to voluntary contributions, and the system, irregular though it was, seems at first to have worked fairly. The farmers of the surrounding country sent in supplies unsolicited, and the men were well fed, though there was absolutely no commissariat. It was evident, however, that this method could not go on for ever, or even for long. The whole conduct of the forces was an affair of chance, and chance will never operate favourably as a continuous rule. Washington saw how much was needed to convert the armed mob of provincials into a regular army, capable of meeting the trained regiments of Great Britain. He sent in a report to the Continental Congress, in which the defects of the several levies were pointed out with no sparing hand. Similar complaints were made by Schuyler with respect to the northern army at Ticonderoga. Sentinels, he alleged, would sleep on their posts; privates would treat their officers as if they were on terms of exact equality; and discipline was entirely disregarded. The Congressional delegates read these reports, and trembled for the result of a war. They still clung to the hope of peace—not, indeed, out of any real loyalty, or any actual desire for perpetuating the connection between the two countries, but from fear of provoking too far the wrath of a monarch who had at his command many battalions of professional fighting-men, with abundant supplies, and all the resources of a wealthy nation. Accordingly, no steps were taken to increase the patriot hosts, nor was much even attempted towards the improvement of those bodies which were already in the field.

Franklin, who was by this time back at Philadelphia, was again directing his attention to the more effective confederation of the colonies. Reverting in some measure to his Albany scheme of 1754, he submitted to Congress a plan for uniting the colonies in one nation. Each colony was to have its own Parliament, and the right to amend its own laws and constitution whenever it pleased; and the Federal Government was to attend to affairs of national importance, and to govern the waste lands. Congress was to consist of but one legislative body, to be chosen annually, and one of its committees was to wield the executive power. To this Union, not only the English provinces in North America were invited to accede, but even Ireland, which was regarded as a colony. The Confederation was put forward as a temporary arrangement; but it was intimated that it would become perpetual if Great Britain still refused to satisfy the demands of the Americans. This daring scheme, which plainly had for one of its chief objects the excitement of a rebellion in Ireland, was for a time set aside by Congress, whose councils were characterised by not a little nervous timidity. Some members of Congress, however, were far in advance of the collective sentiment. John Adams, in particular, was for at once establishing a constitution and a general government. His views on this subject were expounded in a set of letters to New England, and were intercepted by the Royalists, who published them as evidence of the extreme designs of some among the malcontents. Like all deliberative bodies, Congress contained a number of men of very divergent views, and it is probable that certain of its numbers were really desirous of seeing a friendly termination to the dispute. But the majority were doubtless restrained by a reasonable fear of what might ensue on an unsuccessful rebellion. When Congress adjourned on the 1st of August, nothing had been settled in principle; yet, as the reader is aware, a great many steps had been taken which made it all the less likely that the quarrel would be compromised—all the more probable that a violent separation would take place.

The want of a strong central Government threw additional burdens upon Washington. He was desperately in need of money; for, although Congress had voted him five hundred thousand dollars, to pay the soldiers and meet the other expenses of the time, it was in paper currency, and the persons who were to sign the bills were in no hurry to discharge that duty. An equally serious matter was the failure of powder, of which there was so little that the provincials could not at that date have fought a general action. Washington therefore sent urgent messages to the other New England colonies, to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Bermudas, from which he obtained such supplies as they were able to furnish; and it is said that some was even procured from the British forts on the coasts of Africa, in exchange for rum. Powder-mills also were erected at Philadelphia and New York. Of the enthusiasm of the country, Washington had no reason to complain. His riflemen numbered more than Congress itself had authorised; and among them was one Daniel Morgan, the captain of a Virginian company, though himself a native of New Jersey, who afterwards obtained great fame as a leading hero of the revolutionary struggle. Morgan was a man of extremely humble origin, who, despite the poverty of his early years, had contrived to teach himself many things, and to acquire a knowledge of the theory and practice of war. During Braddock's expedition, he had acted as a waggoner, and in 1774 he was with Dunmore in his operations against the Indians on the Ohio. He was now at the head of a company of ninety-six backwoodsmen, whom he had raised in ten days. His unusual height, for he measured more than six feet, made him one of the most conspicuous figures in the army; and his courage, energy, and intelligence were soon manifest in the field. The backwoodsmen from the western settlements were among the best troops of the colonists. Many of them had marched a distance of eight hundred miles with remarkable quickness, and their presence in camp added greatly to the picturesqueness, as well as strength, of the American army. They were painted, and to some extent dressed, after the fashion of savages: each man carried at his side a rifle, a hatchet, a small axe, and a hunter's knife. With the external aspect of Indians, they had much of the Indian nature; could subsist on the game they killed, run with astonishing celerity, and sleep at night beneath a tree, wrapped up in the blankets which they carried with them. They were the sharpshooters of the patriotic army, and the flight of their bullets carried death with it to a distance of three hundred yards.*



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Gage did not feel easy in Boston, even after the arrival of Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne with reinforcements. Nearly seven thousand of the rebellious Bostonians still remained within the city, and it was found necessary to keep a strict watch on these. They were confined to their houses after ten o'clock at night, and were of course regarded with disfavour in all the transactions of life. The treatment of the prisoners taken in the late actions was believed to be harsh, and it provoked a remonstrance from Washington. On the 11th of August, he addressed a letter to General Gage, informing him that he should regulate his conduct towards British prisoners of war by that which the Americans experienced. The English commander replied that the prisoners had been treated with care and kindness, but without distinction of officers and privates, because he could acknowledge no rank that was not derived from the King. He also retorted the charge of cruelty on the Americans, and threatened terrible consequences of any further barbarities inflicted on the Royalists. To this communication Washington rejoined:—"I have taken time, sir, to make a strict inquiry, and find the intelligence you have received has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with the tenderness due to fellow-citizens and brethren; but even those execrable parricides, whose counsel and aid have deluged this country with blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly enraged people. You affect, sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honourable than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power." Towards the close of his epistle Washington observed that "a mind of true magnanimity" would comprehend and respect his doctrine of the all-sufficiency of commissions conferred by rebels on rebels. It is strange he did not perceive that, however valid these commissions may have been to *him*, they could not possibly be so regarded by the representative of the King. An inability to see the adversary's case from the adversary's point of view, is a failing from which great minds are as little exempt as small ones.

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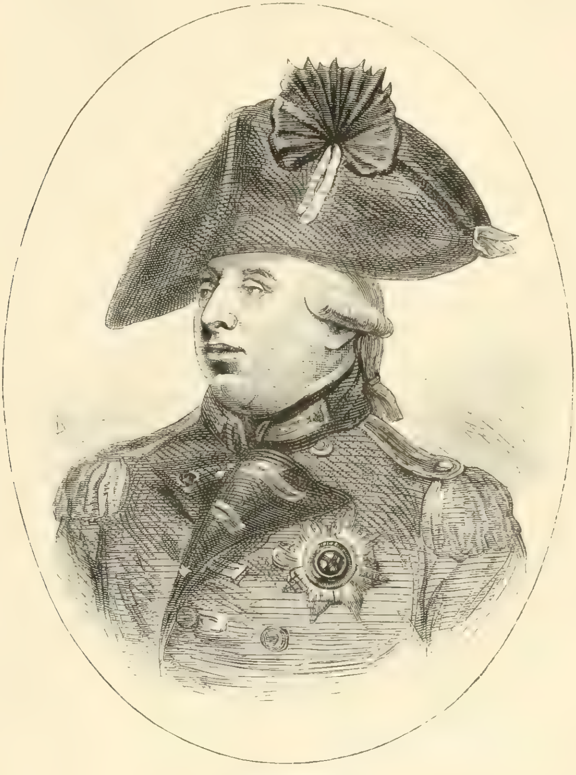
* Bancroft.



KING GEORGE III

The investment of Boston proceeded with rigour while these discussions were going forward. Gage was afraid to attempt any active operations, and even felt doubtful as to the safety of his position. Washington, rendered all the more confident by the hesitation of his opponent, pushed his lines still nearer Boston. On the night of the 26th of August, he took possession of Ploughed Hill, a little to the north-west of Charleston Neck; and on the 28th he offered battle to the English, but the challenge was declined. He did not entirely confine his attention, however, to the neighbourhood of Boston, but, recognising the advisability of a diversion, and not approving of a suggested plan for the invasion of Nova Scotia, he determined to send an expedition against Canada from Ticonderoga, and to attempt the surprise of Quebec, in order to facilitate an attack on Montreal. Active operations of some kind in some direction were becoming necessary; for the spirit of the troops before Boston did not improve with time. With the approach of autumn, the want of fuel, of warm clothes, and of sufficient shelter, began to prey upon the minds of the soldiers, and a reduction of the daily allowances of food, which the want of means rendered imperative, almost led to a mutiny. A council of war in September unanimously dissuaded Washington from an attack on Boston; and, fretting at the chains which bound him, he remained at his post on the defensive, waiting until a more favourable state of affairs should enable him to begin a campaign. His letters of this period bear testimony to the endless vexations to which he was now subjected. His labours were incessant; his responsibilities terrible; the jealousies of his companions pertinacious, and difficult to be allayed.

In the middle and some of the southern provinces, the revolution progressed with greater slowness than in New England and elsewhere. New Jersey was kept in check by the adroit management of its Governor, William Franklin, the son of Benjamin, who was careful not to offend either party, and who professed to sympathise with most of the patriotic requirements, while deprecating any conduct that had the character of disloyalty. The younger Franklin had, two years before, been described by his father, in a letter to him, as "a thorough Government man." With this disposition the philosopher did not quarrel at the time; but when William continued to adhere to the Royal cause throughout the war, Benjamin made his loyalty a ground of dissension, and even refused an overture of reconciliation from the son. In 1775, however, their divergence was not so great as it afterwards became, and William Franklin pursued his way without parental admonitions or reproofs. The Provincial Congress made preparations for war, yet at the same time expressed an earnest desire for the re-establishment of harmony with Great Britain. Pennsylvania occupied a similar position of hesitation and compromise. The Penn family, who had ceased to be Quakers, and were now members of the Church of England, were men of liberal and generous views; but their interests, as well, probably, as their natural inclinations, disposed them to a conciliatory policy. The Quakers, moreover, as the reader has been informed, were strongly averse to the War of Independence, except in particular instances. Some of them, indeed, supported the popular cause even to the extent of drawing the sword. General Mifflin and General Greene were both Quakers, and the ranks of the army were not devoid of members of the Society of Friends. But as a rule they ranged themselves on the side of the English, and on several occasions even congratulated the Royal troops on their victories. As a natural consequence, they became objects of general suspicion and abhorrence; and even at the period of which we are now treating, Pennsylvania was regarded as but half-friendly to the ideas which found so much passionate expression in the General Congress assembled in the Pennsylvanian capital. The Assembly appointed a Committee of Safety, but took no very decided measures. Delaware, on the contrary, went heartily with the patriots; so did Maryland, where the infant proprietary—an illegitimate child of the dissolute Lord Baltimore, recently deceased—was represented by Robert Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor. Eden held aloof from partizanship, and refrained from obstructing the popular leaders. A Convention, which met at Annapolis in the month of July, resolved to oppose the Imperial Government by force, and took measures to raise an army and to provide funds. Virginia and New England were the two chief leaders in the national movement; but the other colonies also, even to Georgia, grouped themselves, with more or less of fervour, beneath the revolutionary flag.

CHAPTER XXI.

Proceedings of Lord Dunmore in Virginia—Establishment of a Provisional Government—Military Measures—The Convention on Independence—Views of Thomas Jefferson—State of Affairs in Georgia and in South Carolina—Composition of Society in the latter Province—Employment of Indians by both sides—Commencement of Civil War in South Carolina—Progress of Disaffection in North Carolina—Proposal to arm the Scotch Settlers on behalf of the King—Acts of the North Carolinian Provincial Congress—Effect in England of the News of Bunker's Hill—Employment of Hanoverian Troops—Position of France with reference to the American Revolt—Mission of M. de Bonvouloir to America—Jealousy of New England felt in the Continental Congress—Plans for improving the Colonial Army—Burning of Falmouth (Maine) by the English—Opening of the British Parliament, October 26th—The King's Speech—Debates in the Lords and Commons—Defection and Retirement from Office of the Duke of Grafton—Divers Ministerial Changes.

LORD DUNMORE, the Governor of Virginia, lost no opportunity of getting on the worst possible terms with the people whom he was called upon to rule. From the *Fowey* man-of-war, whither he had fled as a place of refuge from the violence he feared, he conducted his operations against the province and its inhabitants. The Assembly invited him to return; but to this he would not consent, unless they previously accepted the conciliatory propositions of Lord North, which they emphatically declined to do. Dunmore, finding it necessary to meet the members, in order to give his assent to bills that had been passed during the session then about to close, required their presence on board the *Fowey*. Fearing they might be detained as hostages, they refused, and shortly afterwards voted that the proposal was a high breach of the rights and privileges of the House. They then dissolved; a Provisional Government was established, and Dunmore had no resource but in actual violence. He cherished a belief that he could induce the loyally-disposed to take arms against the rebels, and could obtain the alliance of the negro slaves, by holding up before their eyes a hope of freedom if they sided with the King. It is certain that the blacks were generally attached to the idea of monarchy, and not well inclined to the species of aristocratical republicanism from which they suffered. Yet, when the attempt to rouse them was actually made, some months later, it failed, from causes which we shall shortly see. For the present, matters had not proceeded so far; and the Convention which assembled at Richmond on the 17th of July, 1775, could conduct its deliberations without fear of a servile insurrection. The members of that body provided for the military wants of the colony by raising two regiments of regular troops in fifteen companies, and by directing that sixteen regiments of minute-men should hold themselves in readiness for actual service. Patrick Henry was appointed to the command of the first regiment of regulars; and, the military position of the colony being thus settled, the Convention proceeded to the arrangement of its civil affairs. Francis Lee was elected as the Delegate for the ensuing year to the Continental Congress, and a Committee of Safety was formed, with Edmund Pendleton for its head.

Pendleton was a man of loyal inclinations, who declared that a redress of grievances, not a revolution of government, was what he desired. The tendencies of Virginia were less extreme than those of Massachusetts; although even in the more southern colony a feeling of antagonism to the old country was widely diffused. On the present occasion, the members of the Convention declared, before God and the world, that they bore faith and true allegiance to his Majesty George III., their only lawful and rightful King, and would, so long as it might be in their power, defend him and his Government, as founded on the laws and well-known principles of the constitution; but that they were also determined to guard their lives and properties, and to maintain their just rights and privileges, even at the extremest hazards. This declaration, whatever its sincerity in the mouths of some, expressed the views of one of the most illustrious of Virginian patriots. Jefferson was disinclined to separation. He thought it better that his country should remain a Dependency of the British Crown than become a distinct Republic. In a letter to John Randolph, dated August 25th, 1775, he said he "would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation on earth, or than on no nation." But he would on no account submit to the claims of the British Parliament; and in another letter to the same gentleman, written on the 29th of November, he passionately exclaimed: "By the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament propose; and in this I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power to declare and assert a separation. It is will alone which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our King."* That the will to separate was wanting, may have been true of several; but it was not true of all.

It has been seen that Georgia was the last of the thirteen Provinces to join the Confederation; but by July the amount of discontent in that colony was so serious, that the Governor, Sir James Wright, represented to the English Ministry the urgent need of conciliatory measures. There was not an hour, he said, to be lost: the state of affairs would not admit of the least delay. He even asked leave to return to England, that he might give personal explanations of the dangers by which the Royal authority was threatened in that part of America. The management of Wright, however, was so able and so liberal that no outbreaks of a very alarming character occurred, although a tendency to insubordination appeared every now and then, and a revolutionary Government was formed by a local Congress. South Carolina did not get on so well under the rule of Lord William Campbell. That nobleman met his first Legislature on the 10th of July, two days after receipt of news of the battle of Bunker's Hill; and the intelligence confirmed him in his resolution to oppose the popular party. · The summer passed without anything decisive being done on either side; but the feeling of mutual distrust was extreme. The population of South Carolina was very heterogeneous; it included several Germans, with many settlers from different parts of Great Britain; and it was split into two main and rather antagonistic divisions—the planters along the coast, and the agriculturists of the interior. The former made a kind of oligarchy—a favoured body, which retained in its own hands the powers of Government and the privileges of election; the latter were the political outcasts of the province. Although the planters were, for the most part, members of the Church of England, their loyalty was questionable, because they did not like the prospect of their exclusive powers being curtailed by the action of the English Government. On the other hand, the working farmers and labourers of the country districts were open to the influence of Royalist agents, because they had nothing to endear them to the existing political condition. Before the summer was over, some armed struggles for the possession of forts had taken place, but without any important result, and, as the autumn approached, a species of truce was agreed to.

The rumour that Indians were to be employed by the Governor added to the perplexities and apprehensions of the time. An agent, named Stuart, was sent to induce the red men to give their warlike services to the King; and to this person Gage wrote a letter from Boston, exhorting him to use his utmost exertions with the aborigines, so that they might distress the rebellious colonists in all possible ways. "No terms," said Gage, "are now to be kept with them"—meaning the insurgents. "They have brought down all the savages they could against us here, who, with their riflemen, are continually firing upon our advanced sentries. In short, no time should be lost to distress a set of people so wantonly rebellious. Supply the Indians with what they want, be the expense what it will, as every exertion must now be made on the side of Government." This resort to savage allies was a disgraceful feature of the Civil War; but the discredit attaches to English and Americans alike. Both combatants were desirous of strengthening their forces by the wild tribes of the forest; and neither appears to have regarded very much, excepting in so far as its own sufferings were concerned, the wickedness of thus arming remorseless barbarians against civilised men. Gage may possibly have confounded the painted and bedizened sharp-shooters of the western settlements with actual savages; but it is well known that, in a thick wood situated near the mouth of the river Charles, a small body of Stockbridge Indians were stationed in aid of the patriotic forces, and that they were armed, not only with their native bows and arrows, but with muskets.† It is also an unquestionable truth that the Americans endeavoured, even before the outbreak of actual hostilities, to obtain the assistance of the Indians in the western parts of New York.

Stuart, encouraged in his labours by the emphatic words of Gage, began an active canvass among the Upper and Lower Creeks, the Chickasaws, and other tribes. The leading men of those communities were promised abundance of trade, and many honours, if they would support the King's cause. Ammunition was distributed to them, and they were requested to hold themselves in readiness to act on a concerted plan. The knowledge of these facts added greatly to the exasperation of the South Carolinian planters, and inclined them all the more to acts of rebellion. They boarded ships off their coasts, and abstracted more than twenty thousand pounds of gunpowder. Arms were obtained from Hispaniola, and from the West

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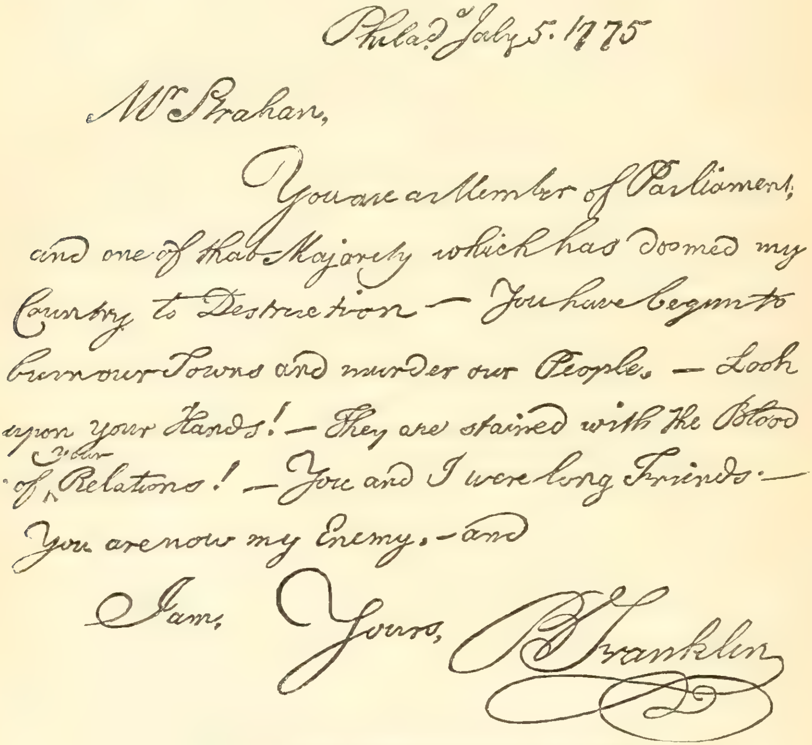
* The Writings of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by H. A. Washington. Published at Washington, 1853. Vol. I., pp. 201–3.

† The fact is stated by Mr. Bancroft himself.

India islands belonging to France and Holland. A free negro, suspected of an intention of piloting British ships up to Charleston—an intention, however, which to the last he denied—was hanged without remorse. The ferocity of the southern nature was made painfully apparent in this act, and it is to be feared that the Governor had only too much reason to represent the colony as in a state of anarchy. The loyal were everywhere disarmed, and it was proposed to arrest Lord William Campbell himself. This was over-ruled by a majority of the Committee of Safety; but other daring acts were sanctioned. William Moultrie, colonel of the second regiment of provincial troops, was ordered to take possession of Fort Johnson on James Island. The Governor received information of the design, and accordingly despatched a party to throw the guns and carriages from the platform. He next dissolved the Assembly, and fled on board the *Tamar* man-of-war, about the middle of September. The fort was then seized by the insurgents, and military preparations went on with great energy. The Royal arsenal was ransacked; new gun-carriages were constructed; and a patriotic flag was devised and manufactured. South Carolina was in full rebellion,—or at least the planters were.

The Governor of North Carolina looked on these events with an uneasiness which he endeavoured to conceal by threats. He and Lord William Campbell represented in the most vivid colours the terrible consequences which would assuredly ensue on the rebellious conduct of the Carolinians; but the malcontents were not deterred. North Carolina was as little inclined to uphold the Royal Government as its southern namesake. Martin, the Governor, thought it prudent to send his family to New York, and himself to retire to Fort Johnston, on the river called Cape Fear. He had formerly been a Lieutenant-Colonel in the English army, and he now solicited to be restored to that position, promising that, if provided with artillery and ammunition, a couple of regiments, and a sufficiency of money, he would bring to his standard the Scotch Highlanders settled in that part of America, raise the people of the upper country, suppress the rebellion in both Carolinas, and hold Virginia and the neighbouring colonies in check. Some approaches were at once made towards organising the Highlanders, who consisted of the greater part of the regiment which had served in America during the last war with France, now turned into peaceful settlers; of members of several clans in the north-west of Scotland; and of humble folks from the isles of Rasay and Skye. Amongst them was the celebrated Flora Macdonald, associated in the minds of most readers with the exciting escape of the Second Pretender in 1746. Her husband, Allan Macdonald, who, with his wife and children, had emigrated to Cumberland county, North Carolina, in 1774, undertook, at the request of Martin, to raise a battalion of his countrymen, of which he was himself to be the Major. But the project soon became generally known, and the malcontent colonists took every precaution to counteract the measures of their opponents.

A summons to elect a new local Congress was issued to the people of North Carolina on the 10th of July by Samuel Johnston, a native of Scotland, to whom had been confided, by the last Congress of the province, the power to make such an order when he thought fit. Governor Martin became alarmed, and, like Dunmore of Virginia, and Campbell of South Carolina, sought refuge on board an armed vessel. This facile desertion of duty had already called forth a sharp reproof from Lord Dartmouth; but the despatch containing it had only just been penned, and Martin knew nothing of its existence. The new Provincial Congress came together at Hillsborough on the 21st of August. It consisted of nearly two hundred members, and Johnston was elected President. A proclamation which Martin had issued, warning the people against the Convention, as tending to rebellion, was voted a false and seditious libel, and it was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. The usual professions of loyalty to the King were not wanting; but these asseverations were little better than a form to save appearances. Where the King's representative is defied and insulted, it is evident that the King himself cannot be held in much regard. The determination to resist Parliamentary taxation was plainly asserted, and it was resolved that the people of the province, singly and collectively, were bound by the Continental and Provincial Congresses, as elective bodies created by the people themselves. The fact of the Highlanders having been solicited to give their support to the Royal cause had by this time been divulged by one of that nationality; and they were strongly urged, by a committee on the subject, including several Scotchmen, rather to render assistance to the promotion of liberty and colonial right. The province having provided for the military necessities of the time, and authorised an emission of paper money—the usual resource of American communities in times of pressure—Congress proceeded to consider matters of more general and less immediate consequence. Franklin's plan for a Confederacy was discussed, and nearly confirmed, but, on the advice of Johnston, was ultimately set aside, as being not eligible at that time, nor at any time advisable without consultation with the other Provincial Congresses. An address to the inhabitants of the British Empire, disavowing the desire of independence, consenting to the continuance of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, and asking to be restored to the state existing previous to 1763, completed the doings of the Congress of North Carolina.



Philad^a July 5. 1775

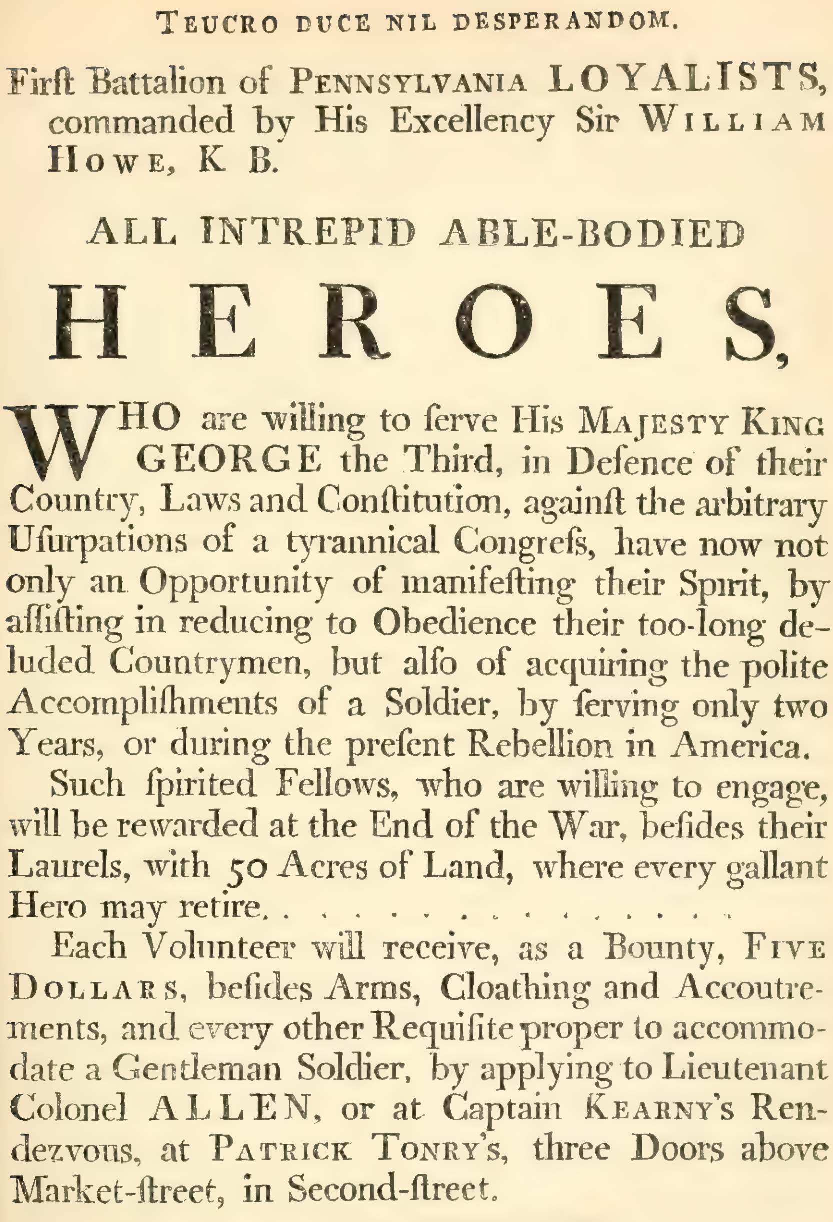
Mr. Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction — You have begun to burn our Towns and murder our People. — Look upon your Hands! — They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! — You and I were long Friends — You are now my Enemy, — and

I am, Yours, B Franklin

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO MR. STRAHAN.

America and England were differently affected by the news of the great fight near Bunker's Hill; and it is curious that the greatest satisfaction was on the side which experienced defeat. The colonists saw in that engagement nothing but a proof that they were capable of resisting for hours, and at one time with an apparent probability of success, some of the best soldiers in the world. The English recognised in their victory the beginning of a rebellion which promised to be formidable. Still, it was not doubted, except by a few, that the insurrection would ultimately be put down, and the King in particular was full of confidence. The conduct of Gage, however, was viewed with disapproval, and he was superseded, though under the courteous pretence that it was advisable to consult him on the plans for the next campaign. The chief command of the forces in the old colonies was given to Howe, while that of the army in Canada was assigned to Carleton. To obtain a sufficient supply of soldiers was the great difficulty. Money was forthcoming in abundance; arms were to be had to any amount; but men were scarce. The King turned his thoughts to Hanover as a likely recruiting ground; but it was not then intended that Germans should be employed in America. The Hanoverian legion was to consist of five battalions, amounting to 2,350 men,



TEUCRO DUCE NIL DESPERANDOM.

Firſt Battalion of PENNSYLVANIA LOYALISTS, commanded by His Excellency Sir WILLIAM HOWE, K B.

ALL INTREPID ABLE-BODIED

HEROES,

WHO are willing to ſerve His MAJESTY KING GEORGE the Third, in Defence of their Country, Laws and Conſtitution, againſt the arbitrary Uſurpations of a tyrannical Congreſs, have now not only an Opportunity of manifeſting their Spirit, by aſſiſting in reducing to Obedience their too-long deluded Countrymen, but alſo of acquiring the polite Accompliſhments of a Soldier, by ſerving only two Years, or during the preſent Rebellion in America.

Such ſpirited Fellows, who are willing to engage, will be rewarded at the End of the War, beſides their Laurels, with 50 Acres of Land, where every gallant Hero may retire. . . . .

Each Volunteer will receive, as a Bounty, FIVE DOLLARS, beſides Arms, Cloathing and Accoutrements, and every other Requiſite proper to accommodate a Gentleman Soldier, by applying to Lieutenant Colonel ALLEN, or at Captain KEARNY's Rendezvous, at PATRICK TONRY's, three Doors above Market-ſtreet, in Second-ſtreet.

FAC-SIMILE OF A PROCLAMATION BY SIR WILLIAM HOWE.

who were to garrison Gibraltar and Minorca, so as to allow of an equal number of English troops being sent to the seat of war in the New World. It was the desire of George to have twenty thousand soldiers in America by the following spring; but Barrington, the Secretary-at-War, disbelieved the possibility of so many being concentrated there, and begged the Colonial Secretary to hold out no such expectation—a request which Lord Dartmouth did not heed. The obstinate resolution of the King over-ruled, or rather bore down by sheer weight and pertinacity, the scruples and doubts of the timid, the conscientious, or the tender-hearted, among his Ministers.

At that time, the Southern Secretary was Lord Rochford; and on the 28th of July he had an interview with De Guines, the French Ambassador at London, in which, alluding to the colonial troubles, he observed that, in the opinion of many persons belonging to both political parties, the best way to terminate the war with America would be to declare war against France; because, in that case, America, dreading the recovery of Canada by the French, would abandon her quarrel with the parent State. The same remarks were made by Rochford to the Spanish Minister; but they had no other effect than to put both Powers on their guard. Indeed, it is difficult to see what object the English Secretary could have had in disseminating such statements. France, being more particularly concerned in the case supposed, was especially zealous in obtaining information as to what was going on in Anglo-America. A French gentleman, M. De Bonvouloir, who had passed some time in Philadelphia, New York, Massachusetts, and other parts of the colonies, and who had recently returned to Europe with startling accounts of the progress of insurrectionary principles, was sent back to the western continent as agent of the French Government. His business was to be the collection of facts bearing on the actual state of affairs in the provinces, and the removal from the minds of Americans of that jealousy of the French which it was feared would be sedulously instilled into them. The mission of Bonvouloir was fraught with most important issues. It laid the foundation for French interference in the quarrel between England and her possessions—a result probably anticipated by the astute Ministers of Louis XVI. It may even be regarded as the remote commencement of that revolution which, in less than twenty years, convulsed France to her centre, and cost Louis himself both his throne and his head. Vergennes, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, writing to De Guines about this appointment, said:—"Canada is for them [the Americans] the object of distrust. They must be made to understand that we do not think of it at all; that, far from envying them the liberty and independence which they labour to secure, we admire the nobleness and grandeur of their efforts, have no interest to injure them, and shall with pleasure see happy circumstances place them at liberty to frequent our ports. The facilities they will find there for their commerce will soon prove to them our esteem." De Bonvouloir made the most of his opportunities, as we shall hereafter see.

The Continental Congress re-assembled on the 13th of September; but the spirit of hesitation which had perplexed its counsels before, still continued in an unabated degree. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, who had drafted the second petition to the King, exercised a great influence over the deliberations of the Federal body and his love of moderation was carried, in the opinion of the more extreme, to the point of timidity. John Adams, though himself less revolutionary than some, regarded Dickinson with great disfavour, and, in the intercepted letters, scoffed at his "piddling genius." The Pennsylvanian was so deeply offended at this, when he came to know it, that he refused thenceforth to recognise Adams, and was confirmed in his loyalist inclinations. It is a proof of the divisions then existing in the American body politic, and perpetuated to our own times, that great jealousy of New England was expressed by many members of Congress. The people of Massachusetts and the adjoining colonies were regarded as a set of designing men, devoted entirely to selfish ends. These opinions, however, were not universally accepted by the representatives of the middle and southern provinces; and, in many respects, New England principles prevailed, though, of course, with modifications. An attempt on the part of some of the southern members to procure the dismissal of all the negroes in the army of the Federation, was defeated by the adverse votes of communities less inclined to the institution of compulsory servitude, and to the restrictions which it almost inevitably carries with it.

Minor questions were compelled to give way to the overwhelming necessity of improving the military position of the country. A letter from Washington revealed the desperate condition of the army before Boston. Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison were accordingly appointed as a committee of Congress to visit the camp, and concert with the authorities there on the best means of remedying the abuses which too clearly existed. Gage quitted America on the 10th of October, and the patriots were now face to face with his more energetic successor, General Howe. That officer was at liberty, according to instructions sent out by the English Ministry, to transfer the scene of war to New York; and, indeed, it was considered at home that that would be the better course to pursue. But the season was now far advanced; there was an insufficiency of transports; and it appeared to Howe wiser to remain during the winter months at Boston. Five days after the departure of Gage, Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison arrived at the camp. A conference with the New England commissioners at once followed, and it was agreed that a new army, of about twenty-three thousand men, should be enlisted without delay, and subjected to more stringent rules than those which then existed. The change was not resolved on an hour too soon. The antagonistic forces were beginning to recover from the depression consequent on Lexington and Concord, and to take the initiative. Great indignation was caused at this period by the destruction of the port of Falmouth (now Portland), in the State of Maine, situated about a hundred miles to the north of Boston. An officer of the English navy, Lieutenant Mowat, who was in command of two vessels, with a small detachment of troops on board, charged with the destruction of shipping along the coast, had been taken prisoner by the insurgents, and detained for a few hours at that town. To revenge himself for this indignity, Mowat afterwards sailed to the offending place in a ship of sixteen guns, accompanied by three other vessels, and, on the morning of the 16th of October, fired on the dwellings of the people. The houses were soon in flames; the destruction was aided by marines who landed with combustibles; most of the vessels in the harbour were burnt; and, in the end, the town was reduced to little more than a heap of ruins. The act was a piece of wanton barbarity, for which it would be impossible to allege even an excuse. Washington was greatly incensed when he heard of it; and the disinclination of New England to seek a pacific solution of existing troubles was increased by an outrage which seemed to patriotic minds to leave no alternative between fighting and submission to slavery. It appears, however, on the incontrovertible evidence of documents preserved in the English State Paper Office, that no instructions tending to such an act of barbarity had been given by the Ministers of George III., and that, on hearing of it, they expressed surprise and displeasure. A few days before this event, Congress had taken steps towards the creation of a navy, by ordering the construction of four armed vessels. Although the delegates showed so much hesitation in verbally declaring a state of hostility to Great Britain, the military and naval preparations of the Federation permit of no doubt as to the intention of the majority, unless in the event of concessions which no one could have seriously believed would be made.

Opinion in England became still more generally in favour of coercion after the news of Bunker's Hill. It was resolved by the King and the Ministry to open Parliament with a very decided expression of the national resolve to put down American rebellion at any cost. The two Houses met on the 26th of October, and the Speech from the Throne, which was unusually long, and which had been composed with more than ordinary care, contained an extensive reference to the colonial question, undoubtedly the most important topic of the day. His Majesty remarked that those who had too long successfully laboured to inflame his people in America by gross misrepresentation, and to infuse into their minds a set of opinions repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies, and to their subordinate relation to Great Britain, had openly avowed their revolt. They had raised troops, were collecting a naval force, had seized the public revenue, and had assumed to themselves legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The King expressed his belief that many of the people still retained their loyalty, but added that the torrent of violence had been so strong as to compel their acquiescence till a sufficient force should appear to support them. His Majesty then proceeded:—"The authors and promoters of this desperate conspiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intention and theirs. They only meant to amuse by vague expressions of attachment to the parent State, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to me, whilst they were preparing for a general revolt. On our part, though it was declared in your last session that a rebellion existed within the province of Massachusetts Bay, yet even that province we wished to reclaim, rather than subdue. The resolutions of Parliament breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance; conciliatory propositions accompanied the measures to enforce authority; and the coercive acts were adapted to cases of criminal combination among subjects not then in arms. I have acted with the same temper—anxious to prevent, if it had been possible, the effusion of the blood of my subjects, and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war; still hoping that my people in America would have discerned the traitorous views of their leaders, and have been convinced that to be a subject of Great Britain, with all its consequences, is to be the freest member of any civil society in the known world. The rebellious war now levied is become more general, and is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire. I need not dwell upon the fatal effects of the success of such a plan. The object is too important—the spirit of the British nation too high—the resources with which God hath blessed her too numerous—to give up so many colonies, which she has planted with great industry, nursed with great tenderness, encouraged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at such expense of blood and treasure."

It was necessary (continued the Royal Speech) to put a stop to these disorders, and therefore his Majesty had greatly increased his naval establishment, and augmented his land forces. He had sent Hanoverian troops to some of his European possessions, to replace British regiments which were required in America. Most friendly offers of foreign assistance had been received; and, should they result in any definite arrangements, the treaties would be laid before Parliament. Towards the end of the Speech, the King declared his readiness to receive the misled with tenderness and mercy; for which purpose he designed to give authority to certain persons on the spot to receive the submission of any repentant colony, and to grant general or particular pardons or indemnities in such manner and to such persons as they should think fit. He concluded by informing both Houses that he saw no impediment to his measures from the hostility of foreign Powers, since they had expressed their friendly assurances. This was doubtless intended to relieve public anxiety with respect to France. The case of the mother country could not have been more succinctly set forth than in this message. Of course, like all other partisan statements, it only revealed half the truth; but it put with considerable force a good many considerations of an important kind, the truth of which cannot be fairly disputed. It was evident to all but a few, whose liberal views and sense of justice towards America might have been more successful had they been less allied with faction, that the colonies had entered on a state of rebellion in prosecution of a long-cherished desire of independence, and that their professions of loyalty were scarcely more than diplomatic. The rebellion may have been provoked; the desire of independence may have been natural; but it was not to be expected that England herself would acknowledge this. Her case was not wholly bad. She had sinned, but she had also been sinned against. She had annulled some of her despotic acts; she had shown a disposition to annul others. She had offered conciliation, and it had been refused, because it did not go the length of a humiliating surrender of all Imperial control over the colonies. While she had been making no preparations for war, the provinces had been arming; and the collision of April 19th, with all that had since taken place, had put it beyond a doubt that New England at least, and, by a species of magnetic influence, the other colonies as well, had passed by their own acts beyond the stage of negotiation, and were challenging the decision of brute force.

An amendment to the Address in answer to the Speech was moved in the Commons by Lord John Cavendish. Its object was to condemn the conduct of Ministers in resorting to warlike operations against the Americans, and it led to a violent debate, in which Fox, General Conway, and Colonel Barré spoke on the side of the Opposition; but it was defeated by 278 votes against 108, and the original question was carried without a division. In the Lords, a similar amendment was moved by the Marquis of Rockingham, and, in the debate which ensued, the Duke of Grafton, who held the office of Privy Seal, surprised the House by condemning the whole policy of his colleagues during the preceding twelve months, and by declaring that Ministers had deceived him by withholding information and misrepresenting facts. He affirmed that nothing less than a repeal of all the American Acts which had passed since 1763 could restore peace and happiness between the opponents, or prevent the most fatal consequences to England. The views thus expressed by the Duke had been formed by him some time before. He had written to Lord North on the 31st of August, urging the necessity of a reconciliation with America, and suggesting that hostile operations should be suspended until it was known whether the colonies would negotiate. The Premier took seven weeks to consider his reply. The answer is dated from Downing Street, October 20th, 1775, and a draft of the King's Speech was enclosed in it. The members of the Government, Lord North stated, were ready to agree with any province in America upon the footing of the resolution of the House of Commons of the 27th of February; but the leaders of the rebellion had plainly declared themselves not satisfied with those conditions, and manifestly aimed at a total independence. Ministers were therefore resolved to break down opposition by force. In the debate in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Rockingham's amendment was supported by Lord Shelburne and the Bishop of Peterborough, also by some other peers; but it could not find more than 29 votes in its favour, while 69 were ranged against it. The original motion was then affirmed by 76 to 33. Considerable opposition to employment of foreign troops in Gibraltar and Minorca was manifested in both Houses, and Lord North was compelled to promise a reconsideration of the matter, which, however, was ultimately allowed to proceed without further hindrance.

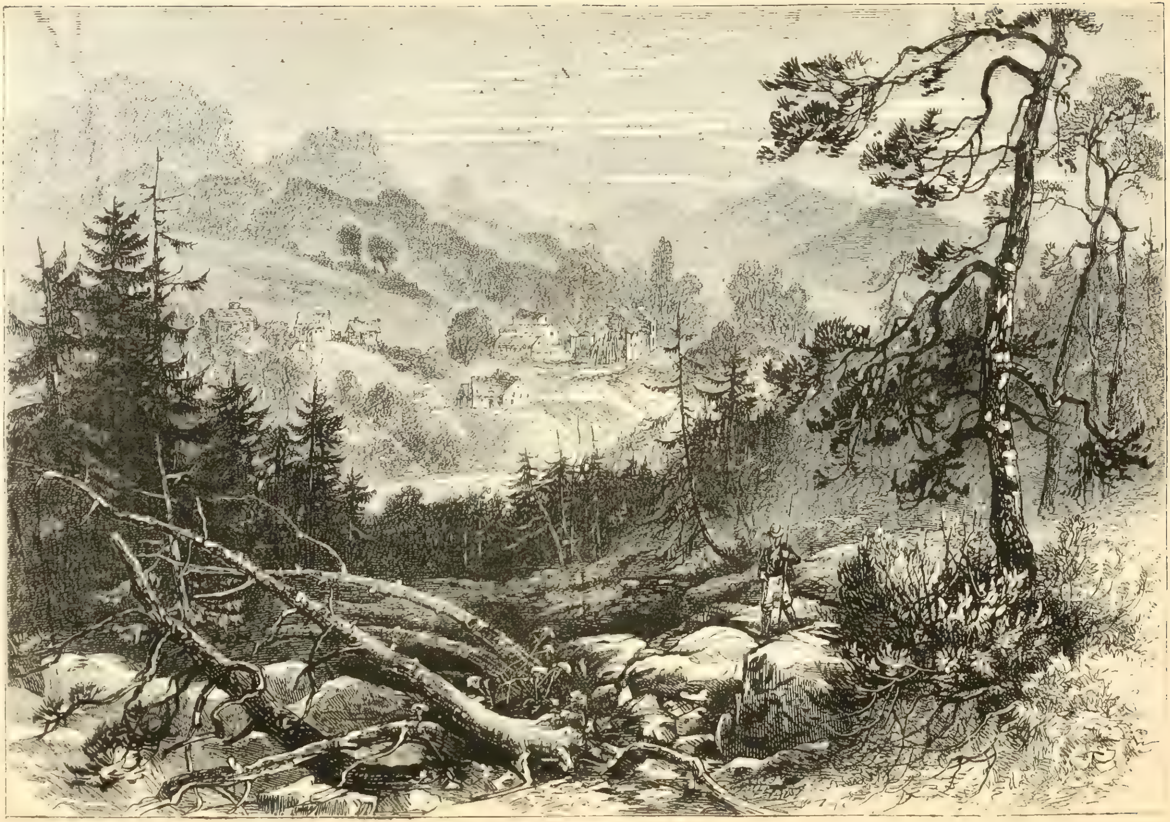
The defection of the Duke of Grafton was followed by his retirement from office. At his final interview with the King, he bluntly stated that Ministers were deluded themselves, and were deluding his Majesty. "The King," he writes in his Memoirs, "vouchsafed to debate the business much at large. He informed me that a large body of German troops was to join our forces, and appeared astonished when I answered earnestly that his Majesty would find too late that twice that number would only increase the disgrace, and never effect his purpose." The Earl of Dartmouth succeeded the Duke of Grafton as Lord Privy Seal, and was himself followed in the Colonial Administration by Lord George Germaine. Lord Rochford, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, which had charge of the chief foreign affairs, resigned about the same time, and was succeeded by Lord Weymouth; and thus, in November, 1775, the English Government prepared for its grand struggle with the young and fiery commonwealths of America.

CHAPTER XXII.

Effect of the King's Proclamation in America—Increased Movement towards National Independence—Position of Pennsylvania with Reference to the Ideas of the Separatists—Spread of Loyalist Principles in certain Directions—Franklin and Thomas Paine—Proceedings of the Continental Congress—Position of George III. in the Controversy—Rumoured Plot to capture the King—Want of Troops—Negotiations with the Empress Catharine, of Russia—Capricious Conduct of the Empress—Other Attempts to obtain Assistance—The New Ministers, Lord Weymouth and Lord George Germaine—Examination of Richard Penn at the Bar of the House of Lords—Debates and Bills in Parliament—The Prohibitory Act—An Erroneous Anticipation—Opinion in Ireland and in Scotland—Sympathy with England among the Smaller European Monarchies—Political and Military Position of England at the close of 1775—Negotiations for German Auxiliaries.

THE King's Proclamation, denouncing the American malcontents as rebels, and requiring all loyal subjects to transmit information of traitorous designs to one of the Secretaries of State, reached the New World a few weeks after its publication in England, which was on the 23rd of August. It was received in New England with anger and derision, and deepened the resolve of all the popular leaders to declare the independence of the country. There was nothing in the Proclamation more than might reasonably have been expected under the circumstances. Though severe, it contained no passage that could be described as cruel or ferocious. But it excited the most fiery indignation in Massachusetts; for it is an invariable characteristic of insurgents and conspirators to claim for themselves the utmost liberty of opposition, and, at the same time, to condemn as an abnormal exhibition of human wickedness any act of retaliation, or even of self-protection, on the part of authority. James Warren, the Speaker of the Massachusetts Legislature, wrote to Samuel Adams, at Philadelphia, that the Proclamation would put an end to petitioning, and that the country would now expect of the Continental Congress a declaration of independence, and treaties with foreign Powers. Joseph Hawley gave it as his opinion that it was time to order an annual election of Congress, and to form a Parliament of two Houses. Washington—who had hired vessels, manned them, and caused the capture of ships laden with stores for the British army—earnestly desired of Congress the establishment of prize courts for the condemnation of whatever might be seized; and the Massachusetts Assembly passed an Act to encourage the fitting-out of armed vessels, and for the creation of such tribunals.

It was the 1st of November when the Proclamation became known to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Abandoning their mood of hesitation, the delegates now resolved to act on the petitions of those provinces which desired to institute Governments of their own. Wentworth, the Governor of New Hampshire, having left his post, the people of that colony requested of Congress that they might be allowed to provide for the administration of their affairs, which had fallen into extreme disorder; and the prayer was granted. South Carolina was permitted to act in the same way. In both cases, the new Governments were



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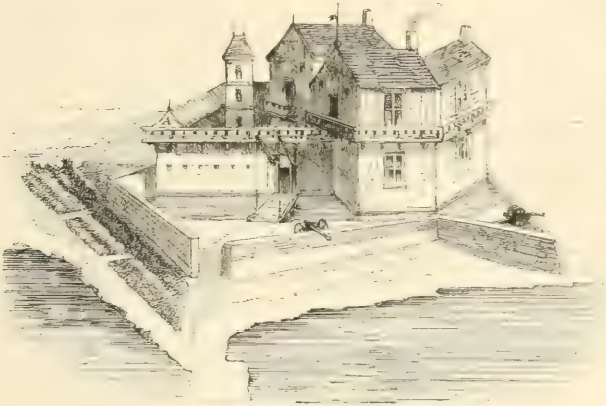
to exist only during the continuance of the dispute between Great Britain and her American possessions; but it must by this time have been almost universally perceived that the approaching struggle could eventuate in nothing but the entire independence of America, or its complete subjugation. While Congress was thus adopting revolutionary measures in the capital of Pennsylvania, the Legislature of that colony was still preserving the loyal attitude which it had, for the most part, exhibited throughout the dispute. The Quakers, though no longer omnipotent, were still powerful in the province, and, by coalescing with the proprietary body, they impressed on the policy of the State very many of their own characteristics. The Pennsylvanian Legislature still exacted of its members that they should observe all the usual qualifications, including the promise of allegiance. Franklin had by this time so completely broken with the old country that, rather than make this promise, he declined to take his seat in the provincial Parliament, to which he had been elected by a combination of the Irish and the Presbyterians. In the Continental Congress he was not required to bind himself by any such declaration, and in that body he could represent his Pennsylvanian constituents without outraging either their convictions or his own. On the 4th of November he was again elected to Congress by the Pennsylvanian Legislature, together with eight others, of whom one was too ill to serve, while the rest were all supporters of the Throne, though they were instructed to demand a redress of grievances, and a repeal of the oppressive measures of the British Parliament. These instructions, of course, applied to the whole body of Pennsylvanian delegates, including Franklin, who certainly paid little heed to that part of them which directed the representatives of the province to oppose and utterly reject any propositions tending to a separation from the mother country, or a change in the form of government.

The course thus followed by Pennsylvania had very important results. Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland were induced, by the example thus held out, to place themselves with equal emphasis in opposition to the extreme revolutionists, who were manifestly working for an independent Republic. It was now seen that, however general the demand for a redress of actual grievances, the desire for a dissolution of old ties was not equally strong in all parts of the Confederation. New England, Virginia, and many of the southern provinces, were ripe for independence; New York was coquetting with the same idea; but in other quarters—especially in the Royal and Proprietary Governments—the feeling was far from general. In those localities it was probably less in November than it had been in May, when the second Continental Congress met. Moderate politicians had been startled by the extreme principles professed by some, and were possibly a little alarmed at the consequences of open rebellion. At the same time, the Pennsylvanians were not at all disposed to omit a reasonable and proper degree of preparation for the state of war, which might, after all, become inevitable. The Legislature approved the [illegible] association of all whose religious scruples did not stand in the way, and appropriated £80,000,



FIRST HOUSE ERECTED IN QUEBEC.

in provincial paper money, to meet all necessary expenses.

Franklin was greatly angered at the temporising policy of the Quaker colony, and he enlisted on the side of the Separatists a writer who was now beginning to attract attention to himself. This was Thomas Paine, an Englishman settled in America, whose name at the present day is chiefly associated with the boldness of his speculations on religion. Paine was a native of Thetford, in Norfolk, where he was born in January, 1737. His father was a Quaker, who brought up the son to his own business of stay-making. Thomas Paine subsequently became an exciseman; and about 1772 made the acquaintance of Franklin, then in London, by whom he was advised to go to America. Adopting this suggestion, he took up his residence at Philadelphia in 1774, and in the following year was editing the *Philadelphia Magazine.* Several years later, in the days of the French Revolution, Tom Paine, as he is generally designated, by way of burlesquing democratic bluntness, was personally mixed up with that prodigious movement, and scandalised a large proportion of his countrymen by the publication of his two best-known works, "The Rights of Man," and "The Age of Reason." The object of the former is to proclaim the principles of democracy; of the latter, to deny the truth and value of the Christian system. Whether he derived these views from his association with Franklin, or whether he developed them entirely from his own reflections, his political ideas were of a character rather to promote his fortunes in America than to injure them, and his views on religion had not been openly declared, perhaps were not fully formed, in 1775.

As the Pennsylvanian Legislature hesitated, the Continental Congress grew more determined and resolute. It appointed a secret committee to import gunpowder, field-pieces, and small arms, and to export provisions or produce to the foreign West Indies, in exchange for those materials of war. It adopted rules for the government of the American navy, which as yet had scarcely any existence, except in design; directed the enlistment of two battalions of marines; authorised the colonists to seize all ships employed as carriers for the British fleet or army; and sanctioned tribunals for the confiscation of their cargoes.* It was proposed by a Maryland delegate—who certainly went far beyond the feelings generally prevalent in his province—that envoys should be sent to France, with conditional instructions; but the motion was rejected. Nevertheless, Harrison, Franklin, Johnson, Dickinson, and Jay, were appointed a secret committee for corresponding with any persons in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world, who might be favourable to the American cause; and funds were appropriated for the payment of agents. These were all acts practically establishing an independent Government, though the absolute Declaration of Independence was still delayed. The leaders of the popular party had already declared that the people are the source and origin of power; and this doctrine grew in favour with all who supported colonial rights. The doctrine is so reasonable, so just, and so beneficent—so essential to anything like a distinct foundation for modern Governments, which can never again plead the mediæval figment of a Divine Right in monarchs—that it is impossible to quarrel with any method of giving it utterance. But it had very little to do with the quarrel between England and her colonies. To introduce it into the discussion was like raising a false issue to conceal the true one. The question was not whether the authentic source of power be in the sovereign or the people; it was not, primarily, whether a Monarchy or a Republic be the better form of government. It was simply a question touching the rights of parent States over their colonies; in what degree they were limited; or whether, indeed, they had any existence at all, or any limits at all. George III., with his notions on the Royal prerogative, may have mixed up with the general elements of the question a strong sense of his own personal authority; but he was really fighting the battle of the Parliament much more than that of the Throne. Essentially, the struggle was between the English State and a number of distant dependencies—a struggle which could only have been avoided by each side abating somewhat of its extreme pretensions. The King, however passionately he may have stood forward as champion on the English side, was only an accident in the war of opposing principles.

It has been seen that the English people, for the most part, supported the Government in its determination to put forth the full power of the country for the suppression of American rebellion. The Opposition, however, gave trouble; and the feeling in some quarters was so strongly pronounced against the Ministerial policy that insurrectionary movements were feared. Wilkes openly declared, at a public banquet, that the King and he were enemies, and that time would show in what direction heads were to fall. A rumour at one time prevailed that seven or eight members of the Opposition would be sent to the Tower; but no such arbitrary and fatal step was taken. An American residing in London, however, was despatched for safe custody to that ancient fortress which is associated with so many dark pages of English history. Stephen Sayre, a merchant from the New World, was suspected of a very daring plot, more in harmony with the days of Charles II. than with those of George III. It was sworn by an officer of the Guards that Mr. Sayre had told him he intended to seize the King at noon-day on his way to open Parliament, to carry him out of the kingdom, occupy the Tower, and constitute a new Government. Although, on the strength of this affidavit, Sayre was committed to the Tower by the Southern Secretary, Lord Rochford, he was set at liberty after five days' detention, the alleged plot being considered too incredible for belief, or too hopeless of success to inspire any alarm. The American afterwards brought an action against Lord Rochford for false imprisonment, and obtained a verdict for £1,000.

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* Bancroft.

A much more serious matter than the Opposition in Parliament, or the plots, real or supposed, of political adventurers, was the difficulty of filling the regiments. Recruiting went on slowly; it was evident that the service was not popular. The Government sought for aid in various directions, and did not consider the small contributions of Holland and the minor German States beneath notice, if only they could be secured. But the great object of hope was Russia. During the summer, the Empress had conveyed to Gunning, the British Minister at her court, some words expressive of unbounded devotion to the King of England and his interests, which Gunning not unnaturally construed into an offer of troops, especially as they were sent in response to a request, on his part, for that species of assistance. These words he reported to his Government; and George wrote to Catharine a letter, in which he said that he accepted the succour which her Majesty had proffered, and would never forget the obligation. Gunning was therefore directed to solicit an audience of the Empress, and to request a force of twenty thousand disciplined infantry, to embark for Canada, where they would be under the orders of the British Commander-in-Chief. So confident were Ministers that this assistance would be rendered, that they wrote off to Howe and Carleton, announcing the speedy arrival of ample reinforcements. They also despatched a courier to the British Minister at Moscow, with the draft of a treaty for taking Russian troops into the pay and service of England. The treaty was to be in force for two years, and a subsidy to the Empress was talked of. But the Northern Sovereign had never really intended what her words certainly appeared to suggest; or, if such had been her meaning at the instant of speaking, she had soon altered her mind. On the 10th of September, in the course of an interview with Gunning, she dilated on the advisability of the English monarch bringing his quarrel with the Americans to an end as speedily as possible, and hinted at conciliation as a very necessary element in the adjustment of the difficulty. After some interviews with the Russian Ministers, Gunning conveyed the autograph letter to her Majesty, who, in reply, sent a message, professing warm friendship to the King of England, but saying that she had great repugnance to her troops being employed in America. Her answer to the King's letter—written by the pen of her secretary, and only signed by herself—contained a specific statement of her refusal to grant the required aid, and bluntly added that it would derogate from her dignity to send a body of troops into another hemisphere, to help in suppressing a rebellion which was not supported by any foreign Power. The pride of Catharine had doubtless been hurt by the proposal to put her soldiers in the position of mercenaries, who were to act at the bidding of a British General. Certainly, Russia had no interest in the matter; but the conduct of the Empress was capricious, if it did not amount to an absolute breach of faith.

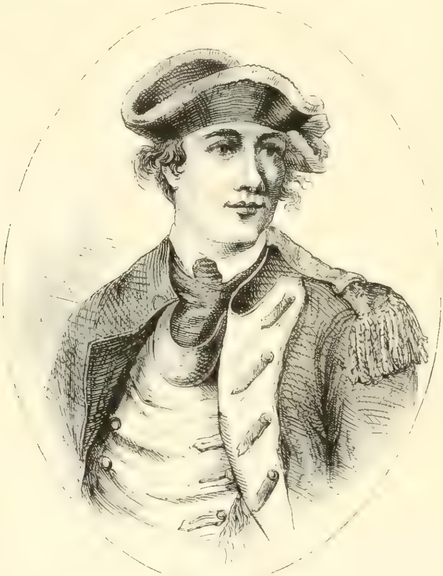
George III. was justly offended with the conduct of his fellow-sovereign, and with the manner in which her refusal was expressed. He now looked all the more to the German principalities for help, and again considered the project of rousing the Highlanders of North Carolina, and the loyal portion of the population in the middle and southern provinces. It was determined to send off large reinforcements in December, and to concentrate the army at New York, as a means of securing the central colonies, and guarding the connection with Canada. Lord Barrington, the Secretary-at-War, protested against the idea of these troops marching up the country: he feared the results of such a step in the existing state of America; and he proposed, as a substitute, the starving-out of the colonists by a naval blockade. Such was the military position when the King opened Parliament. The political events which attended the meeting of the two Houses have been related; but the personal character of the new Ministers should receive some attention. Lord Weymouth, the Southern Secretary, had been in office before, and was noted for his qualities as a boon companion, and his devotion to the bottle. Lord George Germaine, Secretary for the Colonies, was the third son of Lionel, first Duke of Dorset. His family name was Sackville; but in 1770 he assumed the surname of Germaine by Act of Parliament. George II. was his godfather, and he served under that prince at the Battle of Dettingen, where he showed so much courage that the King appointed him one of his aides-de-camp; and at Fontenoy he was wounded while charging at the head of his regiment. He undoubtedly possessed both ability and spirit; yet, by an unaccountable failure of duty on a subsequent occasion, he covered himself with disgrace, and entirely ruined his prospects as a soldier. At the Battle of Minden, which was fought on the 1st of August, 1759, he was in command of the British cavalry, and was three times ordered by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the General-in-Chief, to attack the enemy. The movement was of a bold and unusual character; and Lord George, expressing disbelief in the accuracy of the reported order, refused to charge. The cavalry were afterwards headed by the Marquis of Granby; but the favourable opportunity had passed, and the victory was left incomplete. By many, the former hero of Dettingen and Fontenoy was accused of cowardice; by some, of a mean jealousy of the fame of Prince Ferdinand; though it is possible he was simply the victim of punctilio. He was dismissed from the command of his regiment, and degraded from the rank of General; and a court-martial, which he demanded, and at which he defended himself with remarkable ability and not a little insolence of demeanour, confirmed the sentence of the King. George III., however, was inclined to befriend him; and in December, 1765, he was made one of the Vice-Treasurers for Ireland. His appointment to the Colonial Office, ten years later, was a surprise to most politicians; yet he was a man of excellent business capacity, a good debater, a quick and adroit manager, a person in every respect well adapted to carry on the work of a department responsible to Parliament. Of his moral character very different accounts have been given. By some he has been described as selfish, cold, malignant, and relentless; by others, as humane, charitable, sympathetic, and unaffectedly religious. The truth probably is, that his great mistake in life—whatever his motives may have been—soured his temper, and, to all but intimate friends, imparted to him the manners of a misanthrope; but that, beneath this forbidding exterior, he cherished many kindly and honourable qualities. His name will always be associated with the dark days of the American war; but it is right that the good features of his character should not be allowed to perish in the shadow of his errors.

Although the King had refused to receive the Petition of Congress, that document was not entirely set aside. A copy was laid before the Lords; and, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, it was resolved, after considerable opposition, that Mr. Richard Penn, who had brought the petition from America, should be examined at the bar. The examination, which took place on the 8th of November, was conducted by the Duke himself; and, in the course of his answers, Penn stated that the people of America considered themselves able to resist the arms of Great Britain; that, unless conciliatory measures were immediately adopted, connections with foreign Powers would probably be formed; and that the Americans were inclined to acknowledge the authority of Great Britain in all matters but taxation. The last of these statements was certainly incorrect, though Penn, doubtless, believed in its truth. On the strengthof his evidence, the Duke of Richmond moved that the petition presented sufficient grounds for a reconciliation. He was supported by Lord Shelburne and others; but the motion was negatived by 86 against 33. This futile attempt was followed, on the 15th of November, by a series of resolutions, brought forward by the new convert to Opposition principles, the Duke of Grafton, who required that Ministers should lay before the House an exact account of all their military preparations in and for America, and all the measures they designed to take for the reduction of the colonists. This absurd proposal, which could have had no other object than to serve the cause of the insurgents by disclosing the plans of the Government, was of course discountenanced by the Administration, and the resolutions were negatived without a division. In the course of the debate, Lord Mansfield delivered a speech, in which he showed, by historical facts which could not be gainsaid, that New England had been aiming at independence almost from its infancy.

The 16th of November was signalised by another speech of Burke's in favour of conciliation—a speech which had no greater effect than his former effort in the same direction. In the Bill which he submitted to the House of Commons, and which was rejected by a majority of two to one, he proposed a total renunciation of taxation; the repeal of all obnoxious laws and Acts of Parliament passed since the year 1766; a full amnesty for all offences; and a recognition of Congress, in order to a final adjustment of the existing quarrel. The motion was opposed by ex-Governor Pownall, who argued that the Bill did not go far enough; and, indeed, it is obvious that it would never have been accepted by the Americans as sufficient. These abortive attempts only prepared the way for a Bill which Lord North introduced on the 20th of November, the object of which was to prohibit all commercial intercourse with America. By this measure, the Boston Port Act and the two Restraining Acts of the previous session were repealed, as no longer applicable. Trade and commerce with the insurgent colonies were absolutely interdicted so long as their rebellion should last. The Bill authorised the commanders of his Majesty's navy to make prize of all American ships and goods, whether on the high seas or in harbour, and of all vessels of other countries engaged in trading with American ports. The prizes thus acquired were to be the property of the captors; and American prisoners taken on such occasions might be pressed for sailors, and sent to serve against their countrymen, on pain of being treated as mutineers. The final clause of the Bill was one of a conciliatory nature. It authorised the King to send to America commissioners, selected by himself, who were to be empowered to inquire into grievances, to grant pardons, and to decide, by their sole judgment, whether the whole or any part of a colony showed a disposition to return to its allegiance. In the event of their so declaring it, the restrictions of the Bill, as applied to that colony, or part of a colony, were at once to cease. Burke, Fox, Conway, and other men of high repute, opposed the measure with great emphasis; and it was sarcastically remarked that, as the practice of general confiscation which the Bill legalised would drive even loyal Americans into rebellion, the statute ought to be designated "An Act for more effectually carrying into Execution the Resolves of Congress." But the majorities in favour of Lord North were overwhelming in both Houses, and the Bill became law before the close of the year. In the Upper House, Ministers were relieved of their most formidable opponent by the severe illness and entire seclusion of the Earl of Chatham.

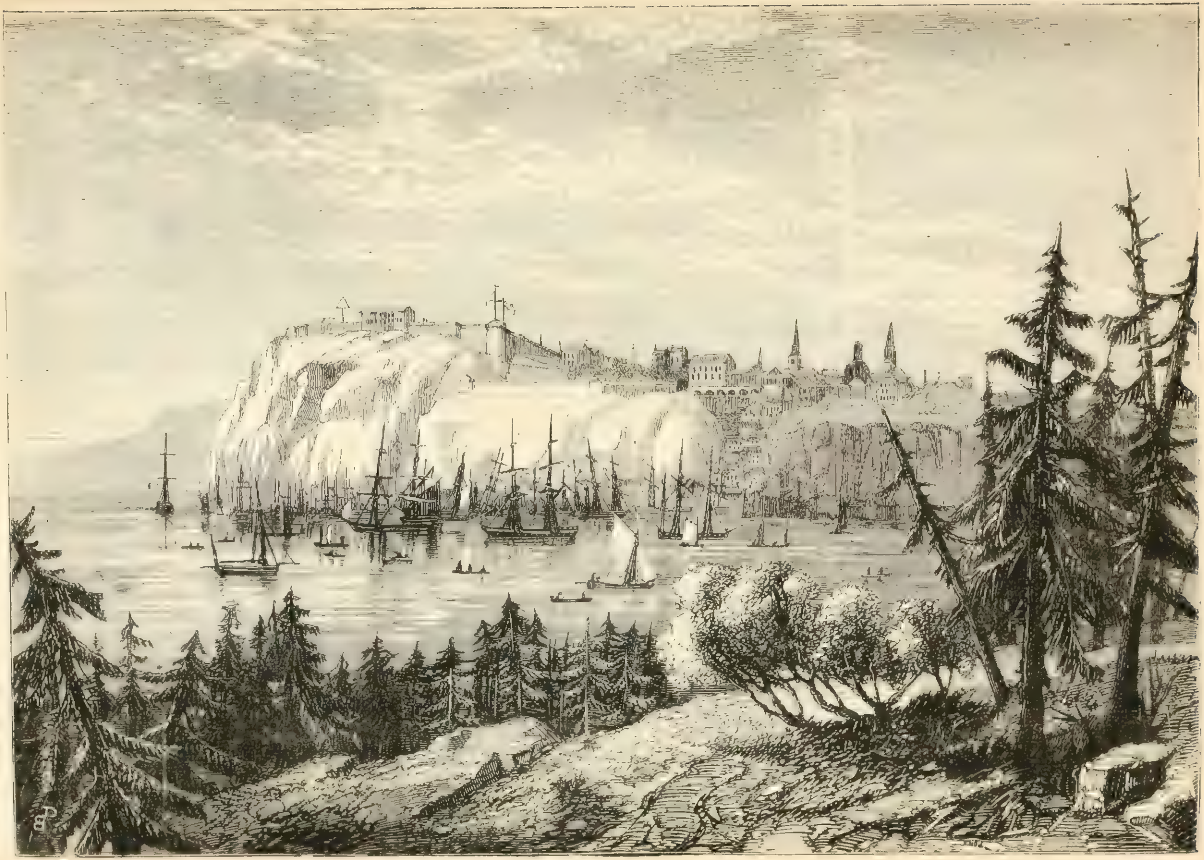
One remarkable feature in all the debates on American affairs at this time was the assumption, made by both sides alike, that the military success of the colonists would be the ruin of England. The Opposition would have averted this danger by timely concessions, such as they hoped would prevent civil war altogether. The Government were for crushing resistance by sheer force. But both agreed that, if the Americans triumphed in the open field, the sun of England would have set for ever. It was a very natural view to take; but the events of a century have shown its utter falsity. The English Empire is now much larger, grander, and more powerful than it was at the date of the American war. English commerce in 1876, as compared with English commerce in 1776, is as a giant compared with an ordinary man. The chief seat of trade is still at London, though New York is advancing with immense and rapid strides. Our navy is unapproached by that of any other Power. The great manufacturing industries of England and Scotland have almost arisen since the independence of America. We have subjugated India; we hold Canada; we are exploring Africa; we are peopling Australia. The glories of the Peninsula, of Trafalgar, and of Waterloo, belong to this century. Beyond the dark trench of civil war lay a brilliant future; but a hundred years ago there were few prophets to discern its coming.

When England is in difficulties, Ireland is generally agitated by a keen sympathy with the causes of her trouble. It was so in 1775. Ireland was at that time in the enjoyment of a separate Legislature, and many concessions in favour of her commerce and manufactures had recently been made. Yet popular opinion in Ireland was not conciliated by these favours or acts of justice, as it never has been by any similar acts, down to our own times. The English Ministry could at all times confidently reckon on a majority in the Irish Parliament. But it was a majority created by corruption and patronage, and it did not represent the views of Irishmen in general. The minority in the Lower House more truly expressed those views when they opposed the war with all the bitterness of Celtic declamation. The consent of that House was requested to a project for despatching four thousand troops from the Irish establishment to America, and for supplying their places by an equal number of German Protestants. The sending of the troops was voted by a large majority; but not even that subservient Chamber could be induced to sanction the arrival in Ireland of foreign soldiers, professing a religion different from that of the great body of the people. In the course of the debate, the more popular members spoke strongly in favour of the Americans. Scotland also inclined, in some quarters, to a view of the quarrel such as the Americans themselves must have applauded. Adam Smith, the great exponent of political economy, entertained much doubt whether the colonists could ever be made to submit to us, and denounced the prohibitory commercial laws of England as manifest violations of the most sacred rights, and impertinent badges of slavery—as in truth they were. In more than one quarter it was suggested that the wisest course for England to pursue would be to grant independence to the colonies, and trade with them as separate nations. The King was obliged to content himself, in the midst of all this opposition, by the sympathy of some of the smaller European Powers, particularly of the sovereigns of Denmark and Portugal, the latter of whom publicly declared that the cause of Great Britain in such a quarrel was the cause of all monarchs, and of the very principle of monarchy.



BENEDICT ARNOLD.

The situation of England in the later months of 1775 was grave, if not alarming. As regards the political world, the King felt secure in his Parliamentary majority; and it is probable that the greater part of the nation supported him in his view of the American quarrel. But the dissentients were numerous, were headed by men of great intellectual power, and were animated by a strong purpose, by fiery enthusiasm, and by a determined will. The military position of the country was worse. Ministers had asked of Parliament, and had obtained, 28,000 sailors for the ensuing year, and 50,000 men for the land service. Yet, considerable as were these armaments, they were insufficient for the requirements of the time. A Bill was introduced for enabling the King to assemble the militia in cases of actual rebellion in any part of the Empire; and, although the measure was opposed, on the ground that it gave the monarch so much additional power as to render him totally independent of the people, and that a pretext of rebellion could always be found in some portion of the British dominions, it was carried. Still, the want of troops was serious. Among the Continental Powers to which George III. turned for assistance was Holland. There had been a Scottish brigade in that country ever since the early part of the seventeenth century; but for several years it had been Scotch in little more than name, being composed of about two thousand men of all nationalities, officered, however, by gentlemen who were Scotch either by birth or descent. These soldiers of fortune, it seemed to the English Ministry, would do very well for sending against the Americans, if the sanction of the States-General could be obtained. That body, however, consented to lend the brigade only on condition that it should never be used out of Europe. George III. would not accept the services of the troops on such terms; and, besides, he had by this time procured assistance from Germany.



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Several German officers had made proposals to the English King to recruit men for him from among the populations of their native country, who had long been in the habit of giving their services in this respect to any Power that would hire them. To the blunt and really honest mind of George, this method of raising troops seemed little better than kidnapping; but his necessities compelled him to adopt it, and a contract was made with a Hanoverian Lieutenant-Colonel for enlisting four thousand soldiers in Germany. Such a mode of recruiting was against the laws of the Empire whose capital was at Vienna; but it was carried out with secrecy and adroitness, and it would seem that the authorities shut their eyes to a good many illegal acts. Some of the petty princes offered their troops; and open negotiations were commenced with the Duke of Brunswick and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. The transactions with the former (who was a brother-in-law of the English monarch, having married his sister, the Princess Augusta) were conducted with a coolness which, considering that human lives were at stake, is revolting and horrible. In arranging the sums that were to be handed over to the Duke, it was agreed that every soldier killed was to be paid for at the rate of the levy-money, and that three wounded should be reckoned as one killed. A great deal of petty higgling went on as to the amount of the annual subsidy; but at length the whole discreditable business was settled, and a body of troops was placed under the command of Von Riedsel, an officer of good abilities, and handed over to the British Government. Having concluded the detestable bargain, Colonel Faucitt, the English negotiator, proceeded to Cassel, the ruler of which proved even more grasping than the Duke of Brunswick. He exacted the most exorbitant sums; he obtained a double subsidy; he demanded that the men should be paid before they began to march; he insisted that the wounded were to be taken care of in a hospital of his own, for which he was to be paid out of the British Treasury; he required that he should clothe the men himself, as another source of extortionate profit; he caused the date of the treaty to be put back sixteen days, that the payment of the subsidies might commence the sooner; and he stipulated that the subsidies should be continued at least a year after the war was over, and the soldiers had returned to their homes. The negotiations with these princes spread over December, 1775, and the ensuing January, and resulted in a considerable addition to the forces of the British monarch. But the transaction was of a nature from which humanity turns aside with indignation. That Americans might be crushed in their endeavour to obtain independence, unhappy mercenaries were to be transported across the ocean, and to perish in a cause wherein they had not the slightest interest. To obtain these regiments, many unfortunate peasants were kidnapped, and forced to enlist against their will; and the service was so unpopular that desertions from Cassel were numerous, to escape the recruiting-sergeant. Such were the shifts to which a great nation was reduced by the necessities of a quarrel which ought never to have arisen; which, having arisen, ought to have been speedily composed.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Policy of the Colonists with regard to Canada—Preparations for Invading the Northern Province—Feelings of the Canadians towards the English—General Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester—Advance of the Anglo-Americans, under Schuyler and Montgomery, into Canada—Hesitation of Schuyler, and his Retirement from Active Command—Vigorous Operations of Montgomery—Unsuccessful Attempt of Ethan Allen to surprise Montreal—Montgomery's Bad Soldiers—Taking of the Forts of Chambly and St. John's by the Americans—Escape of Carleton from Montreal—Surrender of that City—American Expedition against Quebec—Benedict Arnold—A Terrible March—Sufferings of the Troops—Arnold before Quebec—His retreat to Point aux Trembles—March of Montgomery towards the Canadian Capital—Montgomery's Depression as to the American Cause—The Siege of Quebec—Desperate Attempt to take the City by Assault—Attack in the midst of a Snow-storm—Sanguinary Encounter—Defeat of the Americans, and Death of Montgomery.

CANADA, in the early days of the American Revolution, lay open to the influences of both antagonists. It was in military possession of the English; but the Americans were not inclined to let it rest in that state, and considered that it might be made subservient to the general cause. A condition of war brings its own policy with it; yet there are limits to this freedom of action, and good faith should at all times be observed. Whether it was observed by the colonists, in respect of the sometime French province, must be left to the judgment of the reader. On the 1st of June, 1775, the Continental Congress passed a resolution affirming that, as they had nothing more in view than the defence of the Colonies, "no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made by any colony, or body of colonists, against or into Canada." This resolution was, by order of the Congress, translated into French, and distributed along the shores of the St. Lawrence. Nothing could be plainer or more unequivocal than the implied promise which it conveyed; yet, before the month was out, preparations for the invasion of Canada were commenced. On the 27th of June, resolutions were passed, instructing Philip Schuyler to proceed without delay to Ticonderoga, thence to advance on Canada, and to take possession of St. John's and Montreal. These latter resolutions were kept secret, and do not appear in the journals of the Congress; but they have since been printed in America, and are incontestably genuine. An American historian and biographer has endeavoured to vindicate his countrymen in this matter, by arguing that, in the interval between their two resolutions, the delegates had received reports that General Carleton, the military Governor of Canada (afterwards known as the first Lord Dorchester), was preparing operations against themselves.* But the fact of such operations being contemplated was known to the members of Congress some days previous to the resolution of the 1st of June,† and was not considered, at that time, a sufficient justification for hostile proceedings. The real occasion of this change of policy, if not its excuse, was the issue of a proclamation on the 9th of June, in which General Carleton stigmatised the American borderers as rebels and traitors, established martial law, and summoned the French Canadians and the converted Indians to the support of the Royal cause.

Though a conquered province, Canada had been rendered loyal by the Quebec Act, which had excited so much indignation in the people of the English Colonies. That Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1774, had restored the French system of law to the wide realm watered by the St. Lawrence, had established religious toleration, had opened the doors of office to Catholics, had conciliated the clergy by leaving them in possession of their churches and their revenues, and had created Canadian battalions. in which the nobility of New France could hold commissions on equal terms with English officers. Carleton was known to have been the adviser of that truly liberal measure, and he was now Governor of Quebec. This gentleman, whose benevolent character shines forth conspicuously from a not very inspiriting record, was an Irishman, descended from an old Cumberland family which settled near Enniskillen in the reign of Charles I. He had first gone to Canada in the army of General Wolfe, and had since, in a civil capacity, gained the confidence of the people by his mingled firmness, justice, and suavity. The Quebec Act was opposed by the Anglo-Americans, both for what it did and for what it did not. It gave power to the Catholics, and therefore offended all the extreme Protestants of the old colonies; it made no provision for a representative Assembly, and in this way outraged the democratic instincts of the same communities. But the Canadians themselves were pleased by the recognition of their hereditary faith, and did not feel the absence of representative institutions, to which they had never been accustomed. They were not at all inclined to hearken to the seductive address of the Continental Congress, issued in September, 1774, by which they were solicited to join the malcontent colonies in their resistance to the English Crown and Parliament. It was now resolved by the insurgents to seize forcibly on Canada, and compel its population to aid the progress of rebellion, and to contribute to the downfall of British power.

Following out the instructions which he had received from Congress, Schuyler caused a number of boats to be built at Ticonderoga for the transport of his troops into the dominion of Quebec. He sent an emissary across the border, to collect information as to the state of the country and the disposition of the people; and this agent, on his return about the middle of August, 1775, reported that the inhabitants were friendly, that the regular troops in the country were not above seven hundred, and that the militia, which were of British origin, refused to serve under French officers. The account thus given was far too sanguine; but in some matters it was correct, and it encouraged Schuyler to push on his preparations with great energy. He now had for his second in command the enthusiastic and daring Irishman, Richard Montgomery, formerly an officer in the British army, from which he had retired in anger at being refused promotion. Settling in New York, he became thoroughly imbued with American ideas, and rejoiced at any opportunity of injuring the country by which he believed he had been wronged. From the quiet life of a farmer he was roused by the outbreak of hostilities between

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* Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington, Vol. III., note to p. 41.

† Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 53.

America and England, and, as we have seen, he accepted a command in the patriotic army. On his arrival at Ticonderoga, he was left for a time at the head of the forces there, Schuyler taking the opportunity to depart for Saratoga, that he might enter into negotiations with the Indians. This caused some delay in the starting of the expedition; but at length Montgomery, fearing that the neighbouring waters might be occupied by English vessels if he stayed too long, determined to advance on his own authority at the head of a thousand or twelve hundred men. By the 3rd of September he had arrived at Isle La Motte, on Lake Champlain, and on the following day he was joined by Schuyler, with whom he proceeded farther into the country. On the 6th the two commanders were at St. John's, and, in marching towards the castle, had a trifling encounter with a party of Indians. Whether the courage of Schuyler gave way at sight of the enemy, or whether he was really out of health, as he alleged, certain it is that at this point his firmness entirely disappeared. Deceived, and perhaps not unwillingly deceived, by some false information which had been brought to his camp, he proposed to a council of war to retreat to Isle aux Noix, which he had occupied two or three days before. The suggestion was readily adopted, and the backward movement was at once performed. Some of the soldiers were of a piece with their commander. A party of five hundred, sent out on the 11th, behaved so badly as to incur reproach; and Montgomery, seeing the necessity of a more vigorous rule, induced Schuyler to abandon the active command, and embark for Ticonderoga, leaving the chief direction in the hands of his subordinate.

St. John's was now invested with vigour. Montgomery received frequent additions to his forces, and Schuyler, proving himself a good commissariat officer, however bad a general, kept them well supplied with food. A siege could not be actively prosecuted for want of powder; but the fortress was surrounded, and effectually cut off from succour. One of the officers under Montgomery was the wild, melodramatic hero of the attack on Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen, a part of whose military costume was a red worsted cap. This worthy was despatched to Chambly, to raise a corps of Canadians, and, having recruited a certain number of men, he was persuaded by them, or persuaded himself, to attempt the surprise of Montreal, which he appears to have thought would be as easy a feat as that which, by a happy stroke, he had been able to accomplish on the morning of the 10th of May. Accordingly, at the head of eighty Canadians and thirty Anglo-Americans, he started on the night of the 24th of September from Longueil, and proceeded to Long Point. Some reinforcements which he expected were not forthcoming; retreat was by this time impossible; and Allen had no alternative but to withstand as well as he could the attack which was speedily made upon him. Some five hundred men, consisting of regulars, Canadians, Indians, and English civilians, assaulted his position, which he defended with considerable gallantry for an hour and three quarters. He was then compelled to surrender, with all of his men who could not escape. Heavily ironed, he was sent to England, where he was imprisoned in Pendennis Castle for a short time, and then carried back to America, while the others, shackled together in pairs, were sent to labour in transports on the St. Lawrence, that they might learn for the future not to attempt the impossible.

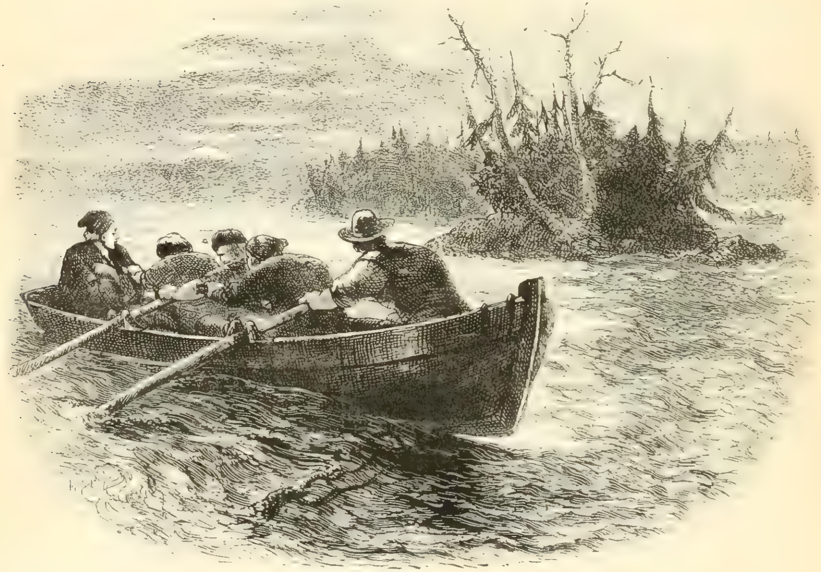
The easy defeat of Allen must have tended to cheer the spirits of Carleton, who had been taking a very gloomy view of the state of affairs. The British troops under his orders were a mere handful, and he wrote to the commanders at Boston that Canada was on the eve of being over-run and subdued. Each side, indeed, distrusted itself. Schuyler complained bitterly of the Connecticut troops, and told Congress that, if Job had been a general in his situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience. To Montgomery, the New Englanders seemed the worst stuff imaginable for soldiers. They speedily got homesick, and absconded, leaving the regiments terribly reduced in numbers. The men would not obey their officers, were jealous of one another, and were perpetually suspecting treachery. "The privates," wrote Montgomery, "are all generals, but not soldiers," and he once exclaimed, in bitterness of heart, "Oh, fortunate husbandmen! would I were at my plough again!" The weather, as the autumn deepened, became cold and wet; the ground was spongy, dank, and malarious; and the soldiers suffered much from illness. The privates insisted on over-ruling the decisions of their commanders whenever they disapproved of them. They were so turbulent as to give constant trouble to their officers, and so much inclined to shirk toil and discomfort as to render the work of a siege very difficult. Though Washington had earnestly warned the troops against such practices, acts of plundering were frequent; and it was difficult to inflict punishment on an army so devoted to equality, and the boundless freedom of the individual.

Carleton endeavoured to augment his forces by enlisting Canadians and Indians; but the former deserted with as much readiness as their opponents, the New Englanders, and the latter proved spiritless and weak. The savages would probably have been excited to vigorous action, had Carleton consented to let them loose on the rebel provinces; but this he refused, because of the atrocities which he knew would be committed. The Indians of the Six Nations wished to make an immediate attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but the proposal was rejected. Carleton was therefore compelled to remain on the defensive; and the Americans, turning his inaction to their own advantage, laid siege to the fort of Chambly, which, after an attack of about six and thirty hours' duration, surrendered on the 18th of October. Seventeen cannon and six tons of powder fell to the lot of the Americans, and enabled them to proceed against St. John's with more effect. Carleton endeavoured to raise the siege; but his force was driven back in attempting to cross the St. Lawrence, and his subordinate, Colonel Allan Maclean, with whom he had been trying to form a junction, retired to Quebec. The fort of St. John's surrendered on the 3rd of November, and the garrison of six hundred marched out with the honours of war. The situation appeared to Carleton so desperate that he determined to abandon Montreal; and on the 11th of November he embarked, with about a hundred regulars and Canadians, on board some small vessels in the port, and set sail for Quebec. Finding that his passage of the river was likely to be disputed by a number of rebel troops, he disguised himself, on the night of the 16th, in the dress of a fisherman, entered a whale-boat, and was paddled with muffled oars down the island-studded current to the capital of the province, which he reached on the 19th. The day after he had left Montreal, that city surrendered without opposition to Montgomery, who straightway issued a proclamation to the Canadians, urging them to elect representatives to the Continental Congress, and unite themselves with the Federation of the South.

The chief struggle was to take place before Quebec, against which city Washington directed a large force under the command of Benedict Arnold—a name destined in time to be execrated by Americans as that of a traitor to their cause. He had in former times been a trader, but had now taken to the sword, for which he had some natural aptitude, being courageous, enterprising, and intelligent. The army placed under his command consisted of ten companies of New England infantry, one of riflemen from Virginia, and two from Pennsylvania, amounting altogether to about eleven hundred men. This force left the camp before Boston on the evening of the 13th of September, and pushed on northwards with as much rapidity as the nature of the ground permitted. Their route, as soon as they had got into Maine, lay through a woody and almost desert country, and, for a portion of the way, up the Kennebec. This river they ascended in small boats, working against the current, which flowed with such extraordinary force as frequently to compel the men to wade up to their waists in water, hauling their boats after them, or carrying them on their backs round cataracts, over crags, and across morasses. Arnold wrote to Washington that you might have mistaken his troops for amphibious animals. On quitting the Kennebec, the road lay through dense and gloomy forests, where the companies would probably have been lost, had not an exploring party of seven men, who had been sent in advance, indicated the proper route by "blazing" the trees (that is to say, cutting white marks on them by the removal of the bark), and lopping the bushes. Then again they came to a region of swamps, overgrown with brambles and white moss, into which the soldiers often sank knee-deep. This dismal country is that which extends between the Kennebec and the Dead River. The latter stream was reached by Arnold on the 13th of October, a month after the starting of the expedition, and by the main body of the army two days later. Following its course, they traversed a distance of eighty-three miles, passing seventeen falls, and having to encounter a series of ponds, choked with the trunks of trees. Thus, after many more days of toil, they reached the carrying-place to the Chaudière. But the labours and sufferings of the troops were not yet over; and the men were now disheartened by hearing of the defection of Roger Enos, the second in command, who had returned to Cambridge, together with his three companies, forming the rear-guard of the army.

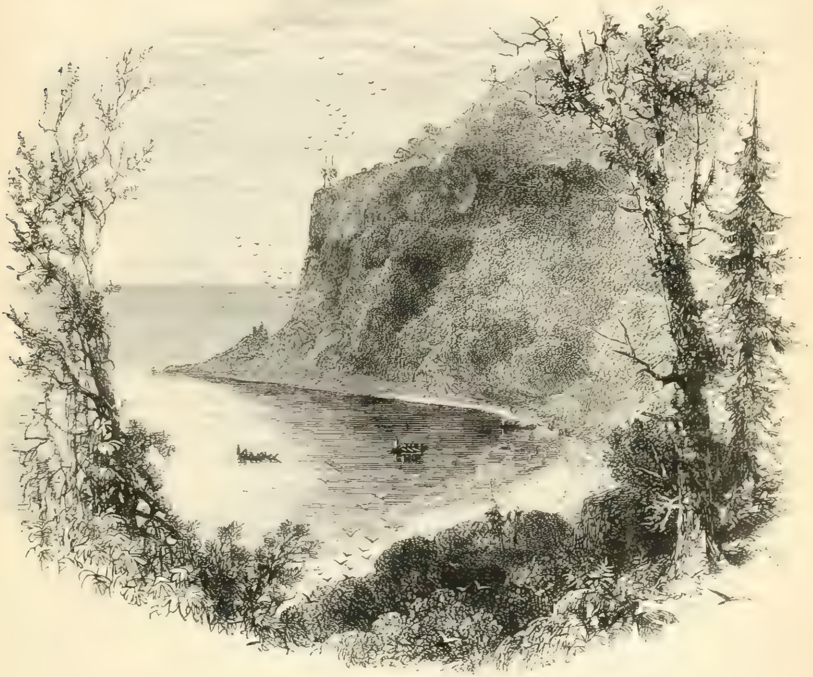
Notwithstanding this depressing intelligence, the main body struggled on, though sickness had now set in, and many deserted their colours. November was close at hand; winter had already begun; the cold was intense, and the men were ill-prepared to meet it. Their clothes had become so torn by the briary woods through which they had passed that they were almost naked; some went barefoot for many days. Tempests of icy rain whistled about them, and at night they had no other covering than branches of evergreens. Each division had taken with it food for forty-five days; but this had now run out. During the latter part of the march, several dogs were killed and eaten, and leather, soaked in water, was not disdained as a last resource in the agonies of famine. Many of the unfortunate soldiers died of cold and hunger, and no prospect of relief was in sight. In descending the Chaudière, which courses rapidly through a rocky channel, three of the boats were upset, and a quantity of ammunition and stores was lost. On the 2nd of November, those weary and starving men, it is related, went almost mad with delight at seeing some French Canadians driving before them five oxen; and on the 4th they descried a house, which was the first they had seen for thirty-one days. They had by this time advanced into a cultivated and inhabited country, and the extremity of their sufferings was at an end. Their emergence from the wilderness astonished the Canadians, who had long regarded that dreary tract of country as impenetrable. With reanimated spirits they marched on towards Quebec; but their approach was already known in the city, and preparations were being made for their reception. Some of Arnold's communications to the Canadians, which were to have been distributed by friendly Indians, had been intercepted, and Cramahé, the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, lost no time in strengthening the walls and augmenting the defences. The capital of Canada was therefore, by the second week of November, in a good position to meet the attack which was shortly to be expected.

Point Levi, lying on the St. Lawrence, south of the Isle of Orleans, and opposite to Quebec, was reached by Arnold on the 10th of November; but he was unable to cross at once, as all the boats had been removed. He therefore set to work collecting canoes and making ladders; and on the 13th, at nine o'clock in the evening, he began his embarkation. Not more than thirty canoes were in his possession, and it was found necessary to cross the river three times to carry over the bulk of the army. The darkness of night favoured the operation, and Arnold and his men arrived undiscovered at Wolfe's Cove. A hundred and fifty soldiers had been left at Point Levi, and the number who now stood beneath the Heights of Abraham was barely six hundred effectives, or seven hundred in all. Success, under the circumstances of the case, was



CARLETON'S FLIGHT.

hopeless. The men were exhausted with their long and toilsome march; they had no cannon; their muskets were damaged, and their powder and cartridges in bad condition. Nevertheless, they determined to make the attempt. Ascending the steep and jagged path by which Wolfe had gained the elevated plateau in 1759, they found themselves by morning on the plain which stretches towards Quebec. In the course of the day, two or three hundred men went up close to the fortifications, and huzzahed; but their shouts did not produce that effect upon the walls which the trumpets of Joshua, and the cries of his people, produced upon the walls of Jericho. Then Arnold sent a flag to demand the surrender of the place; but the flag was not received, and the city evinced no desire to capitulate to a mob of ragged and half-starved men. Arnold, after making an assault on one of the gates of the city, in which he was repulsed with loss, and finding that his troops had no more than five rounds of ammunition to each man, retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and between that city and Montreal.



WOLFE'S COVE.

The defences of Quebec were excellent; but the number of soldiers within the walls was few. A small reinforcement, however, had arrived on the 12th of November, when Colonel Allan Maclean, who had fallen back from Fort Chambly, entered the city at the head of a hundred and seventy men, levied chiefly among the Highlanders settled in Canada. Two ships of war were in the harbour, and the crews of merchant-vessels were detained to aid in the defence. The arrival of General Carleton on the 19th had a good effect on the spirits of the garrison. One of his earliest acts was to order all who would not join in the defence to quit the city within four days—a necessary precaution, since, although the majority of the people were in favour of the Government, several malcontents were disposed to welcome the approach of the invader. The Governor had now under his command nearly one thousand eight hundred men, of whom, however, not many more than three hundred were regular soldiers. With these were combined four hundred and eighty-five seamen and marines, several militia-men, and a number of civilians hastily pressed for the service. Montgomery was organising his own legions for an attack on this force, if he could tempt it out into the open country, or on its stronghold, if he could not. It was a desperate enterprise, for he had no siege-guns, and his men were very far from being disciplined troops. Several of his hasty levies had by this time deserted him, yielding to that feeling of home-sickness which was so commonly found among these small farmers and comfortable husbandmen. Moreover, the engagements of the New Englanders terminated on the last day of the year; it was certain that they would not voluntarily remain any longer; and it was therefore imperative to act at once, if anything was to be even attempted. Resolving to dare the utmost, Montgomery, on the 26th of November, left Montreal with three armed schooners, carrying artillery and three hundred troops. Before quitting the city, he made a public declaration that, on his return, he would call a convention of the Canadian people. He was never to return.

A junction with Arnold, at Point aux Trembles, was effected on the 3rd of December, and on the 5th the united force, consisting of nearly a hundred Anglo-Americans, and about two hundred Canadian volunteers, appeared before Quebec. To Montgomery it seemed possible to carry the place by storm, though he knew that the loss of life must necessarily be great. The Lower Town was not so strongly defended as the Upper: it was there, if anywhere, that the fortifications were vulnerable. Still, the attempt was terribly hazardous, and it is probable that something akin to despair possessed the heart of Montgomery at this period. It was perhaps hardly to be expected that he should feel any regard for, or sympathy with, England, for he was English neither by birth nor by blood. But he may have had misgivings as to the wisdom or policy of forsaking his old allegiance, and he was by this time doubtful of the cause he had espoused. Even before starting from home to join the army, he had expressed himself in a very melancholy way about the madness of the world. He soon grew weary of the American service, and, ere he marched from Montreal, intimated that he should resign his commission at the end of the campaign. The insubordination of his soldiers disgusted him; and he had little faith in a revolution which, as yet, seemed incapable of that highest of civic virtues—the due subjection of the individual to the commonwealth.

More as a matter of form than anything else, Montgomery sent a flag of truce to the city, with a demand for its surrender; but Carleton fired on the flag, and refused to enter into any negotiations with rebels. On the 6th of December, the American commander addressed a wild and menacing letter to his adversary, of which the latter, feeling secure behind his works, took no notice, nor of others which followed it. A battery was then begun on the Heights of Abraham, near the gate of St. John. Montgomery, in writing to General Wooster, said that he expected no other advantage from his artillery than to amuse the enemy, and blind him as to the real design. In default of earth, which could not be obtained, owing to the severe frost, the gabions and fascines were filled with snow, on which large quantities of water were poured, so that in a moment a solid mass of ice was produced. The siege, however, was a mere delusion. The shot thrown by the artillery was too light to effect a breach, or do any material damage, though the batteries were not more than seven hundred yards from the walls; and the guns, which were all of small calibre, were dismounted and injured by the return-fire of the besieged. Disease of the lungs and small-pox thinned the ranks of Montgomery's army, and the season fought against them with weapons more deadly even than those which Carleton could command. If that officer could only be drawn out into the open field, he might, perchance, be beaten; but he was too well acquainted with what had happened to Montcalm, when he rashly quitted the city and encountered the forces of Wolfe, to repeat that fatal error. It was evident, therefore, that nothing remained but the forlorn hope of an escalade. A council of war, held on the evening of the 16th, decided, by a large majority, that an assault should be made as soon as the necessary preparations could be completed.

Dissensions showed themselves in some quarters as the time for the attack drew on, and for a moment a mutiny was feared; but Montgomery restored order by his firmness and spirit. He feared, however, a more formidable outbreak of the same feeling after the close of the year, when he would no longer have a right to the men's services; and he therefore hurried on the attack. Still, it could not be attempted without a further delay; and in the meanwhile a deserter carried information to the garrison, who took elaborate precautions against surprise. The weather became every day more terrible in its severity. On the 30th, a heavy snowstorm set in; and Montgomery, considering that the obscurity of the atmosphere would favour the contemplated movement, and knowing that only one more day of compulsory service remained, gave orders for the troops to be ready for the assault at two o'clock on the following morning. It is said that the New Englanders had long been opposed to so desperate an enterprise, and that they would not consent until promised the reward of sacking the town, if they could win it. However this may be, it is undeniable that in the earlier days of the siege Montgomery found a great deal of insubordination among his troops; but that, nevertheless, when the final effort was at length made, the men behaved with the utmost courage and resolution. In order that they might recognise one another, each soldier was to wear in his cap a piece of white paper; and some of them inscribed this placard with the words, "Liberty or Death!" A dispassionate observer does not perceive in what way liberty was concerned in the business, since the Canadians, with a very few exceptions, were not at all well inclined to receive the invaders. But an army must have some species of rallying-cry, and this did as well as another. The forces were divided into two columns, the chief of which was led by Montgomery himself, while the second was under the command of Arnold. But each of these bodies was subdivided, and sent towards various quarters, so that the garrison might be simultaneously alarmed along the whole line of their defences. Two false demonstrations, on the south-west and nearer the south, were to distract the attention of the British and Canadian troops, while the real attacks, which were to be on the Lower Town, were delivered by Montgomery from the south-east, and by Arnold from the north-east.

Forming his small party of three hundred men into Indian file, the chief commander led them to Wolfe's Cove, and proceeded two miles along the shore, by a rocky path, slippery with frozen snow. A north-eastern blast drove in their faces the sharp and lacerating hail of those inclement regions; and the men, half-blinded by the storm, had the greatest trouble to save themselves from falling on the rugged and icy way. It had been agreed that the signal for commencing the attack should be the firing of a rocket from Cape Diamond by one of the parties engaged in the false movements. This intimation was unfortunately given more than half an hour too soon, and Montgomery was compelled to hurry his advance. With a few companions, including the celebrated Aaron Burr, one of his aides-de-camp, he arrived at the first barrier, while the greater number of the troops were still behind. He now found himself in a narrow defile, sloping precipitously towards the river on one side, and on the other shut in by a scarped rock and overhanging cliff. The passage was intercepted by a log-house, loopholed for musketry, and by a battery of two three-pounders; and the position was held by a party of English and Canadians, including some sailors, and numbering altogether forty-seven men. It was by this time daybreak on the 31st of December, 1775, and the main body of the attacking force was seen marching up from Wolfe's Cove. A panic seized the guard, who for a moment drew back; but their firmness was speedily restored, and with lighted matches they awaited, behind their guns, the onslaught of the enemy. At the head of sixty men, Montgomery, exclaiming that Quebec was theirs, sprang quickly forward. It was the last act of his life. The English guns were served by nine seamen, and were discharged when Montgomery was within fifty yards of their mouths. The commander at once fell dead, together with one of his aides-de-camp, and eleven others. Montgomery was wounded in three places, and his fall expedited the inevitable defeat of the enterprise. The man who fired the gun by which Montgomery perished is said to have been a New Englander; and he would relate, in after years, that the British party were in full retreat at the time, and that he fired the gun at random, before turning to join his comrades—an improbable narration, not in harmony with more authentic accounts.

A feeling of dismay spread through the American ranks at the death of their leader, thus occurring at the very outset of the assault. The captain of one of the companies was desirous of pushing forward; but he was ill-supported, and unable to make his will prevail. The arms of several of the men were wet, and, in the opinion of some of the officers, nothing more could be attempted with fatigued and disheartened troops. Fireballs were now being thrown by the English, and their baleful glare enabled the musketeers in the blockhouse to fire with murderous precision. A retreat was therefore ordered, and this was quietly and happily effected; though, had the garrison chosen to pursue, it is probable that hardly a man would have escaped. The defenders of the city, however, were required in the city itself, for a vigorous assault was being carried on in another direction. Arnold's division advanced along the river St. Charles, the path by the side of which was narrowed by masses of ice, thrown up by the stream. The men of the attacking force could only move forward in single file, holding down their heads, to protect their faces from the piercing wind and lashing drift of hail and snow, and covering their muskets with their coats. They were met by a heavy fire from the walls; but, pressing on, they carried the first barricade after an hour's fighting. Arnold was presently struck in the leg by a musket-ball, and carried to the rear in great agony. The troops were now headed by Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, whose self-devotion and military virtues were admirably displayed on this occasion, as on others; and it was under his directions that the battery was taken, and its defenders seized. The Americans had surmounted the barricade by ladders, and, on reaching the other side, found themselves in a perilous position. The place was in darkness, and the cold so extreme that the men were covered with icicles, and their muskets rendered unavailable by the driving snow. Morgan knew nothing of the town, and was in doubt as to what he should do, especially as the enthusiasm of his men was rapidly diminishing. In a little while, however, he was joined by Christopher Greene of Rhode Island, Timothy Bigelow of Massachusetts, and Return J. Meigs of Connecticut (all of them commanders in Arnold's column), and by the men belonging to their companies. The re-united force struggled on to the next barrier, and the scaling ladders were at once reared; but the menacing aspect of a large body of troops on the other side, standing with levelled bayonets, made the assailants pause. Many of the American officers were shot down, for the English fire came not merely from the soldiers on the further side of the barricade, but from houses on both sides of the narrow street. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the Americans maintained the fight for four hours and a half; but at length the courage of several gave way, and they escaped over the shoal-ice of the St. Charles. Towards daylight, those who remained, and who constituted the larger number, got into some stone houses, from which they poured a telling fire into their adversary's ranks, and were at the same time protected themselves. But all was in vain. The defeat of Montgomery's division left the whole of Carleton's army free to oppose that of Arnold, for it was by this time evident that the other attacks were feints. An unexpected sally from the Palace Gate, in the rear of the assailants, overpowered the small but resolute band, and compelled a large number to surrender. The remainder, inspired by the reckless courage of Morgan, still fought on, in the hope of cutting their way out; but the feat was impossible, and at ten o'clock in the morning they laid down their arms.*

Thus ended an attempt of culpable rashness, undertaken for the promotion of ends wholly unjust, and devoid even of the most specious recommendation. Montgomery was an able soldier, and a man of kindly disposition. Beloved in America, he found some panegyrists in the English Parliament itself. But his traitorous desertion of the flag which he had at one time served—a desertion prompted by motives of individual pique—leaves a stain upon his memory which his virtues cannot altogether efface; nor was there anything in his great exploit, beyond valour and daring, to entitle it to a cosmopolitan fame. The only agreeable feature in the whole invasion of Canada is the benevolence of Carleton towards his enemies. He buried Montgomery with the honours of war; he treated his prisoners with humanity. At a later period, when the American retreat had commenced, the woods were, by his orders, searched for lurking fugitives, that they might be taken to the general hospital, and relieved at the public charge. All who would come forward voluntarily were promised that, on the restoration of their health, they should be allowed to return to their respective provinces. To those who were in extreme want, Carleton sent £100; and by soothing words he did his utmost to soften the hardness of defeat. Any contrary tendencies on the part of his officers he gently reproved. "Since we have tried in vain," he said, "to make the Americans acknowledge us as brothers, let us send them away disposed to regard us as first cousins." It would have been happy for both nations if such a feeling had been more generally diffused.

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* Bancroft's History of the United States; Earl Stanhope's History of England; Jesse's Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George III.; Impartial History of the War in America (1780); Journal of Captain Simeon Thayer (one of Greene's battalion), as edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Edwin Martin Stone (Providence, U.S., 1867).—The Journals of the expedition are very numerous, including one by Arnold; and some account of all the chief narratives is given by Mr. Stone.

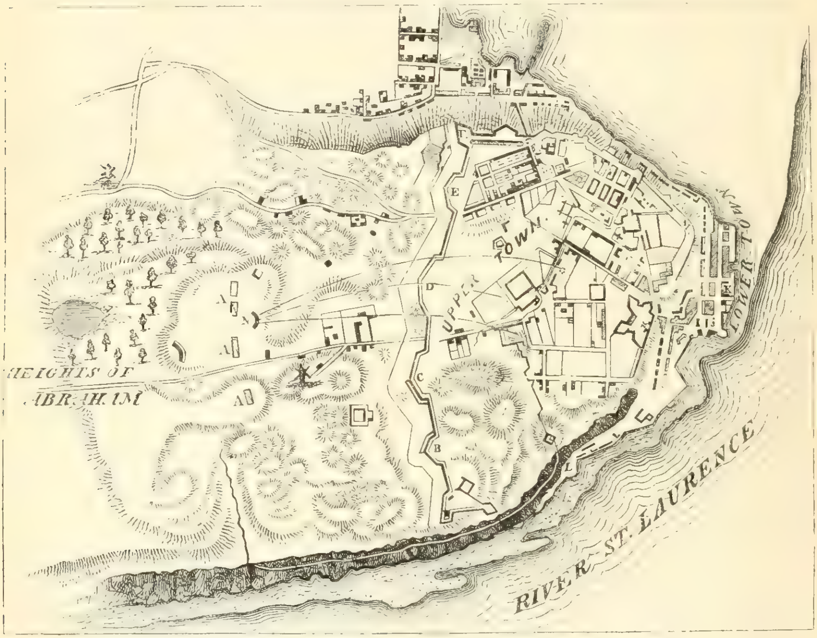
CHAPTER XXIV.

Proceedings of the Continental Congress—Creation of a Navy and of a Marine Department—Opening of Negotiations with Foreign Powers—Insubordination in the Army before Boston—Lord Dunmore in Virginia—Collisions with the People—Issue of a Proclamation by the Governor promising Freedom to the Slaves—Counter Measures of the Virginian Authorities—The Scotch in Virginia—Action at the Great Bridge, near Norfolk—Discomfiture of the British—Surrender of Norfolk to the Americans—Burning of the Town by Lord Dunmore (Jan. 1st, 1776)—Effect of the Act in augmenting the Opposition of the Virginians—Failure of the Governor's Projects for rousing the Indians and Backwoodsmen—Departure of Dunmore for the North—The New Continental Army—Thomas Paine's Essay in Favour of a Declaration of Independence—Summary of, and Extracts from, the Disquisition—Division of Opinion in Various Parts of the Federation—Efforts of Franklin to hurry on Independence—Revolution in Georgia—Proceedings in the Virginian Convention.

MONTGOMERY's temporary success in the invasion of Canada, and the really heroic achievement of Arnold and his companions in penetrating through the deserts of Maine into the northern province, confirmed the determination of the more resolute to complete their independence of Great Britain, and probably influenced in the same direction some who had previously been waverers. Yet Congress, as a matter of form and prudence, continued to make a pretence of loyalty to the King, and the central provinces still evinced, with a less questionable sincerity, a desire for reconciliation with the mother country. Royalist agents sought to induce New York to detach itself from the Federation, but signally failed in the attempt, and effected no other result than to induce the convention of that province to take a more decided stand on revolutionary principles. In December, the Continental Congress determined to build thirteen ships of war, and to establish a naval department, which was to be administered by a marine committee, consisting of one member from each colony. This was another and very important step towards the creation of a national Government, totally distinct from that of the parent State. Still another was the opening of negotiations with foreign Powers. To this end, the Congressional committee of secret correspondence authorised their countryman, Arthur Lee, then in London, to ascertain the disposition of the chief Governments of continental Europe; and Dumas, a Swiss settled in Holland, and a friend of Franklin, to whom he had written in high praise of the Americans and their objects, was also charged with duties of a similar character. Towards the end of the year, De Bonvouloir, the emissary of Vergennes, arrived in Philadelphia, and had several conferences with Franklin and the other members of the secret committee. The result of these interviews was that the Frenchman gave the committee to understand, without making an exact promise to that effect, that his King would aid them on certain conditions; and that the committee made it very clear to the Frenchman that they would be glad of such aid in the furtherance of their designs, though they still kept up the farce of pretending that they were even yet indisposed to sever their connection with England and with the English Crown. De Bonvouloir wrote home to the Ministry a report of what he had seen and heard, which tended to make still more probable the alliance that both parties desired.

It was a period of danger for the colonists and their cause. The forces before Boston were wanting in all the necessaries of a military body; the term of service of the men had nearly reached its date, and for the most part they seemed not very eager to renew it; the lack of money was in itself an evil of the most desperate character; the soldiers complained of not receiving their wages with regularity, and grumbled at being paid (when they were paid at all) in a rapidly-depreciating paper currency; it was found necessary to reduce the allowances of food; and altogether the army seemed tumbling into ruin. Several of the Connecticut levies, whose enlistment expired before the end of December, departed for their homes in spite of earnest entreaties and exhortations that they would stay a little longer, if it were only ten days. Trumbull, the Governor of their province, told Washington that they were acting in accordance with "the genius and spirit" of New Englanders, whose pulses always beat high for liberty; and he gave no countenance to the suggestion of the Commander-in-Chief, that he should punish the offenders. No doubt they could not have been legally punished; but their conduct was very generally disapproved in Connecticut, and efforts were made to supply the places of the seceders. A large number of men were enlisted in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and preparations for the service of the coming year were made by Washington, as far as the difficulties of his position permitted. Yet his heart often sank within him at the prospects of the war, and, in a letter to Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania, written on the 28th of November, 1775, he observed:—"I should not be at all surprised at any disaster that may happen. After the last of this month, our lines will be so weakened that the minute-men and militia must be called in for their defence; and these, being under no kind of government themselves, will destroy the little subordination I have been labouring to establish, and run me into one evil whilst I am endeavouring to avoid another; but the less must be chosen. Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A regiment, or any subordinate department, would have been accompanied with ten times the satisfaction, and perhaps the honour." And in the same letter he speaks of the absurdity and partiality of the people by whom he was surrounded, and of the trouble and vexation he had had in the new arrangement of officers. He had been obliged to yield to "the humour and whimsies" of his subordinates, or he would have got no army at all. The officers of one Government would not serve in the regiments of another, and every one seemed to claim the right of placing himself where he pleased.*

While the great Virginian thus protected the north, and menaced the British army in the capital of Massachusetts, his native State suffered much from the tyranny of Lord Dunmore. That nobleman sailed about the coasts in a small fleet, by the aid of which he was enabled to inflict vengeance on the towns which lay within his reach. At Norfolk, on the 30th of September, he seized the printing materials of a newspaper belonging to one John Holt, and, together with two compositors, took them on board his vessel, that he might publish a loyal *Gazette* whenever he pleased. Shortly afterwards, the people of Hampton moved his wrath by taking the swivels and other stores from an armed sloop which had been driven on shore, capturing some of



PLAN OF THE ATTACK ON QUEBEC IN 1775. (*From Thayer's "Journal of the Invasion of Canada"*)

A, A, A. American forces under Arnold.
B. Bastion of La Glacière.
C. ,, St. Louis.
D. ,, St. Ursula.
E. Bastion of St. John
F. ,, La Potasse
G. Palace Gate
H Governor's House
K. Lower Town.
L Place where Montgomery began his attack
M. Where Arnold was wounded.
N. American battery.

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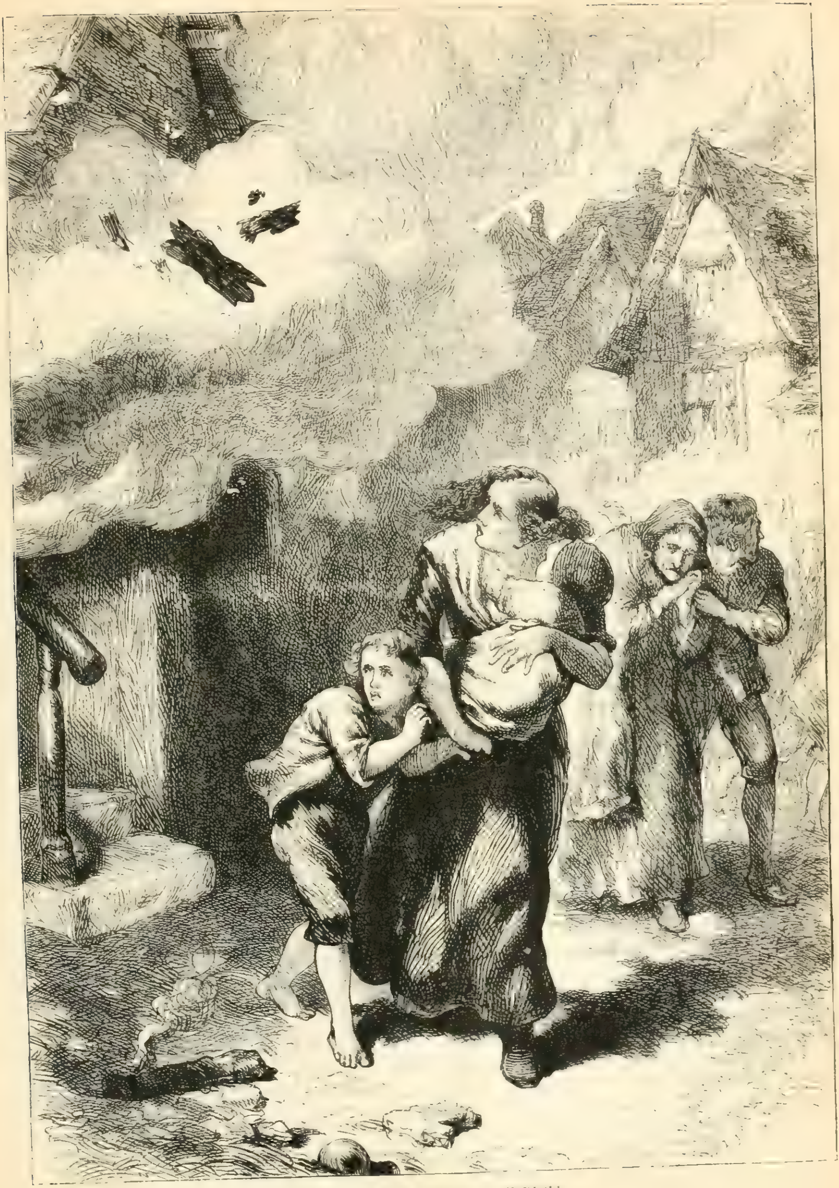
* The Writings of Washington, edited by Jared Sparks Vol III.



INCIDENT IN THE BURNING OF NORFOLK.

the men, and setting the ship on fire. Such an act unquestionably called for punishment; but Dunmore contemplated a degree of punishment which was quite unjustifiable. Not content with blockading the port, he sent some of his tenders into Hampton Roads to destroy the town. The little force, however, was so vigorously received, on two successive days (the 26th and 27th of October), that they were obliged to retire, with the loss of a few of their men, and one of the tenders. In this way did actual hostilities begin in Virginia; and they were soon followed up. On the 14th of November, Dunmore had a skirmish with some militia-men who were lying in ambuscade near the Great Bridge which crosses the river Elizabeth, about ten miles from Norfolk. The provincials were defeated, and fled in panic. The Governor then gave orders for the building of a fort not far from the scene of the encounter, and straightway issued a proclamation, which he had signed on the 7th, and which had for its main object the rousing of the slaves to action on the side of the King. This proclamation established martial law throughout the province; required every person capable of bearing arms to resort to the Royal Standard, under penalty of forfeiture of life and property; and declared freedom to all indented servants and negroes appertaining to rebels, if they would assist in reducing the colony to obedience. The enfranchisement of slaves is in itself an act of humanity and wisdom; but it is always necessary to consider the proper time for so serious a revolution, and the fittest means by which the change can be brought about in a gentle and orderly manner. Dunmore selected an inopportune season, and adopted a method the most likely to excite ferocious passions, and lead to a sanguinary war of races.

The proclamation expressed an actual purpose, not a mere threat. The Governor proceeded to raise various regiments of white and black soldiers, and to the latter he gave the title of "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment." Several of the men whom he thus proposed to arm were Africans, not merely by blood, but also by birth; they might therefore be expected to be animated by savage instincts and barbarian desires. No wonder that the Virginians were enraged and alarmed at a menace which was for them full of nameless horror. They quickened their military preparations at the prospect of danger, and, on the invitation of the Continental Congress, instituted a Government of their own. It was very necessary to take some direct action with regard to the slaves, and this was done by representing to them that it was the English who had forced slavery on the country; that the Virginians had vainly struggled against it and that the existing race of masters had, for the most part, done their utmost to render the condition of the blacks as tolerable as it might be. A promise was held out, not only that no further negroes should be imported, but that those already in bondage should be set free. In a little while, the fears excited by Lord Dunmore's policy calmed down, for it was found that the dreaded consequences did not ensue. The proclamation was not, indeed, entirely a failure, but its effects were unequal to what had been anticipated. Many hundreds, both of blacks and whites, flocked to the standard of the Governor; and several of the loyally-disposed publicly abjured the Congress and its acts, together with all local conventions and committees of an insurrectionary character. But the negroes thus enlisted formed only a small proportion of the whole mass of bondsmen in the province, and their conduct was not marked by that enmity to their masters which was very naturally feared.

Among the whites most eager to show their good inclinations towards the Crown were certain Scotchmen, settled in Virginia, and engaged in mercantile pursuits. These had in August presented a petition to the Virginian Convention, praying that they might not be obliged to bear arms against their countrymen, and promising strict neutrality in case the province should be invaded by British troops. The Convention replied to this petition by recommending the colony in general to treat with kindness all the inhabitants of the country who did not declare themselves enemies of the American cause. But many of the petitioners having shortly afterwards exhibited a decided leaning towards the Royal side, the recommendation in their favour was revoked. These Scotchmen were now embodied as the militia of Norfolk, and were considered to present so formidable a front that the Americans determined to take their place. Accordingly, on the 28th of November, the forces under the command of William Woodford, colonel of the second Virginian regiment, marched to the Great Bridge, and threw up a breastwork opposite the British fort. Some attempts to get to the rear of the King's troops having failed, the two armies continued for several days to confront one another without any active operations. At length, Dunmore, who was in Norfolk at the time, resolved to make an attempt to drive off his antagonists. On the evening of the 8th of December, he sent forward two hundred men, consisting of regular troops, sailors, militia, and negroes. The only approach to the Virginians was over a causeway, terminating in the breastwork which the insurgents had erected ; and along this path, in the early morning of the 9th, the assailants rushed towards the enemy, under the leadership of Captain Fordyce. They were received with so hot a fire that, for an instant, they wavered ; but Fordyce, with splendid daring and self-possession, rallied them and pressed on, when he was struck with numerous rifle-balls, and fell dead at the barricade. The negroes and militia hung back from supporting the regulars, and the latter, after doing the utmost that was possible, retired under cover of the artillery at the fort, after a contest of fourteen minutes, with a loss, in killed and wounded, of more than sixty. These heavy casualties were in part owing to some of the Virginians being posted in a position which enabled them to take the advancing British in flank. The provincials suffered scarcely at all—an immunity for which they had to thank their well-contrived defences. The wounded amongst the English forces were very humanely treated, with the exception of the loyal Americans, who were made to feel the popular anger at what was regarded as their treachery.

On the following night, the Royal troops evacuated the fort, and retreated to Norfolk, where so much consternation prevailed that large numbers of persons, including runaway negroes, forsook the town, and crowded, to the injury of health, on board the vessels in the river Elizabeth. Dunmore was among the first to seek shelter on ship-board from the rage of the insurgents; and the town of Norfolk, thus abandoned by many of its defenders, surrendered on the 14th of December. The Governor sent a flag on shore, to inquire if he and the fleet might be supplied with fresh provisions. The request was refused, and Dunmore, after consulting with the captain of the *Liverpool*, a ship of war then in the river, came to the conclusion—one certainly warranted by the facts—that Norfolk was in actual rebellion. The old year ended in the midst of preparations for a terrible vengeance, and on the 1st of January, 1776, the ships under the orders of Lord Dunmore ranged themselves in front of the town, and began a violent cannonade with sixty pieces of cannon. As night drew on, boats' companies landed from the ships, and spread the flames along the river. The houses were principally built of pine-wood, and the fire spread rapidly. In a *Gazette* which he afterwards issued from his ship, the Governor alleged that it was his intention only to destroy that part of the city which was next the water, but that the rebels themselves completed the destruction of the place by setting fire to the back streets, which, as the wind did not blow that way, would otherwise have escaped. The story seems very improbable, and in any case it is certain that for several hours Lord Dunmore and his officers wreaked their fury on the unfortunate town. The cannonade did not entirely cease until two o'clock on the following morning, and the flames raged for three days, destroying by far the greater part of what until then had been a flourishing seat of trade. During the progress of the bombardment, the British made several attempts to land with cannon, but were always driven back by the Americans. A few persons were wounded in endeavouring to escape through the blazing streets in the midst of a constant shower of balls; but not so many as might have been expected under such disastrous circumstances.

Dunmore himself seems afterwards to have been ashamed of the cruel and wholly unjustifiable act which he had ordered. The statement made in his *Gazette* was evidently intended to mitigate the very general indignation which he knew would be excited against him; but it failed in its effect. The destruction of Norfolk was execrated as a piece of wanton barbarity, and Washington drew from the event a hope that it would render still more determined the resolution of the whole country to dissolve all connection with a people who seemed lost to every sense of virtue, and to those feelings which distinguish the civilised man from the savage. It was very natural on the part of Washington to identify the act of Dunmore with the general policy of England. Falmouth, in Maine, had already been burnt by Lieutenant Mowat, and a rumour had obtained currency that the British Government had given orders for the burning of all towns which could be reached by the navy. But it is now well known that no such orders were issued, and that, as we have already related, Mowat was reproved for his outbreak of ferocity. Dunmore acted on his own sense of what was necessary for the assertion of his power, and must be visited with the whole blame of his angry and brutal mistake. It was not long ere he discovered that, so far from subduing the malcontents, he had made their opposition all the more extreme and bitter; for they soon, by way of retaliation, proceeded to burn the houses and plantations of the loyal. He was at the same time mortified by the utter failure of his projects for raising a force of Indians and backwoodsmen in the western territories. For this purpose he had in the late autumn employed a Pennsylvanian named Connolly, who was to collect a force on the western frontier, to penetrate through Virginia, and to meet the Governor at Alexandria, on the Potomac, in April. Connolly, however, was arrested in Maryland, not long after he had started on his expedition; his papers were seized, and, the plot being thus discovered, nothing further could be done. Disheartened by the collapse of all his schemes, Dunmore now saw that his only chance of safety was in flight. Early in 1776, therefore (having first sent his manumitted slaves to the West Indies), he sailed, with the force under his command, towards the north, where he joined the army under General Howe.

By the 1st of January, 1776, Washington had, by extraordinary exertions, got together a new Continental army in front of Boston—an army of less than ten thousand men, ill-appointed, and not well-disciplined. Like that which it supplanted, it contained some free negroes, though it was not without great trouble that Washington extorted permission to enlist them—so strong was the feeling against these unhappy people entertained by some of the chief assertors of liberty. With the new year an emblematical banner was unfurled over the troops. It displayed thirteen alternate red and white stripes (indicative of the thirteen united colonies), and, in the corner, the red and white crosses of St. George and St. Andrew on a blue ground. The desire for complete independence was expressed with a more undisguised frankness, and Washington openly declared his opinion that it was a necessity of the time. Nothing conduced more to the general acceptance of this view than an essay published at Philadelphia by the Englishman, Thomas Paine. That remarkable writer had derived from his friend and companion, Franklin, or from some natural qualities of his own, aided by study of the best models, the art of clear and forcible statement, and of reasoning such as the most unlettered can understand. He now put into form his ideas of the relation of America to England, and showed the result to Franklin, to Samuel Adams, and to other colonial politicians. Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, gave the treatise the name of "Common Sense," and it was printed by the direction of the Pennsylvanian Legislature, which presented the author with £500 for his performance.

The argument started with the assumption that government by kings had been introduced by heathen nations, in opposition to the will of God, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel. Hereditary succession had aggravated the evil. England, since the Conquest, had had few good monarchs, and many bad ones. Far from preserving nations from civil wars, monarchy was frequently the occasion of those struggles, as the history of England proved. Coming to the more particular features of the case, Paine boldly asserted that the period of debate between England and America had closed, and that arms must now decide the contest. The appeal had been the choice of the King, and the continent had accepted the challenge. Great Britain, said Paine, had only protected America from enemies on her own account. America, he contended, would have flourished as much, and probably more, had no European Power had anything to do with governing her. France and Spain had been the enemies of Americans solely as the subjects of Great Britain; and they would probably never again be the enemies of that people, if the connection were at an end. Paine then went on to argue that Europe, not England, was the parent country of America. The New World had been the asylum of the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe. "Not one-third of the inhabitants, even of this province," continued the writer, "are of English descent. The phrase of 'parent' or 'mother country,' applied to England only, is false, selfish, narrow, and ungenerous; but, admitting that we were all of English descent, Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name." He challenged the warmest advocate of reconciliation to show a single advantage that the continent could reap by being connected with Great Britain. It was the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she could not do while retaining her dependence on England; and the distance of the two countries from one another was a further argument in favour of separation. Following out this train of thought, Paine wrote:—

"It is repugnant to reason and the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose that this continent can long remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain do not think so. The authority of Great Britain, sooner or later, must have an end, and the event cannot be far off. The business of this continent, from its rapid progress to maturity, will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed, with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a Power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us. There is something absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island: in no instance hath Nature made the satellite larger than the primary planet. They belong to different systems; England to Europe, America to itself. Everything short of independence is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time when going a little further would render this continent the glory of the earth. Admitting that matters were now made up, the King will have a negative over the whole legislation of this continent. And he will suffer no law to be made here but such as suits his purpose. We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America as by submitting to laws made for us in England. Reconciliation and ruin are nearly related. The best terms which we can expect to obtain can amount to no more than a guardianship, which can last no longer than till the colonies come of age. Emigrants of property will not come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread. . . . . Nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open and determined declaration for independence. It is unreasonable to suppose that France or Spain will give us assistance, if we mean only to use that assistance for the purpose of repairing the breach. While we profess ourselves the subjects of Britain, we must, in the eyes of foreign nations, be considered as rebels. A manifesto, published and despatched to foreign courts, setting forth the miseries we have endured, and declaring that we had been driven to the necessity of breaking off all connection with her, at the same time assuring all such courts of our desire of entering into trade with them, would produce more good effects to this continent than if a ship were freighted with petitions to Britain."

However disputable some of Paine's arguments may have been, they were admirably calculated to produce a powerful effect in America, and to influence in the desired direction many who might still be inclined, from whatever cause, to hang back. Some, however, were a little alarmed at the boldness of the proposals, and Wilson, of Pennsylvania, moved in Congress for the appointment of a committee, to explain to their constituents and to the world the present intentions of the colonial representatives respecting independence. In opposition to this suggestion, Samuel Adams insisted that Congress had already been explicit enough; but Wilson carried his motion. Samuel Adams and Franklin afterwards consulted privately on the subject, and came to the conclusion that a confederation of some kind, even if only a partial confederation, must be speedily established. Both contemplated the possibility of the New England States forming a separate Government of their own; but opinion was not unanimous even in the north. Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, disavowed any intention of separating from the old country; and the Council of Massachusetts dissented, on the alleged ground of precipitancy, from the determination of the more popular branch of the Legislature to solicit instructions from the several towns on the great question of the day. Maryland, on the 11th of January, passed a vote bearing testimony to the equity of the English constitution, forbidding all military operations except for protection, and instructing their delegates in Congress not to assent to any proposition for independence, foreign alliance, or confederation. In Philadelphia there was talk of commissioners coming from England with full powers for granting measures of redress, restoring the charter of Massachusetts, and arranging matters of taxation.* Franklin endeavoured to hasten the discussion of a plan for a Federation, but could not succeed in fixing a day. Yet military preparations went on with unabated zeal. Congress was timid about taking so extreme a step as a declaration of independence, but was none the less advancing cautiously towards that end.

Revolutionary ideas made great progress in Georgia with the new year. A party of volunteers, raised on the 18th of January, seized Sir James Wright, the liberal and intelligent Governor of the colony, and confined him in his own house. The Royal Government was at once at an end, its officers imprisoned or put to flight. Wright afterwards escaped, and ultimately got to the *Scarborough* man-of-war, where he reported that Georgia was in full insurrection. On the 20th of January, the Virginian Convention gave its opinion in favour of opening the ports of America to all persons willing to trade with them, excepting the people of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies. Its delegates in the General Congress were also instructed to endeavour to get such a measure adopted, as soon as exportation from North America should be allowed. The state of war was perfect; independence was all but complete. The United Colonies wanted but little to convert them into the United States.

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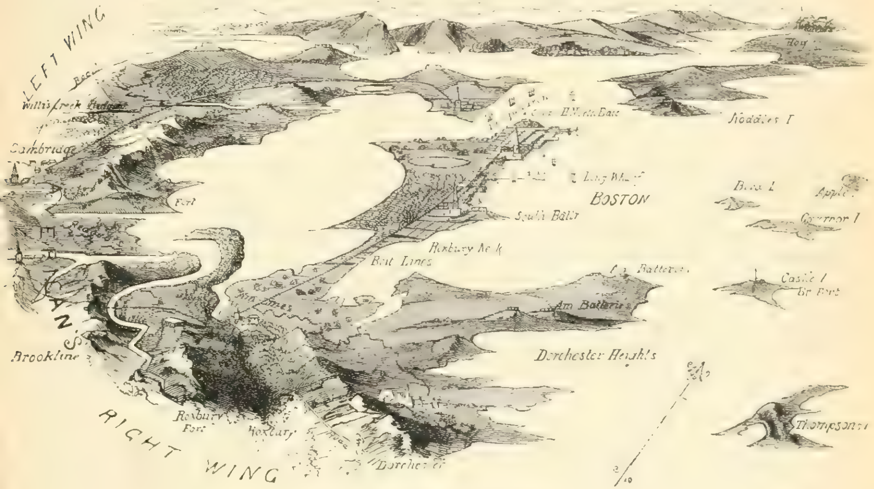
* Bancroft.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Contracts for German Troops—Opinion in the British Parliament—The Highlanders in the Mohawk Valley, and in North Carolina, reduced by the Patriotic Party—Divided State of Opinion in New York—Attempts of Isaac Sears—Disarming of the Royalist Sympathisers—Determination of Washington to send an Expedition into New York Province—Questionable Character of the Act—Arbitrary Conduct of General Lee—Arrival at New York of Lee and of Clinton—Consternation in the City—Construction of Fortifications, and Withdrawal of the English Ships into the Bay—Popularity of Lee—Condition of the English and American Armies in and before Boston—Occupation of Dorchester Heights by Washington, and Erection of a Strong Line of Fortifications—Howe prevented by a Storm from attacking the Position—The Safety of the British imperilled—Evacuation of Boston—Defective State of the Transports—Insufficient Arrangements of Howe—Treatment of Loyal Americans by their Countrymen—Entrance of Washington into Boston—His bad Troops—What he had accomplished—Honours paid to him by the Massachusetts Legislature.

THE German troops, obtained for service in America by the agents of George III., numbered seventeen thousand men. Of these mercenaries, the Landgrave of Hesse furnished twelve thousand, while the Duke of Brunswick and other petty sovereigns supplied five thousand. A more cold-blooded contract was never signed. To England it was discreditable; to the German Powers concerned it was disgraceful. For so much money, a number of rational beings, leaving behind them, in many instances, wives, families, and parents, were driven to the slaughter in a cause which to them had either no interest at all, or an interest the very reverse of what they were sent to support; and this was done simply that a number of disreputable princes might put the price of blood into their pockets. Frederick the Great of Prussia—not a very scrupulous man where anything was to be attained—spoke with just indignation of the abominable traffic; and it is related that, whenever any of these miserable hirelings had occasion to pass through his territory, he levied on them the usual toll for cattle, since, as he observed, they had been sold as such. A similar feeling was entertained by many in England. When the treaties were debated in Parliament, on the 29th of February, 1776, several speakers gave expression, on various grounds, to a sentiment of extreme dissatisfaction at the bargain which had been struck. Some condemned it as scandalously immoral; others as financially extravagant; others again as impolitic, seeing that the American Congress had now been set the example of applying to foreign Powers. It was objected that the King of England had assured the dominions of the contracting rulers against foreign attacks during the period that their troops would be employed in America; and to some of the Opposition it appeared not improbable that the Germans, on arriving in the colonies, would be induced to accept lands, and would then turn their arms against the Government which had engaged them. Despite these criticisms, the treaties were ratified by large majorities in both Houses. In the Commons, a motion put forward by Colonel Barré was carried, for an address to his Majesty to equip the German troops with British manufactures; and, in the Lords, the Duke of Richmond moved an address to countermand all foreign troops, and to forego hostilities—a proposal which was of course negatived. The debate in the Upper Chamber was signalised by a speech from Earl Temple, who, dissenting in this respect from the well-known views of his brother-in-law and former colleague, Lord Chatham, described the conduct of the Opposition as factious, and of a nature to encourage rebellion in America.

Reinforcements of some kind were certainly needed, and Howe looked for them with impatience. He desired to shift his quarters to New York; he wished to send out two expeditions, one for the reduction of the Carolinas, another for the relief of Quebec: but for a long time he could attempt little, owing to want of troops. The insurgents had the country very nearly at their mercy, for there was no British army in the field to oppose them. The New York militia, in the course of January, overpowered the Highlanders of the Mohawk Valley, who had taken up arms on behalf of the Crown. Much was expected from these scattered bodies of Highlanders, but very little was accomplished. Martin, the Governor of North Carolina, endeavoured to raise the Scotchmen of that province, together with certain riotously-disposed men called Regulators, from their attempting to regulate the administration of justice in the remote settlements after a summary fashion of their own; and by the help of this combined force, it was hoped that the country might be re-conquered for the King. But the attempt ended in a damaging failure. At the close of February, the loyal troops, if such they can be called, were dispersed, after a sanguinary fight at a nearly-demolished bridge over Moore's Creek, in which the Americans on the one side, and the Highlanders on the other, behaved with conspicuous gallantry, resolution, and daring. The most numerous supporters of the British connection were still to be found in the province of New York, the eastern counties of which contained a very considerable party opposed to the designs of the revolutionists. The proximity of a powerful fleet gave confidence to the loyal; yet in the capital itself the patriotic leaders made their influence felt, and, while advising a policy of moderation as far as words were concerned, lost no opportunity of collecting warlike stores, and in every way preparing for the day of battle. Ships were despatched to St. Eustatia to purchase powder, and they were not intercepted by the British squadron, the commanders of which seem to have thought it wiser to refrain from active hostilities while there was yet a chance of compromise, and while they were still too weak to undertake any decisive operations.



PLAN OF THE BLOCKADE OF BOSTON.

The doubtful position of New York gave great offence to some eager spirits, one of whom, named Isaac Sears, recruited a party of horsemen in Connecticut, and rifled the office of a printer in the city of New York who was known to be a supporter of Tory views. The act was of course very generally denounced as a gross infringement of provincial rights; and even men who were far from being loyally inclined, condemned such an invasion of one colony by another. Sears then went to the camp at Cambridge, where he represented that New York was in great danger from the Tories, and that Connecticut volunteers were ready to march thither, and disarm all who desired submission to the parent State. Before the design could be carried out, the New York Convention, acting on a similar feeling of what was necessary, had requested the Continental Congress to authorise the colonial committees to deprive of their weapons all who were suspected of favouring the Royal cause. This was done in the final days of January, and those who had given offence, by voting against sending deputies to the New York Congress, were similarly treated, with the entire concurrence of the New York authorities. It is evident from these facts that a good deal of terrorism was brought to bear on the loyal section of the people; that the expression of opinion was not free; and that the right of voting itself could only be exercised on the side of the dominant party of revolutionists. But the matter really went much farther; for, early in January, Sears had persuaded General Lee that the Connecticut men should be despatched to New York, and Lee had gained the consent of Washington to this outrageous piece of interference. Washington, whose own inclinations were not generally of a despotic character, was moved to sanction the scheme, partly by the report that Clinton was about to leave Boston on an expedition against New York, and partly by the arguments of John Adams, who pronounced the suggestions of Sears to be practicable, expedient, and just. Moreover, the American Commander-in-Chief was unaware that measures for effecting the same object had already been adopted, at the instance of New York itself.

Lee was so much in love with the plan that he obtained the conduct of it, and set forth with injunctions from Washington to be ruled in all things by the intentions of Congress, and to communicate with the New York Committee of Safety. To the latter body Washington himself wrote, alleging that the object of General Lee's expedition was "to put the city of New York in the best posture of defence" (against the contemplated attack of the British) "which the season and circumstances would admit of." In his instructions to Lee, however, allusion is also made to the dissentients of Long Island and other parts of the province of New York, who were to be disarmed, and, if necessary, "otherwise secured."* It would seem, therefore, that Washington only partially informed the local Committee of Safety of what he proposed to do, and that the act of political coercion which he contemplated was withheld from their knowledge. As Commander-in-Chief of all the Federal forces, Washington would no doubt have been quite justified in detaching a part of his army for the purely military purpose of defending an important city against the designs of the enemy. But he did more than this. Being unable, as he states in his communication to the Committee of Safety of New York, to spare troops from the camp at Cambridge, he commissioned an officer to raise volunteers in the provinces adjacent to New York; and one duty which these volunteers were to perform was the punishment of certain New York citizens who held obnoxious opinions. It is easy to say that the coercion of these citizens was a necessary part of the military operations, or at least a measure of precaution on military grounds. Excuses may always be made for the most arbitrary proceedings; but an act trenching so seriously on the rights of the individual should have proceeded from some authority within the colony concerned, or from the General Congress, where all the colonies were represented.

Entering Connecticut, Lee obtained the services of two regiments, counting nearly fifteen hundred men. Sears was with him, and he bestowed on this political fanatic the post of Assistant Adjutant-General, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. To the Committee of Safety of New York, Lee sent no communication announcing his approach, though Washington had instructed him to do so. When the fact of his advance at the head of a large body of troops became known to the rulers of the province, they felt highly indignant at an interference which seemed to have no basis of right or of legality. A messenger was despatched to Lee, requesting him not to allow the Connecticut men to pass the frontier until the purpose of their coming should be explained. Lee returned a high-flown answer, in which he declared that, if the English ships of war should make a pretext of his presence to fire upon the town, he would hang a hundred of the Royalist party. It was evident that Lee and the New York authorities would not harmonise, though they professed to be seeking the same ends. Both appealed to the Continental Congress, and that body sent commissioners with powers of direction. These envoys consulted with the New York Committee on the 1st of February, and the local authorities were satisfied with the assurance that the troops would be under the control of Congress. Such was the posture of affairs when, on the 4th of February, Clinton, with his troops, arrived in the harbour, and Lee entered the city. The two opponents were face to face, and New York was to abide the shock.

The city was now occupied by volunteers from Connecticut and New Jersey, and at the same time a transport, with the British soldiers on board, came up to the dock. A panic seized on the people; women and children were removed to a distance, and for some days the roads were covered with waggons conveying household goods. Much distress was occasioned to the poor, and even to the rich, by this flight in the midst of winter; but it was thought better to encounter the hardship of seeking new homes than to brave the risks of a bombardment. There was no disposition at present, however, to push matters to extremes. Clinton declared that his division would not be followed by any more troops, and that he was on his way to North Carolina. Lee was checked in his violent tendencies by the supervision of the commissioners sent by the Continental Congress, and of the New York Committee. Active operations were waived on both sides; but the Americans, under the direction of Lee, constructed a number of fortifications which, it was hoped, would be sufficient to secure the capital from any attack that might ultimately be made. The ships of war removed into the bay, and Lee, gathering increased confidence from his apparent success, recommended a refusal of all terms of accommodation, unless the whole Ministry were condignly punished, and the King beheaded, or at least dethroned. Nothing could have been more idle and empty than such language; but it conspired with his position of seeming superiority at New York to make him for a time the demi-god of the revolutionary party. Washington, Franklin, and John Adams, all wrote to the sometime English officer in terms of the highest praise, importing that it would be a good thing for the country if he could be at New York, at Cambridge, in Canada, and in Virginia, at the same moment. That being impossible, it was at length determined by the General Congress to give him the command of all the Continental forces south of the Potomac. He left New York about the middle of March, after alienating the more moderate by his arbitrary arrests of suspected persons, and by his imposition of a test-oath which constituted a glaring violation of private rights.

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* Writings of Washington, edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. III., pp. 230 – 232.

As winter wore on, the difficulties of Washington increased; for his army was still raw and undisciplined, his resources grew less with the augmenting demands on them, and the distracted counsels of his subordinates were more than ever bewildering and vexatious. He had by this time obtained some guns and a stock of powder, and he would have advanced over the ice to Boston, or would have approached it in boats, if he could have gained the co-operation of his officers, and could have relied on the constancy of his men; but, finding that his project was not supported, he was obliged to content himself with watching the enemy, and maturing plans for the future. The regiments to which he was opposed remained securely behind their entrenchments, wiling away the tedious season by private theatricals, balls, and whatever diversions they could originate in a city which was not remarkable for the means of entertainment. The English commanders were expecting reinforcements, and contemplating a removal to New York when they should have received them. But Washington was resolved to furnish his opponents with employment of a serious character; and he now conceived the design of occupying Dorchester Heights, a line of hills stretching along a peninsula to the south of Boston, the possession of which would give him the command of the city, and to some extent of the harbour. He hoped, moreover, in this way to bring on a general action, by compelling the enemy to attempt his expulsion from a position of so important a nature; and it was part of his design to take advantage of the struggle to cross with a portion of his forces from the Cambridge side of the river Charles, and attack Boston itself. The effectives of the American army in the north now amounted to upwards of fourteen thousand men, reckoning only those who were regarded as regular troops; and, in addition to these, Washington had called into active service about six thousand of the Massachusetts militia. The available forces under Howe could not count as many as eight thousand. They had the advantage over their adversaries in point of discipline, but in some respects were even worse off. Their numbers were being frequently reduced by small-pox; their supplies of food were insufficient, notwithstanding that they had command of the sea; even the sick and wounded were often, from sheer compulsion, left without fresh meat and vegetables; and fuel was so scarce that it was found necessary to pull down houses, that the timber might be used for firing. Boston was literally a trap to the English forces confined there, and Howe was anxious for the moment when he could quit a locality so unpropitious to the commencement of an active campaign, and gain the more loyal province of New York, whence operations could be conducted with a much greater prospect of success.

The execution of his plan was hastened by the movements of Washington. Choosing a day which he considered favourable, by its associations, to the highest development of the patriotic spirit, the American commander determined to commence his proceedings on the 5th of March, the anniversary of what was popularly, but falsely, called "the Boston Massacre." On the nights of March 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, however, he preceded the main attempt by a heavy bombardment of the British lines, intended as a means of diverting attention from his real object. During the last of those nights, under cover of darkness, and of the cannonade which was vigorously kept up from several points, and as warmly replied to by the English, though without any great effect on either side, Washington moved towards the high ground which he proposed to occupy. His dispositions had been made with great skill, and every man beforehand was thoroughly instructed in his work. The troops were accompanied by carts with trenching tools, and bundles of screwed hay were sent over the frozen marshes, to be used in the construction of works of defence in default of earth, which could not be obtained owing to the frozen state of the ground. The unceasing roar of the great guns discharged by both combatants, and the whizzing of shells as they cut their way through the dark and frozen air, effectually drowned the noise of Washington's troops moving from the vicinity of Cambridge to that of Dorchester. This great advantage was obtained at a cost, to the Americans, of two men, and of the bursting of five mortars. Having gained the Heights, the provincials worked with unflinching assiduity under the light of a full moon, and the teams of bullock-waggons went to and fro, bringing up fresh supplies for the works. At three o'clock on the morning of the 5th, the first working party was relieved; and by dawn, when at length the bombardment ceased, a formidable line of fortifications was apparent to the astonished eyes of General Howe and his army. On each of the two hills where Washington had taken his station, strong redoubts had been run up; the foot of the ridge was protected by an abattis of felled trees; and at the top were several barrels filled with earth and stones, which, in case of an attack, were to be rolled down on the advancing lines.

The Americans had worked well, and had erected in a surprisingly short space of time an admirable extemporary defence. But, as magnified by the mists of morning, it looked more serious than it really was, and for a moment something like dismay pervaded the British camp. Howe exclaimed that the besiegers had done more in a night than his men would have accomplished in a month. Yet, although, as we have seen, he was desirous of transferring operations from Boston to New York, he disdained to be hastened in his movements by the manœuvres of rebellious provincials, and therefore resolved, by the advice of a council of war, to attack the enemy at once. Admiral Shuldham, who was in command of the fleet, declared that unless the New Englanders were dislodged he could not keep a ship in the harbour. The case was certainly grave, for Boston could not long remain tenable if the enemy were at liberty to bombard it from so dominant a position. Howe was further encouraged in his determination to assault the lines (hazardous as he confessed the enterprise to be) by the ardour of his troops, who, as their General reports, were eager to try conclusions with a foe they had already vanquished, though with difficulty, on Breed's Hill. Two thousand four hundred men were placed under the direction of Earl Percy, and they entered the boats which were to carry them across the water to the opposite point of land. The Americans, seeing what was designed, were animated with the hope of inflicting a severe defeat on their adversaries. Washington exclaimed to those about him, "Remember the 5th of March! Avenge the death of your brethren!" The cry, however little it may have been warranted by what really occurred on that day six years before, was well calculated to stimulate the zeal and passion of the men; and, had a collision occurred, there would doubtless have been hard fighting. But Percy delayed scaling the heights until nightfall, and in the afternoon a violent storm of wind arose, which, blowing from the south, drove two or three of the vessels on shore, and prevented the contemplated descent, which was to have taken place from Castle William, where Percy's detachment was already drawn up. The storm continued during the night, and, on the morning of the 6th, rain fell in torrents. It was evident that the attempt could not be made, and in the meanwhile the enemy continued to strengthen his works. It was perhaps fortunate that the lines were not attacked, for, on the side which the English forces must have approached, the heights are almost perpendicular. In the course of the 6th, a council of war was held by Howe and his lieutenants, and it was agreed that it was now impossible to expel the Americans from their position, and that the speedy evacuation of Boston had become a necessity. Howe had been indulging an exaggerated confidence in the strength of his position and the weakness of his opponents. Earlier in the winter, he had given assurances to the Ministry in England that he was not in the least apprehensive of any attack from the rebels; and, with culpable remissness, he had neglected to occupy Dorchester Heights, as Gage had neglected to secure those of the Charleston peninsula. In fact, he had actually called the enemy's attention to the Dorchester position by a frivolous demonstration there on the 14th of February, which ended simply in the burning of a few houses. He now found himself out-generalled by an officer whom he probably regarded as a mere amateur in the art of war.

The evacuation did not begin at once, and the interval was of service to the Americans, as enabling them still further to improve their fortifications. On the morning of the 17th of March, it was perceived that a breastwork had been partially constructed during the night on Nook's Hill, a part of the Dorchester range which commands Boston Neck and the southern quarters of the town. Although this was to some extent stopped by the British guns, any further delay would have been highly dangerous, and it was resolved to move as soon as possible. One of the most painful features of this enforced retreat was the necessity of abandoning the loyal population. Nothing could exceed the dismay of those adherents of the Royal cause on finding, after the failure of Percy's enterprise, that they were to be left to the vengeance of their offended countrymen. They were offered a passage to Nova Scotia; but the prospect of exile to such dreary lands seemed to many even more wretched and alarming than the ill-usage of the victorious patriots. There was no time to come to terms with the enemy as to their future condition, and several were left to their fate. It was a difficult matter to move so large a body of troops at so short a notice, for the civil administration of the army had been scandalously neglected. "When the transports came to be examined," wrote one of the British officers, "they were void of both provisions and forage. Never were troops in so disgraceful a situation; and that not in the least our own fault, or owing to any want of skill or discretion in our commanders, but entirely owing to Great Britain being fast asleep." While the preparations for removal were going on, Howe, on the 8th of March, made an informal proposal to Washington, through the select-men of Boston, that the English should be suffered to leave without molestation, on their undertaking to spare the town from injury. As this proposal was not signed with the General's name, Washington declined to reply to it; but the suggestion appears to have established a tacit understanding between the two commanders, and the English forces were allowed to depart without being attacked, though the Americans continued to advance their lines, and to threaten Boston by every means at their disposal.

At four o'clock on the morning of the 18th of March, the British army, accompanied by more than a thousand loyal sympathisers, began to embark, and before ten they were all on board and under way, so great was the despatch. Ere leaving, they had wholly dismantled, and in great part demolished, the fort called Castle William; but, probably owing to want of time, the barracks were left as they stood, with a large quantity of cannon and ammunition, which proved of the greatest service to Washington. What was worse than this, however, was the insufficient provision made by Howe for giving information to ships from England that the town was now in the hands of the rebels. It consequently fell out that several English store-ships, containing munitions of war, sailed into the harbour and were seized by the Americans; and one vessel conveying seven hundred troops shared the same fate. These unfortunate soldiers, who did not submit until after a gallant resistance, were treated with considerable severity. The remaining loyalists of Boston, also, were made to suffer sharply for their devotion to a failing cause. Having been brought to trial, and found guilty, their effects were confiscated; and the estates even of emigrants, who could hardly have been expected to feel that desire for American independence which may have been natural in children of the soil, were seized, and turned to the benefit of the rebellion. The insurrection had triumphed, and was not troubled with many scruples in the exertion of its power.

Immediately after the rear-guard of the British army had quitted Boston, the American vanguard marched in, under command of General Putnam. They found marks of hasty flight everywhere; for the enemy had left behind him, not merely guns and gunpowder, but large quantities of wheat, barley, and oats, a hundred and fifty cavalry horses, and bedding and clothing for soldiers. Washington himself entered Boston on the 19th, and the main body of the army followed on the 20th. Six of his best regiments were at once despatched by the Commander-in-Chief to New York, and preparations were made to repel any possible attack on Boston itself. That such an attack might be attempted was feared for a while in consequence of the British fleet, with the troops on board, remaining ten days in Nantasket Roads. Their real object was simply to complete their preparations for the voyage which lay before them; but this, of course, could not be clearly known to Washington, though it was suspected by many of the Bostonians; and it was therefore wise to take precautions. The General had no great reliance on his troops. "We have a kind of people to deal with," he wrote, referring to his New Englanders, "who will not fear danger till the bayonet is at their breast, and then they are susceptible enough of it."* He consequently fortified Fort Hill, and demolished the lines on Boston Neck, which he found to be a defence only against the country. But his position was still a difficult one in some respects. The short periods of enlistment were the ruin of his army, and a constant source of trouble. Some time before, he had written:—"It takes you two or three months to bring new men acquainted with their duty; it takes a longer time to bring a people of the temper and genius of these into such a subordinate way of thinking as is necessary for a soldier. Before this is accomplished, the time approaches for their dismissal, and you are beginning to make interest for their continuance for another limited period; in the doing of which you are obliged to relax in your discipline, in order, as it were, to curry favour with them. Thus the latter part of your time is employed in undoing what the first was accomplishing." The General had only too many occasions of proving the truth of this; and in March another was at hand. It was now close upon the time when the ten regiments of militia which were brought in to serve until the 1st of April would be disengaged; and,

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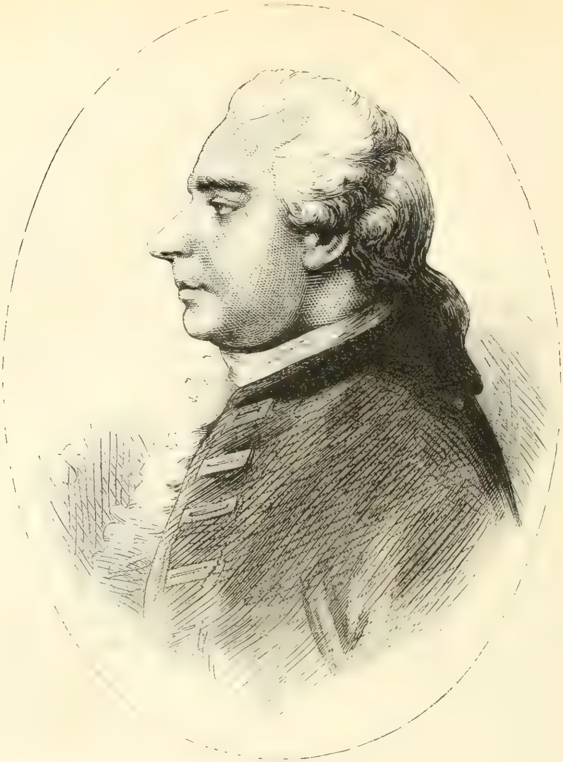
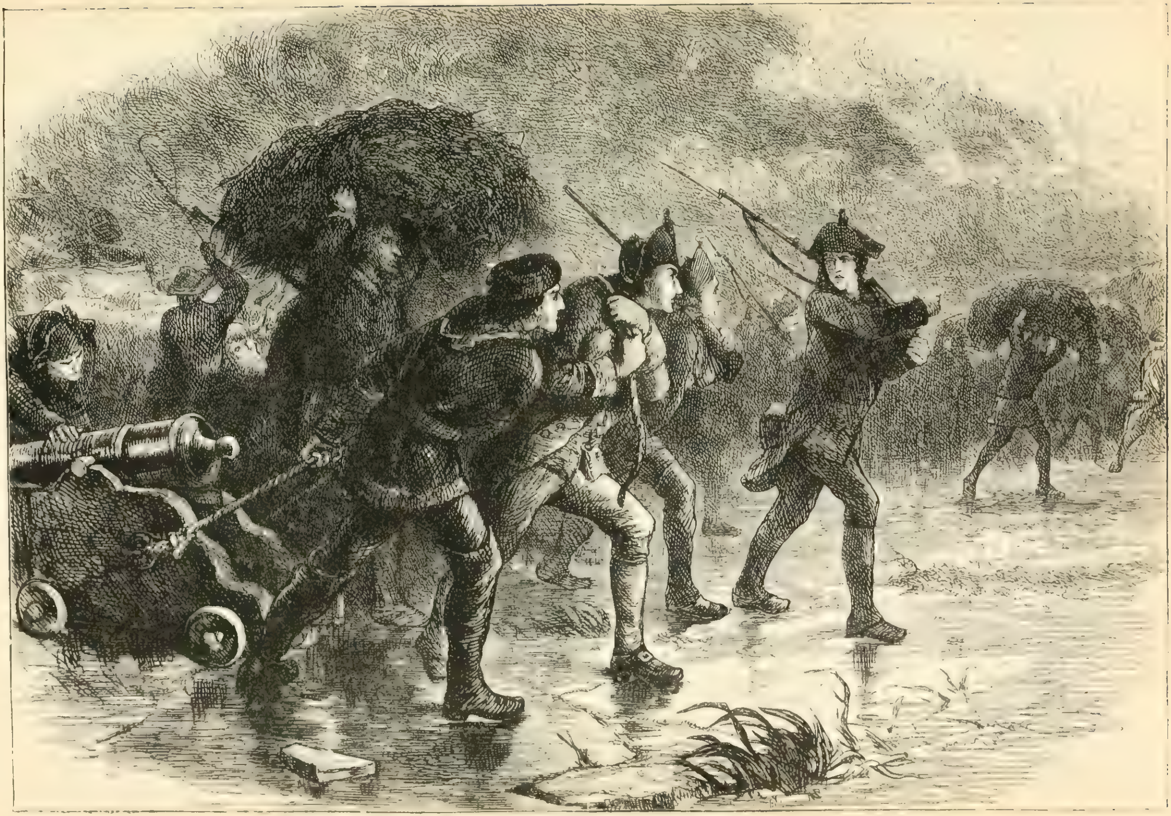
* Washington to Joseph Reed, March 25th, 1776.



SILAS DEANE.

said Washington, writing to Joseph Reed, "from former experience we have found it as practicable to stop a torrent as these people when their time is up." Had the British forces been better handled, it can hardly be doubted, Boston might have been saved.

Washington, however, had done nobly, and the honours he received were not more than his due. That he should have performed so much with such poor materials—that, in the face of the enemy, he should have created something like an army out of a mob of reluctant farmers, and, when that had dispersed, should in a few weeks have raised another—that with these raw levies he should have accomplished a difficult and important strategical movement, and that by such means he should have compelled the evacuation of Boston—were feats of generalship of which any commander might well be proud. The thanks of both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature were voted to this great man, who in his reply gave his soldiers far more credit than he was accustomed to express in private. A commemorative medal in gold and bronze was ordered to be struck, and it was afterwards very beautifully executed in France. Meanwhile, Howe and his discomfited troops resumed their course, and proceeded, not to New York, according to the design of a few weeks earlier, but to the shores of Nova Scotia.



NIGHT MANŒUVRES OF THE AMERICANS AT BOSTON.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Singular Position of America towards Great Britain in the Year 1776—Nominal Loyalty and Real Independence—Opening of Relations with Foreign Powers—State Paper of Vergennes, the French Foreign Minister—Treacherous and Selfish Policy suggested by him—State Paper by Turgot—Liberal Principles contained in it—The Ideas of Vergennes adopted by the King—Secret Aid rendered to America—France and Canada—Silas Deane, Agent of the Americans at Paris—Foreign Champions of the American Cause—Anecdote of Lafayette—Discussion in Congress as to Opening the American Ports—Appointment of Commissioners to Canada—Authorisation of Privateers—Washington's Bad Opinion of Privateersmen—Abolition of the Slave Trade—Evil Results of the System of Short Enlistments—Washington's Report to the President of Congress on that Subject—Dread of a Standing Army—Creation of Military Departments, and Appointment of New Generals of Brigade.

America, in the early months of 1776, stood in a very singular position towards Great Britain. Nominally, the English colonies were still portions of the British Empire. They had not yet denied in terms the sovereignty of George III.; they professed—with what sincerity let the reader himself judge from facts already recorded—to desire a continuance of the old connection with the land from which they had proceeded. A subtle distinction had been set up between the King and his Ministers, but more to save appearances than for any solid reason. It was assumed that the objectionable and tyrannical acts of which the provinces complained were due entirely to the Government and the Parliament; although it was well known that the monarch himself was the most determined assertor of his own prerogatives (real or supposed), and that the majority of the English people were heartily in favour of manifesting with vigour the power of the parent over the child. To keep up this politic pretence of loyalty as long as it was thought desirable to maintain such a pretence at all, the army at Boston was spoken of as the Ministerial, and not the Royal, army; as if the King himself had nothing to do with it, or were being defied by its Generals. Yet, side by side with these verbal assertions of duty, a distinct purpose of independence, to be obtained by martial force, was steadily followed. For many years, the political leaders of America had persistently disobeyed the commands of the English sovereign; they had established a Federal Government which was certainly not warranted by any admitted relation between the colonies and the mother country; they were making open war against the King's forces; and they had even gone to the extent of invading a portion of the British dominions which was known not to sympathise with the revolutionary movement.* While the intention of establishing a separate Government was sedulously denied, preparations for independence were being made with skill and resolution; and now that those preparations were nearly completed, there was every day less disposition to observe the pretences under cover of which they had been pursued.

Nothing evinced the maturity of this determination more than the opening of relations with foreign Powers—relations, it is true, of an informal character, yet pointing in the future to others of a more recognised description. It was especially to France that America looked as her friend and supporter in the struggle for independence; partly because France was one of the chief military nations of Europe—partly because of her hereditary ill-will to England. The French Government, glad of any opportunity to injure a rival, encouraged the aspirations of the Americans, and permitted a number of French officers and engineers to accept commissions in the insurgent army. France, in common with other countries of the European continent, desired to see the English monopoly of American commerce broken up; and the large contraband trade which had recently arisen in consequence of the state of civil war in the western world, was practically effecting that result. The report of Bonvouloir from Philadelphia reached the French Minister, Vergennes, at the commencement of March. Shortly afterwards, Vergennes drew up for the consideration of his Royal master a paper in which he reviewed the chief aspects of the case. Speaking with constant reference to Spain, as well as to France (for the two countries were closely bound together by family ties and by community of objects), the Foreign Minister of Louis XVI. remarked that, although the prolongation of the civil war might be infinitely advantageous to the two Crowns, since it would exhaust both the victors and the vanquished—such was the eighteenth-century conception of the interests of nations—there was also room to fear many untoward events; as, amongst others, the possibility of England, when beaten on the continent of America, seeking indemnity at the expense of France and Spain, and, to conciliate the insurgents, offering them the commerce and supply of the West India Islands. It was also feared that the colonists, on attaining their independence, might become conquerors from necessity, and, by forcing their excess of produce upon Spanish America, might destroy the ties which bound the colonies to their metropolis. The state of the colonies, both of France and Spain, was described as such that, with the exception of Havannah, probably not one was in a condition to resist the smallest part of the forces which England was then sending to America. There was consequently no physical reason why the French and Spanish plantations should not be successfully invaded; and Vergennes had so bad an opinion of English political honour as to feel well convinced that no considerations of public morality, of breach of faith, or of violation of treaties, would deter Great Britain from making such an attack if she found it desirable. Chatham and the other American sympathisers might be called to power; peace might be concluded between the belligerents; and an enormous mass of fighting men might thus be put in motion. Englishmen of all classes, said Vergennes, were persuaded that a popular war against France, or an invasion of Mexico, would terminate, or at least allay, their domestic dissensions, as well as furnish resources for the extinction of their national debt. The French Minister then continued:—

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* Mr. Grahame has remarked on this incongruity in his History (Book XI., chap. 5).

"In the midst of so many perils, the strong love of peace which is the preference of the King, and of the King of Spain, seems to prescribe the most measured course. If the dispositions of these two princes were for war—if they were disposed to follow the impulse of their interests, and perhaps of the justice of their cause, which is the cause of humanity, so often outraged by England—if their military and financial means were in a state of development proportionate to their substantial power—it would, without doubt, be necessary to say to them that Providence has marked out this moment for the humiliation of England, that it has struck her with the blindness which is the surest precursor of destruction, and that it is time to avenge upon her the evils which, since the commencement of the century, she has inflicted on those who have had the misfortune to be her neighbours or her rivals. It would then be necessary not to neglect any of the means suited to render the next campaign as animated as possible, and procure advantages to the Americans; and the degree of passion and exhaustion would determine the moment to strike the decisive blows which would make England step back into the rank of secondary Powers, ravish from her the empire which she claims in the four quarters of the world, and deliver the universe from a greedy tyrant who is bent on absorbing all power and all wealth. But this is not the point of view chosen by the two monarchs; and their part appears, under actual circumstances, to limit itself, with one exception, to a circumspect but active foresight. Care must be taken to avoid being compromised, and not to provoke the ills which it is wished to prevent; yet we must not flatter ourselves that the most absolute and the most rigorous inaction will guarantee us from suspicion. The continuance of the war for at least one year is desirable for the two Crowns. To that end the British Ministry must be maintained in the persuasion that France and Spain are pacific, so that it may not fear to embark in an active and costly campaign; whilst, on the other hand, the courage of the Americans might be kept up by secret favours and vague hopes, which would prevent an accommodation, and assist to develop ideas of independence. The evils which the British will make them suffer will embitter their minds; their passions will be more and more inflamed by the war; and, should the mother-country be victorious, she would for a long time need all her strength to keep down their spirit; so that she would never dare to expose herself to their efforts for the recovery of their liberty in connection with a foreign enemy."*

The true policy of France, continued Vergennes, was to tranquillise the English Ministry as to the intentions of that Power and of Spain. At the same time it would be proper for the two monarchies to extend to the insurgents secret aid in military stores and money; yet it would not comport with the dignity of the King to treat with the insurgents till the liberty of English America had acquired consistence. In other words, it was undignified to recognise the insurgents openly, but not at all so to conspire, by an elaborate system of chicanery and false pretence, against a country with which France was then at peace. The support of the Americans by the French Monarchy, out of no love for the interests of freedom, but from mere hatred of England, is one of the most flagitious facts in history; and never was retribution more amply merited than that which afterwards overtook the Bourbons, partly as the result of their selfish dallying with principles which they blindly encouraged abroad, and as ignorantly attempted to defy or to cajole at home. That the most effective aid to the American cause was contemplated by Vergennes, is proved by the final passages of his report, in which he insisted on the necessity of at once raising the effective force of the two countries (France and Spain) to the height of their real power, as it was most improbable that peace would be preserved, whatever the issue of the war between England and her colonies.

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* Bancroft.

The sentiment of jealousy as regarded England which animated the whole of this State paper, was undoubtedly the prevalent feeling in France, and that which ultimately determined the Government to render military aid to the American insurgents. To accomplish the downfall of English power, Vergennes was willing that his sovereign and his nation should follow a course of deliberate duplicity, and, while adopting a manner of perfect friendliness towards the Cabinet of St. James's, was prepared to aid the Americans in underhand ways until the fitting time had arrived for throwing off the mask. Such, however, were not the views of his colleague, the great Liberal statesman, Turgot, at that time Minister of Finance. Louis XVI. directed Vergennes to communicate his memorial to Turgot, and the written opinion of the latter was required. After three weeks' deliberation, Turgot sent in a paper, the upshot of which was in direct antagonism to that of Vergennes. The Finance Minister saw with clearness the folly and futility of that restrictive policy in commerce which had prevailed for two centuries. An entire freedom of trade was what he desired to establish. "The yearly cost of colonies in peace, the enormous expenditure for their defence in war," reasoned Turgot, "lead to the conclusion that it is more advantageous for us to grant them entire independence, without waiting for the moment when events will compel us to give them up. . Wise and happy will be that nation which shall first know how to bend to the new circumstances, and consent to see in its colonies allies and not subjects. When the total separation of America shall have healed the European nations of the jealousy of commerce, there will exist among men one great cause of war the less. In our colonies we shall save many millions ; and, if we acquire the liberty of commerce and navigation with all the northern continent, we shall be amply compensated." Yet Turgot was far from advocating a policy of treacherous opposition to England. To aid the Americans with money, he remarked, would excite in the English just complaints. France should limit herself to measures of caution, and precipitate nothing unless the conduct of England should give occasion to believe that she contemplated hostilities. Every plan of aggression should be rejected, for moral reasons, and from motives of policy. It was clear, in the estimation of Turgot, that the English Ministry did not desire war, nor was either France or Spain in a fit position to draw the sword. As regarded his own country, the Minister of Finance described the army and navy as in a state of weakness that was scarcely to be imagined.

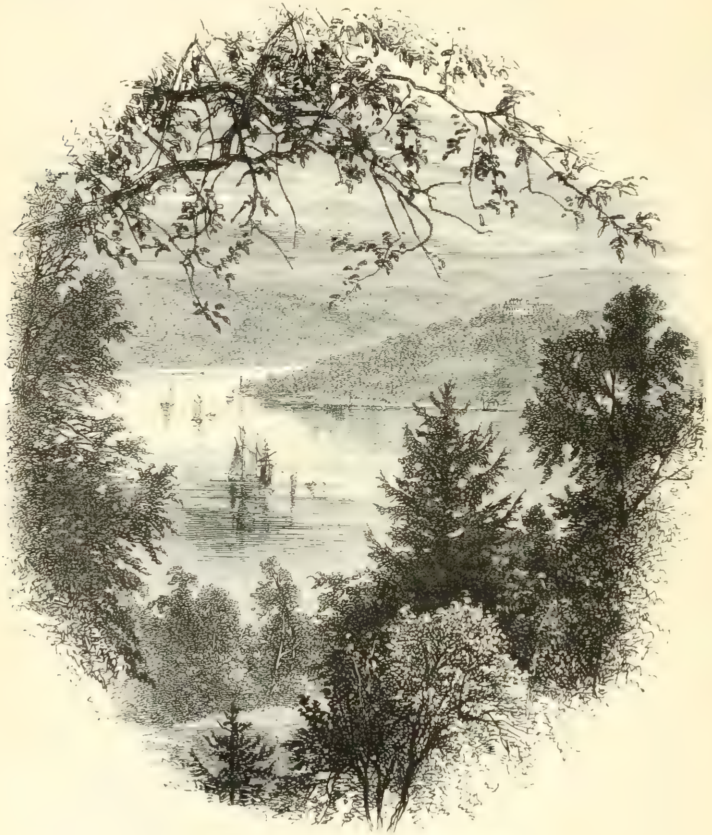
As might be anticipated, the advice of Vergennes, rather than that of Turgot, was adopted by the French King and his Cabinet. France and Spain agreed, in the course of May, to advance the Americans a sum of money which amounted to nearly a million of dollars. The Spanish portion was remitted to Paris, and the money was sent by the French Government under the name of a pretended commercial house which was for that purpose established in Holland, and through which military stores were conveyed to America in the guise of mercantile consignments. In the progress of subsequent negotiations, the Americans endeavoured to propitiate the friendship of France by proposing to her an advantageous commercial treaty and the reconquest of Canada. They had even the bad taste and self-stultification to suggest that the time had arrived for France "to obtain satisfaction from Great Britain for the injuries received in the last war, commenced by that nation in a manner contrary to the law of nations." It is sufficient to glance back at the repeated solicitations for the conquest of Canada which the colonies addressed to the English Government during a long series of years, to see how little reason the Americans of 1776 had to taunt the mother country with the conquest of Canada, or to require the sympathy of France on the score of denouncing that act. This attempt to obtain favour at the Court of Versailles was, however, as ill-judged as it was dishonest. France no longer desired the re-possession of Canada, as its seizure by England had dispelled the chief motive of the colonists for wishing to preserve their connection with the parent State, and had thrown them more towards the side of France as their ally and patron. The Marquis de Montcalm, in the closing days of his life, when it was evident that the whole of that great province would be reduced by the armies of Amherst and Wolfe, had prophesied that France would obtain a speedy compensation for her loss in the independence of the Anglo-American colonies, which, being delivered from the fear of French rivalry, and having no longer any motive for seeking the military protection of Great Britain, would soon think of emancipating themselves from every form of subjection.

The same idea had occurred to other observers at a still earlier period; and it is not improbable that the colonists themselves had the conception of future independence in their minds when they urged on the Home Government the subjugation of their northern neighbour.

The leaning towards France was now so great that some members of the Continental Congress proposed to transfer to the French ports that monopoly of American commerce which had previously been enjoyed by England. The suggestion was not entertained, but it showed how strong was the disposition in certain quarters to abandon principles for the sake of temporary advantage. America was at this time represented in France by Silas Deane, of Connecticut, who was occasionally assisted by Arthur Lee, an American residing in London, on his flying visits to Paris. Deane was not a man to let niceties of conscience stand in his way. By his instructions, which bear date March 3rd, 1776, he was directed to inform the Count de Vergennes "that if we shall, as there is great appearance we shall, come to a total separation from Great Britain, France would be looked upon as the Power whose friendship it would be fittest for us to obtain and cultivate;" and he was to make a request for clothing and arms for twenty-five thousand men, a hundred field-pieces, and a corresponding quantity of ammunition. Following out this general idea, Deane omitted no opportunity of advancing the interests of his countrymen, and the French Government evinced every disposition to further his views. The intercourse of France with the American insurgents could not be altogether concealed, and Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador at Paris, complained of the transmission of military stores to America—a fact which he had discovered by means of his spies. Vergennes utterly denied any knowledge of such doings, and even threw his own agents into prison. The underhand business, however, went on all the same, and, as the year advanced, the financial and military position of the colonies was greatly improved, owing to the aid which had been rendered by the Ministers of Louis XVI. But it was not only in France that assistance was obtained. A fervour of revolutionary sympathy was kindled in many parts of Europe by the example of America. German officers, of long experience in the art of war, proceeded to the New World, to join the patriotic army. Polish noblemen became nascent Republicans in the militant colonies of England, and the illustrious names of Kosciusko and Pulaski figure among the foreign champions of American freedom. Pulaski had been one of the conspirators who, in 1771, seized and carried off Stanislaus, King of Poland. His life was a series of daring adventures, and it was destined to close in blood on one of the battle-fields of the West.

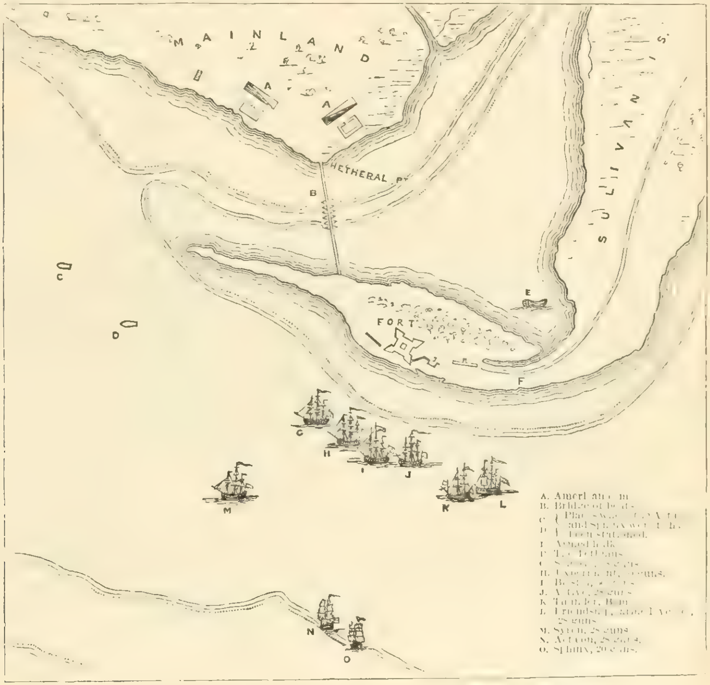
Base as were the motives of the French Court in aiding the Anglo-American insurgents, we must not suppose that all Frenchmen who joined their fortunes to those of the rebels were animated by a feeling of mean jealousy, or a desire to avenge old wrongs. It is unquestionable that several obeyed impulses of a noble and generous character, and risked their lives in a cause which they believed to be that of humanity itself. This was especially the case with the illustrious Marquis de Lafayette. His connection with America originated in a circumstance which occurred in the early part of 1776. He was then in the nineteenth year of his age, and was in garrison with his regiment at Metz, where the Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III., was paying a visit. The Duke had offended the King by marrying the Countess Dowager Waldegrave, natural daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, and, being discountenanced at court in consequence of this presumed degradation, had been driven into political opposition, and was fond of displaying opinions which had in them no slight tinge of democratic freedom. One day, when he had accepted an invitation to dine with the French officers, he spoke with great fervour on English tyranny in America, and on the gallant resistance of the colonists, and in this way aroused in Lafayette an ardent desire to give his personal services to a cause which seemed so just and admirable. Fifty-three years afterwards, this anecdote was related by Lafayette himself to Mr. James Grahame, to whose work on the history of the United States of North America we have had frequent occasion to refer.

The commercial policy which Turgot advocated—that of opening the ports of America to the trade of the whole world—was debated in the Continental Congress on the 16th of February. This idea had long been present to the minds of leading American statesmen; but it had hitherto been suppressed, for fear of arousing in too high a degree the jealous wrath of England. It was now suggested by many that the time had come when it would be both right and expedient to establish the great principle of commercial freedom. A member of the Congress, named Wythe, argued that they might authorise vessels to arm, might grant letters of marque and reprisal, and might invite foreign Powers to make treaties of commerce; but that, before such measures were adopted, it would be well to consider in what character they were to treat—whether as subjects of Great Britain, or as rebels. The conclusion at which he arrived was that they must declare themselves a free people. Accordingly he moved a resolution affirming that the colonies had a right to contract alliances with foreign Powers. The question whether this resolution should be considered was decided in the affirmative by seven colonies against five; but the final decision of the matter was postponed for several weeks. In the meanwhile, the sentiment of independence, and the desire to avow it openly, gathered force, and, though the opposition was still considerable, its tendency was progressively to grow weaker, and to give way before the compact and energetic assaults of the party pledged to separation. On the 6th of April, it was resolved that the commerce of the thirteen United Colonies should be thrown open to all nations, excepting the subjects of Great Britain. Henceforth there were to be no customs-houses; exports and imports were to be alike free from all restrictions and from all taxation.



WEST POINT, ON THE HUDSON, NEW YORK.

The decision was preceded by other acts pointing to the speedy assumption of a distinct national existence. Commissioners were appointed to go to Canada, and in their instructions was the sentence—"You are to declare that it is our inclination that the people of Canada may set up such a form of government as will be most likely, in their judgment, to produce their happiness." This was opposed by the more moderate or the more timorous members of the Congress; but, after a long and animated debate, the sentence was adopted. On the 18th of March, privateers were authorised to cruise against ships and their cargoes belonging to any native of Great Britain. The people of Ireland and the West Indies, whom it was hoped to propitiate, and to win over to the American cause, were excepted from the operation of this arrangement. The resolve, like others of that date, was not arrived at without a good deal of dissent. Many still clung to the hope that a change of Government in England would lead to a reversal of the policy that had prevailed for several years; that Chatham and Rockingham would be called to power, and that the chief demands of the colonists would be granted. But Chatham was by this time broken in health, and Rockingham was not sufficiently powerful to supplant Lord North. Besides, the opinion of the majority in Congress was now clearly against any compromise with the mother country. The desire for the redress of grievances had with them long passed into the ambition of founding a Commonwealth which should be to the New World what the greatest monarchies were, or ever had been, to the Old; which should be their rival in power, and should illustrate, with the force and fervency of youth, the rising doctrine of the Rights of Man. The Pennsylvanian and Maryland delegates voted against the granting of authority to privateers; some of the colonies were not sufficiently represented to give their voices; but the unanimous suffrages of the New England provinces, of New York, Virginia, and North Carolina, carried the point. Privateering was sanctioned by the Colonial Parliament; but, as a matter of fact, it had existed for some time, and the army before Boston had been in part supplied with munitions of war through the capture of British vessels by the enterprise of Americans. Notwithstanding this service, however, Washington was far from satisfied with the conduct of these roving combatants. Writing on the 20th of No-


MAINLAND
A
A
HETHERAL PT
B
C
D
FORT
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
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N
O
A. American camp
B. Bridge of boats
C, D. Places where the Actæon and Sphinx went ashore; Actæon [illegible] stranded.
E. Armed hulk
F. [illegible]
G. Solebay, 28 guns.
H. Experiment, 50 guns.
I. Bristol, 50 guns.
J. Active, 28 guns.
K. Thunder, Bomb.
L. Friendship, armed vessel, 28 guns.
M. Syren, 28 guns.
N. Actæon, 28 guns.
O. Sphinx, 20 guns.

PLAN OF ATTACK ON SULLIVAN'S ISLAND. (*From Faden's Atlas.*)

vember, 1775, to Joseph Reed, he said:—"Our rascally privateersmen go on at the old rate—mutinying if they cannot do as they please." But Washington was not prone to overlook defects, or indulge in wild bursts of premature congratulation.

The King was now described, in resolutions of Congress, as having "rejected their petitions with scorn and contempt"—an expression which was held to imply a renunciation of allegiance to the throne, but which was adopted, despite the objections of several delegates. As a concession to humanity, it was resolved, without any qualifications whatever, or any limitations as to time, that no slaves should be imported into the United Colonies. This vote was the more important as it was generally believed that the prohibition of the slave-trade would lead to universal emancipation. How these benevolent forecasts came to be falsified will appear in the further course of this History. It was even suggested by a kindly-natured divine of Rhode Island, named Samuel Hopkins, that public provision should be made for retransporting the negroes to Africa, where he thought they would be able to live better than in any other country; but this rather Utopian idea met with no favour. Questions of abstract right were compelled to give way to considerations of more immediate importance. Of these the most urgent was the condition of the army. Since he had assumed the command, Washington had had frequent occasion to observe the very serious evils which resulted from the system of short enlistments; and on the 9th of February, 1776, he wrote to the President of Congress:—

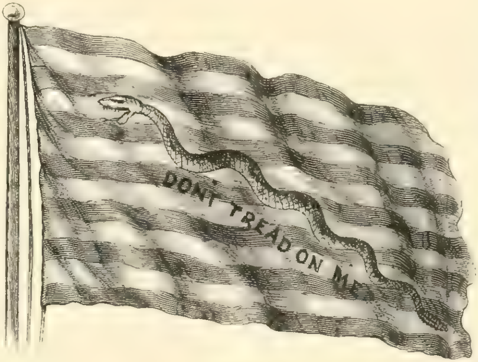
"Since the 1st of December, I have been devising every means in my power to secure these encampments; and though I am sensible that we never have, since that period, been able to act upon the offensive, and at times not in a condition to defend, yet the cost of marching home one set of men, bringing in another, the havoc and waste occasioned by the first, the repairs necessary for the second, with a thousand incidental charges and inconveniences which have arisen, and which it is scarce possible either to recollect or describe, amount to near as much as the keeping up a respectable body of troops the whole time, ready for any emergency, would have done. To this may be added, that you never can have a well-disciplined army. To bring men to be well-acquainted with the duties of a soldier, requires time. To bring them under proper discipline and subordination, not only requires time, but is a work of great difficulty, and, in this army, where there is so little distinction between the officers and soldiers, is to expect what never did and perhaps never will happen. Men who are familiarised to danger, meet it without shrinking; whereas troops unused to service often apprehend danger where no danger is."

Nothing could be more sensible than the suggestions of Washington; but they were defeated by the hereditary English dread of standing armies, which had been intensified in America to the very highest degree. It was feared that enlistment for a long period would lead to a state of slavery; and the representations of Washington were for the present disregarded. Yet in some respects it was acknowledged that the belligerent position of the country was not what it should be. Accordingly, the five middle colonies, from New York to Maryland, were constituted one military department, and the four south of the Potomac another. The north was already sufficiently provided for. Six new Generals of Brigade were appointed on the 1st of March, and a large addition to the paper currency was ordered. Thus did the United Colonies prepare themselves for a future of doubt and peril.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Development of Opinion in Pennsylvania—Decline of Loyal Principles, and Accession of Strength to the Separatists—Arguments of Samuel Adams in Favour of Independence—Preparations for Resistance in South Carolina—A Constitution established in that Province—Address of John Rutledge, the President, to the Legislative Bodies—North Carolina declares in Favour of Separation from England—Chief Justice Drayton, of South Carolina, pronounces the Deposition of the King—Similar Course taken by Rhode Island—Proceedings of General Lee in Virginia and Maryland—Plan for the Subjugation of the South by an Expedition under General Clinton—Sailing of Reinforcements under Lord Cornwallis—Further Approaches by Congress towards a Declaration of Independence—Ideas of John Adams—Protest of Duane—Principles of the American Revolution, and what they have done for Humanity—Final Meeting of the House of Burgesses of Virginia—Meeting of the Provincial Convention—The Virginian Declaration of Rights—Hesitation of Pennsylvania—Richard Henry Lee's Resolutions in Congress in Favour of Independence.

INDEPENDENCE was close at hand; but a further period of doubt, of hesitation, and of distracted counsels, had yet to be passed through. During the debate on the proposal to authorise privateering, Franklin had openly avowed his opinion that the measure ought to be preceded by a declaration of war against Great Britain as a foreign Power. But to the majority this seemed to be moving too fast, though only a small number of enthusiasts continued to believe in the possibility of the old political conditions being restored. Even in Pennsylvania, the loyal party lost ground, and the revolutionists experienced a continual accession of strength. The committee of correspondence of Philadelphia resolved, on the 28th of February, to call a convention of the people. Joseph Reed, the chairman of that committee, a man of temperate views, and of undoubted probity—a great friend of Washington, who addressed to him several letters from the camp which are now historical—entirely disapproved of the resort to a popular convention; but the proposal was carried against him. To Reed, patriot though he was, it seemed that the welfare of America would be best promoted by a condition of dependence, and by the preservation of the proprietary Government of Pennsylvania. This had been the prevalent feeling of that province until recently; but events were rapidly carrying the great mass of the people on to different political grounds, and the Pennsylvanian Assembly was obliged to move with them. It was resolved to enlarge the representation of the colony by the addition of seventeen new members, and to raise three battalions; but the proposal to give the delegates in Congress fresh instructions of a more revolutionary character was rejected. The talk about English commissioners speedily arriving with terms of accommodation continued to perplex the minds of men in all the colonies; but there were those who protested against waiting for such an uncertainty. Samuel Adams, in particular, denounced the policy of delay. "Is not America," he asked in Congress, "already independent? Why not, then, declare it?" No foreign Power, he argued, could consistently yield comfort to rebels, or enter into any kind of treaty with the insurgent colonies, until they had separated themselves from Great Britain. Others thought that an alliance with the King of France should precede any declaration of that nature; but, allowing for minor divergencies, the main set of the stream was towards a final breach with England. It was with perfect truth that Samuel Adams spoke of America as practically independent. To throw off its allegiance in terms was the most honest, and probably by this time the most politic, course which the colonists could pursue.



RATTLESNAKE FLAG.

The southern colonies were perhaps even more extreme than the northern—certainly more so than the middle settlements. Gadsden, of South Carolina, presented the Colonial Assembly, on the 10th of February, with the flag of the American navy, representing a rattle-snake of thirteen rattles, with the motto, "Don't tread on me;" and two days later he addressed the House in favour of the absolute independence of the Federation. Measures of defence were adopted, and William Moultrie, a colonel in the local forces, was ordered to take measures for securing Sullivan's Island, a desert spot, covered with trees and semi-tropical vegetation. Here he was to build a fort large enough to hold a garrison of a thousand men, and a fresh issue of paper money was authorised, to meet the charges of these and other matters. On the 21st of March, the Provincial Congress established a constitution for South Carolina, and, under this constitution, John Rutledge was chosen President, Henry Laurens Vice-President, and William Henry Drayton Chief Justice. The two legislative bodies created by the new political arrangement addressed the President early in April, pledging their lives and fortunes to support him in his office, and to vindicate the rights and liberties of the country. The session closed on the 11th of April, on which occasion Rutledge delivered an address calculated to stimulate to a yet higher degree the sentiment of Republican freedom.

He begged the several members to disseminate in their respective parishes and districts a full knowledge of the matters in dispute between Great Britain and America. They were exhorted to relate to the constituencies, in view of the election which was to take place in the following October, the various unjust and cruel statutes which the British Parliament had enacted, and the sanguinary measures by which an unlimited and destructive claim had been enforced. "Show your constituents," continued Rutledge, "the indispensable necessity which there was for establishing some mode of government in this colony; the benefits of that which a full and free representation has established, and that the consent of the people is the origin, and their happiness the end, of government. Let it be known that this constitution is but temporary, till an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America can be obtained, and that such an event is still desired. Disdaining private interest and present emolument, when placed in competition with the liberties of millions, and seeing no alternative but unconditional submission, or a defence becoming men born to freedom, no man who is worthy ot life, liberty, or property, will hesitate about the choice. Although superior force may lay waste our towns and ravage our country, it can never eradicate from the breasts of free men those principles which are ingrafted in their very nature. Such men will do their duty, neither knowing nor regarding consequences; but trusting that the Almighty arm, which has been so signally stretched out for our defence, will deliver them in a righteous cause." It is curious to observe in this address an anticipation of several of the accepted phrases of modern Radicalism.

North Carolina went even farther than its southern neighbour. The Provincial Congress met at Halifax on the 4th of April, and on the 8th appointed a select committee, under the direction of Cornelius Harnett, to consider the usurpations and violences of the British Parliament and King. Four days later, on the report of this committee being read, the members of the full body unanimously empowered their delegates in the Continental Congress to concur with the representatives of other colonies in declaring independence and forming foreign alliances. This was combined with a reservation of the individual rights of North Carolina to form its own constitution and laws. The instructions thus given to the Federal delegates of North Carolina contained the first direct sanction of any American representative body to the principle of independence; but South Carolina did not lag far behind. On the 23rd of April, the courts of justice were opened at Charleston, when Chief Justice Drayton, in charging the grand jury, used these memorable words:—"The law of the land authorises me to declare, and it is my duty to declare, that George III., King of Great Britain, has abdicated the government—that he has no authority over us, and that we owe no obedience to him. It has been the policy of the British authority to cramp and confine our trade so as to be subservient to their commerce, our real interest being ever out of the question. The new constitution is wisely adapted to enable us to trade with foreign nations, and thereby to supply our wants at the cheapest markets in the universe; to extend our trade infinitely beyond what has ever been known; to encourage manufactures among us, and to promote the happiness of the people, from among whom, by virtue and merit, the poorest man may arrive at the highest dignity. Oh, Carolinians! happy would you be under this new constitution, if you knew your happy state. True reconcilement never can exist between Great Britain and America, the latter being in subjection to the former. The Almighty created America to be independent of Britain. To refuse our labours in this divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious, and a happy people."

A similar step to that of South Carolina was taken by the General Assembly of Rhode Island on the 4th of May, when an act was passed discharging the inhabitants of the colony from allegiance to the King. It is remarkable that, while the vote on this subject was carried unanimously in the Upper House, there were six dissentients in the more popular body, the House of Deputies, where, however, a majority of fifty-four declared for entire separation from the parent land. The delegates in Congress were authorised to vote in favour of entering into treaties of defence and alliance with any Prince, State, or Potentate. These local declarations of independence prepared the way for the great act which followed two months later, and which pledged the whole Federation to the most extreme form of defiance. In the meanwhile they gave additional importance to the military movements which were going on in many quarters. General Lee had by this time arrived in Virginia, where, as in New York, he soon gave offence by his peremptory and arrogant ways. Having reason to suspect that Eden, the Governor of Maryland, was conspiring with Dunmore, the expelled ruler of Virginia, he directed one of the Baltimore committee to seize the former without delay. As Maryland was not within Lee's district, this conduct excited great indignation in the province affected; and even after the arrest of Eden had been ordered by the Continental Congress, the authorities of Maryland suffered their Governor to remain at liberty on his parole. In Virginia itself, Lee was regarded with distrust on political grounds, though his reputation as an officer caused him to be received with respect, and obeyed with alacrity.

Washington and his forces were now at New York, and Howe, with his discomfited army, was at Halifax in Nova Scotia. The latter was awaiting reinforcements, and settling the details of a plan for the subjugation of the southern colonies which is said to have originated in suggestions of the King himself. The expedition was to be under the command of Clinton; but the general instructions from England were not received at Halifax until May. The commander, on arriving at the scene of action, was to issue a proclamation of pardon to all but the principal instigators and abettors of the rebellion, to dissolve the Provincial Congresses and Committees of Safety, to restore the regular administration of justice, and to arrest the persons and destroy the property of all who should refuse to give satisfactory tests of their obedience. His operations were to include North and South Carolina and Virginia, and he was in particular to reduce Charleston, as a prelude to the fall of Savannah. The squadron which was to convey the reinforcements was placed under the command of Sir Peter Parker, a gallant seaman of the old school. It was not until February that the ships, with their accompanying transports, left Cork harbour; and the passage was made unusually long by storms and adverse gales, so that the 3rd of May had arrived ere the main body had reached the entrance to Cape Fear River. The delay was unfortunate, for it had allowed the insurgents to get forward with their preparations. The works erected on Sullivan's Island, however, were as yet incomplete; and to Clinton and Parker it seemed desirable to attempt the reduction of the fortress by a sudden attack. A command in this expedition was assigned to Lord Cornwallis, subsequently one of the most conspicuous figures in the War of Independence, and in still later years a highly successful General in India. The first performance of this officer, who had come out with the reinforcements, was not very creditable. He landed in Brunswick County, North Carolina, and, with a slight loss, burned and ravaged the plantation of the insurgent Brigadier, Robert Howe. The house of Hooper, a delegate in the Continental Congress, was destroyed by another party, and Clinton issued a proclamation calling on the people to "appease the vengeance of an incensed nation," and offering pardon to all those who would submit, excepting Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett.

At this very time, Congress was taking still further steps for ensuring the completeness of the national life. It decided to sanction no measures for the reception of the Royal Commissioners until previous application should be made. It determined to issue ten millions of dollars in bills of credit for defraying the expenses of the war during the current year; and it took into consideration the suggestions of John Adams for authorising any one of the United Colonies which was as yet unprovided with a sufficient Government to create a constitution for itself. The proposal, originally put forth a year before, was debated for two days, and met with considerable opposition. On the 10th of May, however, it was adopted, and, a few days later, the report of those who were charged with the preparation of the preamble was presented to the Federal body. This document, after reciting the wrongs inflicted on America by the English monarch, declared that it was "absolutely irreconcilable with reason and good conscience for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the Crown of Great Britain, and that it was necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the Crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of the colonies for the preservation of their peace, and their defence against their enemies." It was impossible not to perceive that these words were tantamount to a complete declaration of independence, and that they also tended to the destruction of the proprietary Governments, by proscribing those oaths of allegiance which, as in the case of Pennsylvania, were taken by members of the Assembly.* Some members of Congress objected to assuming so very decided a position; though, after all that had been sanctioned, it appears futile to have hesitated about going a step further. Nevertheless, there was some pertinence in the remark of Duane, the representative of New York, who observed that, before changing the government of the colonies, the people should be consulted, as they ought rather to be followed than driven on. The powers conferred on him by the province he represented did not go so far as the preamble to the resolution would pledge all the colonies, if it were carried. Another representative of New York took an exactly opposite view; but the delegates of Pennsylvania and Maryland declined to vote on so grave a question, without further instructions, and it was asked whether they ought to pull down their old house before they had built a new one. The majority, however, adopted the preamble, and ordered it to be published.

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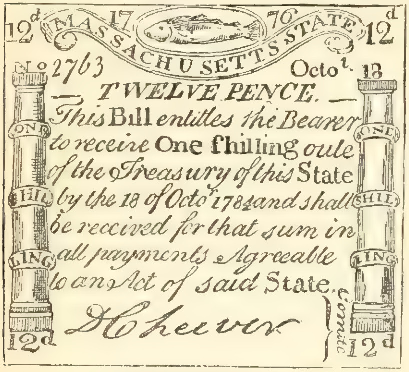
* Bancroft.

John Adams was the author of this most important measure, and in his musings he settled all the main principles on which a Republic should be founded. He was one of the greatest of that great band of political speculators and doers—one of the leading and shaping minds of the American revolutionary period; yet, like other illustrious men, he was not devoid of inconsistencies in the pursuit of his unalterable purpose. He declared, and with absolute truth and reason, that the only proper foundation of government is in the consent of the governed; but it cannot be said that he took any steps towards consulting the people on the question which his resolution raised. The objection of Duane was more truly democratic than the proposal of Adams. The suggested change ought to have been referred back to the several provinces ere it was determined by the Federal Assembly, for no such question was unequivocally before the local Parliaments at the time the delegates to Congress were furnished with their instructions, however strong the indications that such was the drift of opinion in certain quarters. One might even go farther, and say that the people themselves should have been asked for a direct vote on a matter so important. But, if that was impossible, owing to the state of the country, some recognition should have been made of the Provincial Legislatures whereof Congress was only the child. This, however, was not done, and the conduct of the Federal Assembly was therefore akin to that of French Legislative Chambers, which, elected only for temporary purposes after a revolution, take upon themselves constituent powers, and, in the name of the people, usurp the popular prerogative.



12d MASSACHUSETTS STATE 1776 12d

No 2763 Octo. 18

TWELVE PENCE.

This Bill entitles the Bearer to receive One shilling oute of the Treasury of this State by the 18 of Octo 1784 and shall be received for that sum in all payments Agreeable to an Act of said State.

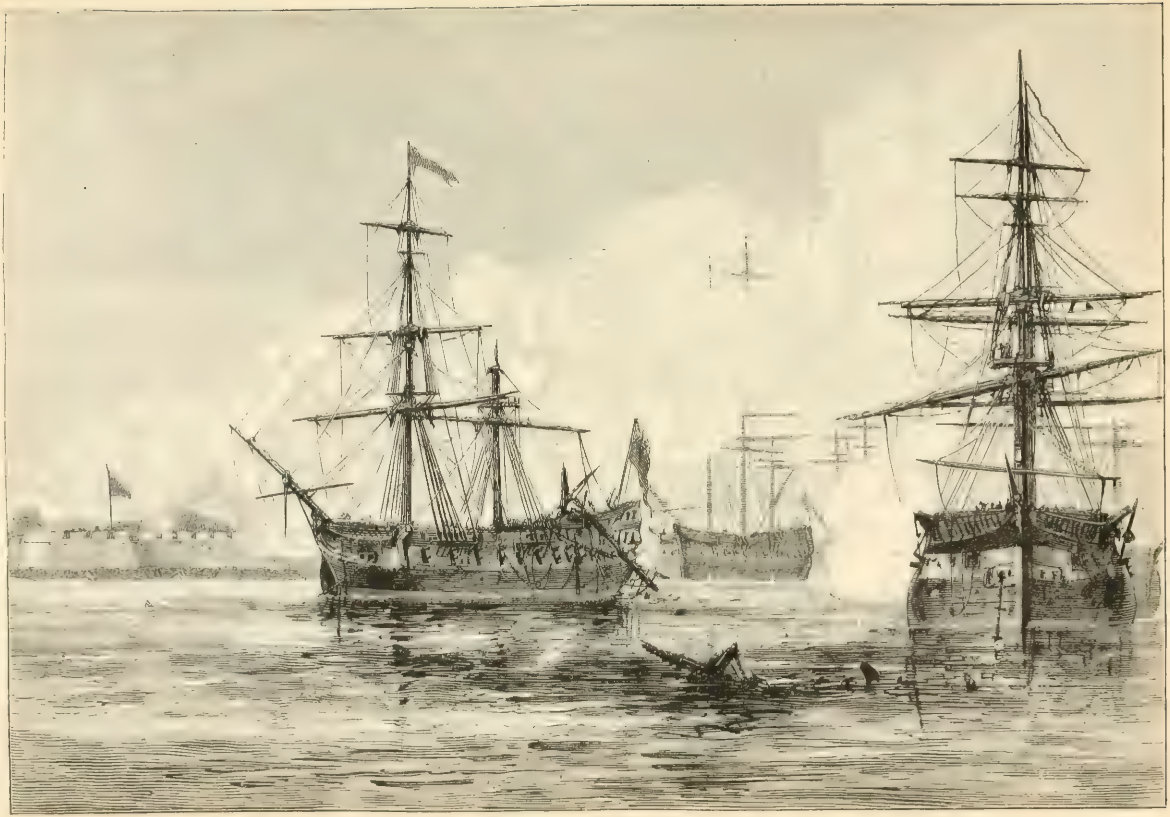
H Cheever

ONE SHILLING ONE SHILLING

12d 12d

MASSACHUSETTS MONEY, 1776.

Still, with whatever drawbacks and imperfections, the American Revolution was the result of principles which led inevitably to the Sovereignty of the People; and in this lies its truest claim to the interest and gratitude of all nations sufficiently advanced in knowledge and wisdom to understand such doctrines—to all thinkers who have the true faith in the right of men to determine their own destinies, as far as politics are concerned. The merits of the specific quarrel between England and the colonies are of secondary importance compared with this high argument. The disagreement was needless and wilful; it was envenomed by vehement passions and exaggerated pretensions on both sides; it came in time to be mixed up with personal ambitions, with hereditary resentments, with sectional jealousies, with all those lower motives, or elements of feeling, which are sure to be imported into every contention in which men engage. But the new political Gospel of democratic rights was a proclamation to the whole world—a light on the dark ways of ancient bondage—a living doctrine, capable of giving life to all who should intelligently receive it. The claim of the masses to legislate for themselves by means of their chosen representatives, was never before so emphatically and so practically asserted. The ancient Republics, and those of mediæval Italy, were rather anti-monarchical than distinctly democratic; and in England the principles of freedom, though often vindicated with admirable courage and sense, had always inclined to an aristocratical alliance. In America, too, there were timid thinkers who distrusted the people, and would have confined the suffrage to a small and privileged class. Some of the colonies required a property qualification in all voters, and the institution of slavery created a class feeling wherever it was found. But there were no materials in the New World for re-fashioning the old institutions of feudalism, and men were perforce obliged to revert to the first principles of reason and of natural right. This was the great good fruit of the miserable wrangle between George III. and his American subjects. The success of the vast popular rising in the West put heart into the people all over Europe. It brought Governments face to face, sharply and peremptorily, with their duties and their responsibilities. It recalled forgotten sources of power, and checked the insolence of kings and aristocracies by the fear of judgment. Modern political ideas date from that epoch and



THE ATTACK ON SULLIVAN'S ISLAND.

from that land. If, in these happier times, France is no longer the victim of blind Bourbons and heartless nobles—if Italy has arisen once more out of the grave of ages—if Germany looks to popular assent for the consecration of her power—if even Austria and Russia begin to soften beneath more generous impulses,—let it be acknowledged that the first active movement in all those directions came from English America. It was there that the genius of Alfred, of Wickliffe, of Hampden, of Russell, and of Sidney, reached its ultimate development, and, relieved from the pressure of many ancient shackles, reacted on the older world with all the potency of youth.

The democratic tendencies of America were now to receive a very remarkable testimony from the colony of Virginia—a province, the settlement of which was organised on aristocratical principles, and which for some few generations retained its first attachment to the Throne and to the Church of England. In later times that attachment had been very considerably weakened, and, before the close of the seventeenth century, a large infusion of Scoto-Irish Presbyterians, and several emigrations from the continent of Europe, had introduced political elements of an opposite character. Whatever sentiment of loyalty still existed in the reign of George III. was utterly destroyed by the despotic violence of Lord Dunmore; and when, on the 6th of May, 1776, forty-five members of the House of Burgesses met at Williamsburg, pursuant to their adjournment, it was agreed that the ancient constitution had been subverted by the King and Parliament of Great Britain, and the Assembly was dissolved, never again to come together in that form. The Convention of the province met on the same day. It was both a constituent and an executive body, and its delegates were instructed to bring about as speedily as possible a total and final separation of the colony from the mother country, and to establish a new constitution, with a full representation, and free and frequent elections. On the delegates assembling, they resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House, and on the 15th of May certain resolutions were reported, and agreed to by all the members present, amounting to a hundred and twelve, by far the greater number of the whole Convention. The preamble consisted of a statement of grievances (chief amongst which was the enlistment of slaves by the Royal Governor), leading up to the conclusion that Virginia had no alternative left but an abject submission or a complete separation. The country was therefore, from that time forward, to govern itself, to form foreign alliances, and to promote a confederation of the colonies, provided such confederation did not interfere with the internal regulation of each State. The ringing of bells and the firing of artillery out of doors hailed the passing of this declaration, and the British flag was removed from the State House, where it had waved for several generations.

A committee of thirty-two was next appointed, to prepare a declaration of rights and a plan of government. The members included Patrick Henry, James Madison, and George Mason—the last-named, the most influential person on the committee, and the more so because he had always, until recently, been a very loyal man, and a great admirer of the political constitution of England. It was by him that the declaration of rights was drafted, and this document was presented to the Convention on the 27th of May. The principles there expressed were debated for a fortnight, and on the motion of James Madison, then a young Presbyterian, little known even to his countrymen, but afterwards fourth President of the United States, the word "toleration," in regard to religion, was struck out, that a phrase might be substituted giving a more exact expression to the right of all religious bodies to perfect equality. On the 12th of June, the statement of rights was read a third time, and adopted without a dissentient voice. By this important act it was declared:—

"All men are by nature equally free. and have inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. All power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them. Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit and security of the people, nation, or community; and whenever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such a manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal. Public services not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge to be hereditary. The legislative and executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judicative; the members of the two first should, at fixed periods, return into that body from which they were originally taken, and the vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular elections. Elections of members to serve as representatives of the people in assembly ought to be free; and all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to, the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property for public uses without their own consent or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented for the public good. There ought to be no arbitrary power of suspending laws, no requirement of excessive bail, no granting of general warrants. No man ought to be deprived of liberty, except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers; and the ancient trial by jury ought to be held sacred. The freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments. A well-regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state; standing armies in time of peace should be avoided as dangerous to liberty; and in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to the civil power. The people have a right to uniform government, and, therefore, no government separate from, or independent of, the government of Virginia ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof. No free government can be preserved but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles. Religion can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of it, according to the dictates of conscience; and it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity, towards each other."

This important manifesto, and the preamble to John Adams's resolution tending to separation from Great Britain, which the General Congress had sanctioned, brought matters to a crisis in Pennsylvania. Arrangements were made for calling a constituent Convention; the Assembly receded from its position of uncompromising loyalty to the Crown, and on the 6th of June consented to new instructions being sent to the Pennsylvanian delegates in Congress, by which those gentlemen were allowed a greater latitude in dealing with measures having reference to the assertion of the national sovereignty. They were soon to be confronted by the most precise and emphatic expression of the revolutionary spirit. On the very next day, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, in the name and with the special authority of that province, submitted to Congress a set of resolutions affirming that the United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; that all political connection between them and Great Britain was, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that it was expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances; and that a plan of confederation should be prepared, and transmitted to the respective colonies for their consideration and approbation. The questions thus raised were first considered on the 8th. The speeches were resumed on the 10th, and it was then resolved, after further discussion, to postpone the debate for three weeks, and in the meanwhile to appoint a committee which should draw up a declaration in harmony with what had been proposed. It was certainly right, at so grave a crisis, to take time for deliberation. The principle at issue had, indeed, been fully considered for a long while; but it required serious thought whether an open confession of that principle was prudent or not. If finally sanctioned, the form in which the declaration should be made, and the method in which it should be proclaimed to the world, demanded the most earnest consideration; and a delay of three weeks was not too long for the maturing of such a revolution. No one, however, could doubt how the matter would end. The porches of Independence had been reached, and it only remained to go through some needful ceremonies before they would be entered.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Commencement of Operations, under Clinton and Cornwallis, against Charleston, South Carolina—The American Fortifications on Sullivan's (now Moultrie's) Island—Clinton deceived by a False Report—Commencement of the Naval Attack on the 28th of June—Condition of the Fort erected by Moultrie—Inability of Clinton to co-operate with Commodore Parker—Severe Bombardment of the Island—Gallant Exploit of Sergeant Jasper, of Moultrie's Forces—A Hot Day's Work—Heroism of Captain Morris, of the English Flag Ship, the *Bristol*—Moultrie reinforced—Continued Resistance of the Defenders of Sullivan's Island—Damage effected in the English Fleet—Abandonment of the Attack—Losses of the Two Adversaries—Honours paid to the Victors—Miserable Condition of the American Investing Force before Quebec—Enmity of the Canadian Population—Withdrawal of Arnold to Montreal—Determination of Congress to persist in the Expedition against Canada—Washington ordered to send Reinforcements—American Commissioners despatched to Canada to make Inquiries—Raising of the Siege, and Flight of the Invaders—Actions with the Pursuing British—Continuation of the Retreat—Dreadful Sufferings of the Americans—Remarks on the Character of the Enterprise.

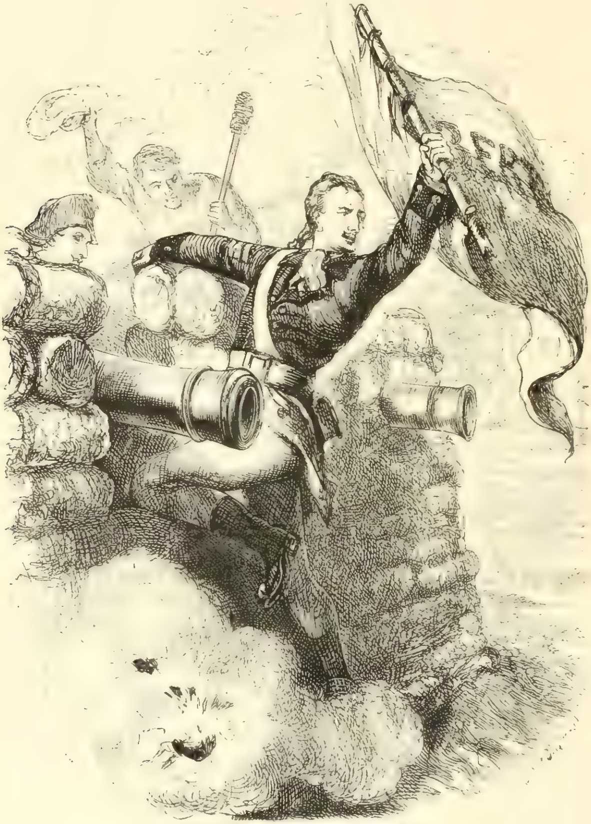
Clinton, Cornwallis, and Parker, seemed in no great hurry to carry out the general instructions of the King. The squadron under Parker, with the reinforcements on board, met the regiments under Clinton about the beginning of May; but it was the 1st of June before operations were commenced for the reduction of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina. On that day it was seen that a fleet of forty or fifty sail lay at anchor some twenty miles to the north of Charleston-bar. The streets of the chief city were accordingly barricaded, and a large number of men were concentrated there; but, as events turned out, they were not called into action, owing to the successful defence of the outlying works. A copy of the Royal proclamation, offering pardon to such as should lay down their arms and submit to the laws, was with some difficulty conveyed to Moultrie on the 8th of June, and it was then agreed between Clinton and Cornwallis that their best plan would be to land on a sandbank called Long Island, and from that pass on to Sullivan's Island by a ford which was said to exist at low water. The truth of the report should have been tested by soundings; but this obvious precaution was neglected, and it afterwards appeared that the channel was too deep to be used for the purpose of a land passage. The troops under Clinton amounted to two thousand eight hundred; and a detachment of these, numbering between four and five hundred, landed on the 9th on Long Island. The adjoining island, then called Sullivan's, but now, after its gallant defender, Moultrie's, must be considered, in a military sense, an outpost of the city of Charleston, from which it is distant about six miles. The fort was not yet finished when Clinton's men appeared upon the sandbank; but the front and one side were completed, and the other portions of the work were rapidly progressing. The walls were constructed of palmetto-logs, and twelve hundred men were encamped in the rear, ready to do their utmost in repelling attack. Lee visited the post on the same day that Clinton landed on Long Island; but he looked with very unfavourable eyes at the possibilities of defence. He declared that the island could not hold out half-an-hour, and remarked that, as it was devoid of any way by which to retreat, it might be the scene of fearful slaughter. This officer was now invested by John Rutledge, President of the South Carolina Convention, with the chief military command at Sullivan's Island; but the honour of the defence lies with Moultrie, who retained the actual direction of affairs. To Lee it seemed imperative that the island should be evacuated on the instant; but Rutledge would not suffer it, and the fortifications proceeded. Moultrie even disregarded the repeated orders of his superior that he should construct bridges for his retreat—certainly a very reasonable provision, which the ultimate success of Moultrie did not justify him in neglecting, unless, as he alleged, the work was impossible.

The additional fortifications went on with much spirit; yet they were not finished by the time the attack began. The arrangements of Sir Peter Parker for taking the batteries on Sullivan's Island were communicated to his captains on the 15th of June; but Clinton was in a state of great perplexity as to what he should do. He at length determined to confine his operations to a descent on Sullivan's Island, which he proposed to occupy and garrison. He therefore, on the 17th, completed the landing of his men on Long Island, where they were tormented by the scorching sun, the want of good water, and the clouds of mosquitoes. It was then that, upon examination, the promised ford proved to be a channel seven feet in depth at low tide. The co-operation of the land forces in the contemplated attack on the rebel position was thus rendered very difficult; yet Clinton still hoped to take part in a joint assault on the 23rd. Parker made no doubt that he should be able to reduce both the island and the fort, and Lee continued to feel very uneasy about the result. Moultrie, however, never questioned his ability to maintain the position; and Lee, regarding him as rash and headstrong, would fain have removed him from the command.

It was not until the 28th of June that the attack began. By that time, an advanced post had been thrown forward at the extreme point of the island. The men of this post were protected by sand-hills and myrtle-bushes, and, at their rear, breast-works had been thrown up, guarded by a large body of riflemen. The left was defended by a morass; the right, by a couple of guns, overlooking the spot where Clinton might be expected to land. Moultrie, on seeing the boats of the English squadron in motion, repaired to his fort, caused the drums to beat, and ordered his officers and men to their posts. The fort had a bastion at each corner, and the palmetto-logs of which it was built were laid in parallel rows sixteen feet asunder, with sand filled in between the rows. On the southern and western sides, the walls were finished, and mounted with cannon; the northern and eastern walls had not been reared to a greater height than seven feet. At the south-east bastion, a blue flag, displaying a white crescent and the word "Liberty," was hung out as the ensign of South Carolina. Moultrie had not at his disposal more than thirty-one cannon, and his ammunition was far from abundant; yet his courage and self-reliance never deserted him. By half-past ten in the morning, the ships of Commodore Parker were under way, and in a little while they were throwing shells in large numbers on to the island. The palmetto-logs forming the walls of the fort withstood the fire remarkably well, and the men on the platforms were sufficiently protected to enable them to reply with coolness and effect. The number of guns on board the attacking vessels was two hundred and fifty-four, and the assault was soon aided by Clinton's batteries on Long Island. At twelve o'clock, Clinton ordered his troops to embark in boats, and, under cover of floating batteries and armed craft, to effect a landing on Sullivan's Island; but it was quickly apparent that the design was impracticable, and it was abandoned, owing to the difficulty of the approach, the strength of the enemy's defences, and the skill of the American marksmen. The English General then contemplated an attack on Haddrell's Point, on the mainland, and requested Parker to send three frigates to co-operate with him in that direction. The required vessels were despatched, and, getting between Sullivan's Island and the opposite shore, menaced the fort in its rear, where the works were far from being finished; but the pilots conducted the ships badly, and all three ran on a sandbank. This was a great relief to the people of Charleston, who were watching the progress of events from their wharfs and water-side buildings, fearing lest their city would soon experience the full effect of Parker's fire. More than two thousand men were drawn up for the defence of the capital, and they remained under arms for several hours; but Charleston was saved by the courage and skill of Moultrie.

The bombardment of the island had not proceeded very long when the flag-staff of the fort, struck by a shot, tumbled over on to the beach. A sergeant, named Jasper, not liking that they should fight without a flag, leaped through an embrasure, seized the ensign, re-ascended the wall in the midst of a tremendous fire, and fixed the rescued standard on a halberd, which he displayed on the bastion next the enemy. For some hours the fight went on with unabated vigour; a fierce, almost tropical sun, unmitigated by a single cloud, filled the air with light and heat; and the sulphurous vapours of the cannon added to the distress of those who had to conduct the defence. Many stripped themselves half-naked; all worked with energy at their appointed posts. Moultrie and some of his officers walked about smoking their pipes, and the utmost firmness and resolution characterised the whole band. Their fire was necessarily slight in comparison with that of the English vessels; yet it wrought a great deal of damage, owing to the excellent way in which the guns were pointed. The mischief done on board the flag-ship, the *Bristol*, was so great that all on the quarter-deck were either killed or wounded, and Parker himself for awhile stood there alone. The conduct of Captain Morris, of this ship, was magnificent. He was wounded in the neck, and again in the right arm, which was shattered by a chain-shot. He then went below, had the arm amputated, and once more took his station on the quarter-deck, where he continued to direct the action of his ship until a shot through the body brought his gallant career to an end. Nevertheless, it appeared at one time as if the attack would have prevailed. About an hour after mid-day, the fire of the rebels ceased, and there seemed to be some evidence of an intention to abandon the fort. Parker would probably have landed (for he had previously instructed several of his seamen and marines in the best way of entering forts through embrasures), but that he needed the support of Clinton's land forces, and looked impatiently for their approach, but looked in vain.

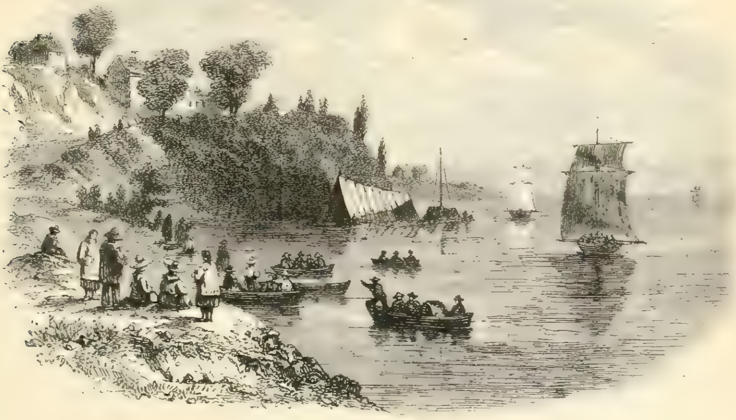
Moultrie, however, had in truth no thought of



SERGEANT JASPER RECOVERS THE FLAG.

relinquishing his position, which he now felt more than ever certain he could hold. He had been obliged to cease firing because his powder had nearly run out, and he had only sufficient left for musketry, in case of a landing. Early in the day he had written to Lee for a further supply; but the General was disinclined to send it. In his answer, he directed Moultrie, in the event of his expending all his ammunition without beating off the enemy, to spike his guns, and retreat. Some time after, Rutledge, who was now at Charleston, sent over to Moultrie five hundred pounds of powder, together with a letter, in which he said, "Do not make too free with your cannon. Be cool, and do mischief." In addition to this supply, Moultrie received two hundred pounds more from a schooner lying at the back of the fort. Reinforcements of troops, consisting of some riflemen formed out of German settlers in Virginia, were sent by Lee at three in the afternoon, with directions to support the advanced guard under Thomson at the east end of the island. Lee himself, some two hours later, shortly after Moultrie had resumed his fire, visited the position, and, after pointing two or three guns with his own hands, said to his chief subordinate, "Colonel, I see you are doing very well here; you have no occasion for me; I will go up to town again." He then left, and the firing on both sides continued long after dark. One of Moultrie's guns was silenced; yet the fort was but superficially damaged, owing to the spongy nature of the palmetto-wood, in which the shots that took effect were buried without shivering the substance. Scarcely a hut or tree on the island escaped uninjured; but a good many of the shells sunk harmlessly in the marshy ground, or plunged into the sand within the fort. On the side of the assailants, two ships were nearly wrecked by the fire of the enemy; and a little past nine o'clock, after a bombardment of great persistence, Sir Peter Parker (who was slightly wounded) resolved to withdraw. The ships therefore slipped their cables, and the enterprise was abandoned, after a loss of two hundred and five men in killed and wounded. The American loss was eleven killed, and twenty-six wounded. Of the three English ships which grounded on a sand-bank, two were got off during the night; the third was set on fire by her crew, and deserted. While the vessel was still burning, several of the Americans boarded her, seized her colours, fired some of her guns at Parker's squadron, filled three boats with her sails and stores, and left in triumph shortly before she blew up. The English army afterwards quitted Long Island, and three weeks later embarked in transports for New York, while the fleet remained behind to refit.

The foresight of Moultrie had been amply vindicated, and South Carolina was saved from invasion, and perhaps from conquest, by his courage, judgment, skill, and self-reliance. The 29th of June was a day of jubilee to the people of Charleston, who flocked in large numbers to the island, and congratulated the victors on the great work they had achieved. Although his own judgment with respect to the fort being untenable had been falsified, Lee had the good feeling to acknowledge in no stinted terms the admirable conduct of the defence. On the 30th he reviewed the garrison, on which occasion the women of Charleston presented the second regiment with a pair of silken colours embroidered by themselves. The lady who placed these flags in the hands of Moultrie and his active second in command, Isaac Motte, said, as she delivered them, "Your gallant behaviour in defence of liberty and your country entitles you to the highest honours. Accept these two standards as a reward justly due to your regiment; and I make not the least doubt that, under Heaven's protection, you will stand by them as long as they can wave in the air of liberty." On behalf of the regiment it was promised that they should be honourably supported, and never tarnished. Rutledge, on the 4th of July, visited the garrison, and expressed to them the gratitude of South Carolina; and at a somewhat later date the thanks of the Continental Congress were voted to Lee, Moultrie, Thomson, and the officers and men under their command. Certainly no troops ever more thoroughly deserved



THREE RIVERS.

the acknowledgments of their country. They had, with very insufficient means, defeated or baffled a large naval and military force. They had secured for a long time to come the peace and tranquillity of that part of America; and they had given to the whole of the southern colonies an example of successful daring, which could not fail to be fruitful in illustrious deeds.

This success of the young Republic in the south was counterbalanced by a series of misfortunes in the north. We left Arnold and his troops before Quebec, after the defeat of Montgomery in his attempt to take the city by surprise, and the death of that General at the head of his attacking force. Although this particular enterprise failed, the besiegers were not driven off. They remained in front of Quebec, and still cherished the illusory hope of subduing Canada. But their chance of success, small from the very first, was now still smaller. Their numbers were greatly reduced at the commencement of 1776 by the withdrawal of those whose term of enlistment expired with the previous year. The men who remained did not number more than eight hundred, equally divided between Anglo-Americans and Canadians; and the latter were found to be not very staunch. Wooster, who now held the chief command of the invading army, and who was stationed at Montreal, made frantic appeals to Congress, to Washington, to Schuyler, and to others, for reinforcements, for heavy cannon, for powder, shot, and shells, and for money—not only for bills of credit, which he said had no currency, but for hard cash. These things were not readily to be had. Some additional troops, however, were despatched from several of the colonies, and the investment of Quebec was still kept up. But no progress was made in the subjugation of the country; on the contrary, the military position became rapidly worse after Montgomery's death. Wooster was a Calvinist from Connecticut, and he greatly disgusted the Roman Catholics by the intolerance of his demeanour. The priests took a decided stand against him and his countrymen. They refused absolution to the friends of the invasion, and denounced them from the pulpit. The very slight amount of sympathy which Montgomery had been able to evoke, dwindled to the most insignificant dimensions. The hard fact became nakedly visible, that, if Canada was to be gained at all, it could only be won by a very large army of Anglo-Americans, highly-disciplined and well-provided; and where that army was to come from, was not so apparent.

Wooster was a man of courage, but very little of a soldier. His political rule of the province showed signs of liberality, and he was energetic in repressing the attempts of the English to obtain Indian allies, in securing the neutrality of the native tribes, and in his endeavours to promote a Canadian Convention, from which he hoped to obtain delegates to the Continental Congress. But he had no natural qualities, nor any acquired knowledge, fitting him for the military post he now occupied. Nevertheless, when April arrived, he took command of the troops round Quebec. They were by that time about two thousand in number; but nearly half were unable to do duty. Of guns there were but few, and those of small calibre; the stock of powder and ball was very insufficient; and the term of service of several of the men would expire on the 15th of the month. Arnold, who at the beginning of the year had vowed he would not leave Quebec until he entered it in triumph, lost heart, and retired to Montreal. The peasantry every day became more hostile to the invaders, and resented with great bitterness the being compelled to furnish wood and other articles at less than the market price, and to receive in payment notes of very doubtful value, sometimes even of an illegal and fraudulent character. Congress, however, still expressed itself determined to reduce Quebec, and was strengthened in this resolve by hearing that the Canadians had, towards the end of March, made an unsuccessful attempt to raise the blockade. Washington was accordingly ordered to hurry up fresh troops, and he at once detached three thousand of his best soldiers, in addition to two thousand whom he had sent a few days before. This left the Commander-in-Chief, who was now at New York, with only a very small army to resist the British; and he earnestly impressed on Congress the necessity of supplying him with at least ten thousand fresh troops. But the delegates were far more earnest about the conquest of Canada than the support of Washington at one of the most important positions of English America; and they next ordered him to send ammunition, provisions, and clothing to the troops before Quebec. Feeling dissatisfied with Wooster, they directed General Thomas, of Massachusetts, to take the chief command; and in this way they prepared to push the siege in the spring and summer that were now approaching.

To propitiate the people, Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll were sent to the province as commissioners, to promise a guarantee of their estates to the clergy, to establish a free press, to encourage a hope of free trade, and to obtain a promise that the Canadians would join the Federation of the United Colonies. Chase and Carroll were Marylanders, and therefore acquainted with the feelings of the Roman Catholics; and the latter was accompanied by his brother John, a Jesuit, and afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore. Franklin, as a philosopher, might be expected to be superior to the enmities of antagonistic religious bodies. Their report of what they found was by no means encouraging. They perceived a general disinclination on the part of the people to support the invasion, and a military and financial condition so unfavourable that they advised the withdrawal of the army, and the fortification of the passes on the lakes. General Thomas could do nothing to improve the situation. Small-pox was raging among the troops; nine hundred were incapable of duty through sickness; the others were thinly scattered along the lines; and several, whose term of service had expired, were clamouring to return home. Five days after the arrival of Thomas at his command, a council of war decided on effecting a retreat as soon as possible. Only six days' provisions remained, and the powder had very nearly run out. It was clearly a matter of stern necessity to lose not a moment in getting away; and on the very next morning—the 6th of May—the American sick were embarked, together with the artillery, on board vessels destined for Three Rivers. While this operation was going on, three English vessels, which had forced their way through the ice of the St. Lawrence, entered the basin, and landed a party of marines and soldiers. On receiving these reinforcements, the garrison of Quebec determined on a sally. Issuing from the gates of St. John and St. Louis, to the number of a thousand, accompanied by artillery, they poured down on the dismayed Americans in two columns. Thomas was unable to bring together more than two hundred and fifty of his men, and anything like a battle was impossible. The besiegers fled in confusion, leaving behind them many cannon and muskets, and two hundred of their sick.

Halting at Deschambault, forty-eight miles above Quebec, Thomas held another council of war; but the case was obviously far beyond remedy. The English were in hot pursuit; they were continually receiving reinforcements, and were now in a position to assume the offensive with great effect. A body of regulars, Canadians, and Indians, threatened the fugitives from the north-west; and Arnold, to repel this flank attack, thought it prudent to station four hundred men, with two cannon, at the narrow pass called the Cedars, a point of land which projects into the St. Lawrence, forty miles above Montreal. But the commander of this detachment, a New Hampshire officer named Bedell, deserted his post under pretence of seeking reinforcements, and his successor, Major Butterfield, dreading the vengeance of the Indians, surrendered himself and his companions prisoners at discretion, after a brief interchange of musketry shots. This was on the 19th of May, and on the following day a body of troops, sent in reinforcement, was attacked and defeated. Several Indians fought on the side of the English, and behaved after the battle with savage cruelty to the wounded. Arnold subsequently obtained the release of the prisoners by returning an equal number of English captives; but the incident led to a great many accusations and counter-accusations. The whole retreat was calamitous in the highest degree. General Thomas took the prevailing malady of small-pox, and died on the 2nd of June, leaving the chief direction to John Sullivan, one of the Brigadiers created by Congress in the previous year—formerly a lawyer of New Hampshire, and a man quite incompetent to so difficult a command. On the previous day, Congress, still clinging with desperate pertinacity to its idea of subjugating Canada, had resolved that six thousand militia should be employed to reinforce the army in that province, and to keep up the communications, and had also authorised the enlisting of two thousand Indians. But the fondly-cherished design was now shattered beyond the hope of redemption.

Sullivan was a boastful man. On assuming the command, he said that in a few days he could reduce the army to order, and put a new face on affairs. By the advice of a council of war, he resolved to attack the enemy at Three Rivers, about ninety miles south of Quebec. For this purpose, a party of fifteen hundred was placed under the command of Brigadier Thompson, of Pennsylvania; and Sullivan wrote to Washington that he was determined to hold the most important posts as long as one stone remained upon another. Thompson, on the morning of the 7th of June, concealed his men in a wood on the banks of the Nicolet, near St. Clair, and projected a surprise of the enemy. Crossing the St. Lawrence in the evening, he hoped to accomplish his object; but a Canadian peasant carried intelligence of the movement to the British General, who, strengthened by the arrival of large reinforcements, made rapid preparations for resisting the attack. The Americans, marching along the bank of the river in the early morning of the 8th, were cannonaded by the ships which had brought fresh troops; but, pressing on, they waded through a thickly-wooded swamp, and, after a fatiguing march of four hours, reached a piece of open ground, where they endeavoured to form.

The British position was attacked with considerable courage; but the assailants were out-numbered, and obliged to retire, leaving a hundred and fifty in the hands of the English. The main body wandered about in the woods the rest of that day and the whole of the ensuing night, without food, and in constant dread of being captured. At length, however, they reached their boats, and returned to Sorel, from which they had set out.

Desperate as the situation was, Sullivan continued to write vauntingly, and to talk of defending Sorel; but a council of field-officers decided, with but few dissentients, that the position was not tenable, and, on the 14th, as the British fleet, with a strong body of forces under Burgoyne, was coming rapidly up the river, the camp was struck, and the retreat resumed. Arnold, at the head of three hundred men, remained at Montreal until the English were not more than twelve miles off, when he seized various articles which he believed would be of service to the troops, and crossed in safety to La Prairie. The several fragments of the invading army met on the 17th at St. John's. They were in a most pitiable and forlorn condition. Half the number were sick; many were nearly naked; no provisions remained, excepting salt pork and flour. On the 18th, the discomfited forces removed to Isle aux Noix; and, had they been pursued with greater activity, they might have been destroyed to a man. But Burgoyne advanced with slowness, alleging that he had received instructions from Carleton to hazard nothing till the column on his right should be able to co-operate. At Isle aux Noix, preparations were made for sending the invalids by water to Crown Point; but their condition was not less miserable afloat than ashore. The boats were leaky and unprovided with awnings; neither the water nor the hot sun could be excluded from the sick, half-starved, and in several instances dying men. Owing to the want of cooking utensils, the sufferers were compelled to eat their salt pork raw, and the flour they carried with them could not be baked. The army, or rather what was left of it, reassembled at Crown Point at the beginning of July. Haggard, emaciated, spiritless, starved, and many of them struck with pestilence, the unhappy creatures lay under tents, or in hastily-constructed sheds, wasting from day to day with privation and disease. The mortality long continued to be terrible. By death and desertion, five thousand men disappeared in little more than two months.*

In this forlorn and ignominious fashion, the invasion of Canada, from which so much had been hoped, came to an end. The sufferings of the vanquished troops must of course excite the deepest commiseration of all men; but for the enterprise itself it is impossible to feel the slightest sympathy. It was one of those wholly unjustifiable attempts to enforce, by fire and sword, particular opinions among a people almost unanimously disinclined to receive them, which afterwards gave so peculiar a character to the first French Republic. The Canadians, with very few exceptions, did not want the government, the alliance, or the friendship, of the Anglo-Americans. They belonged to a different race; they spoke a different language; they professed a different religion. All their political and social ideas were distinct from those of their invaders. They had no quarrel with England, beyond the fact that the English were an alien race who had obtained possession of their country by conquest. No doubt, if the French had sent an army into Canada, the provincials would have welcomed it with ardour, and have done their utmost against the soldiers of King George. But they greatly preferred the British to the Anglo-Americans, and with reason, for the former had treated them with delicacy, consideration, and kindness, while from the latter they had little to expect but a studied disregard of their most cherished feelings. There was nothing in the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies to create in the Canadians any lively desire to assume the position of partizans, or to throw in their lot with the people of New England and of the other rebel provinces. Nor had the prudent and cautious nature of these northern populations any quality which would be likely to excite in them a passionate devotion to Republican freedom in the abstract, and apart from immediate advantage to themselves. The politicians of English America must have been aware of these facts before they began their expedition: at any rate, they had no good reason for supposing that their interposition would be liked. The invasion was therefore not much better than an outrage upon natural right, which failed, and which deserved to fail. The conduct of the troops was violent and tyrannical. They insulted and abused the peasantry, and left them the poorer for their numerous exactions. When the last man quitted Canadian soil, the people felt as if relieved from a plague which had afflicted them for several months.

Congress indulged its illusion to the utmost. On the 18th of June, when the shattered and weary soldiers were removed to Isle aux Noix, Gates, who had been elected a Major-General, was appointed to take command of the forces in Canada; and Washington, by order of the Federal Assembly, issued a set of directions by which his conduct was to be guided. But the die was then cast; the failure of the ill-advised attempt was perfect; the English power was firmly restored over the whole province; and nothing remained but a ruined army, a moving pest, the dying and the dead, the gorged graveyard, the groaning hospital, and the helpless memory of defeat.

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* Bancroft.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Formation of a Republican Constitution by Virginia—Its chief Characteristics—The Example followed by Connecticut and Delaware—Development of the Principle of Independence in New Hampshire and New York—Plot of ex-Governor Tryon in the latter Province—Arrest of William Franklin in New Jersey—Pennsylvania and Maryland pass over to the Popular Side—Resumption of the Debate on Independence in the General Congress—Speeches of Dickinson and Others (July 1st)—Votes of the Several Colonies in Committee—Position of Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, and South Carolina—Proceedings of Congress on July 2nd—The Vote in favour of Independence—Enthusiasm of John Adams—His Letter to his Wife—The Declaration of Independence—Alterations in Jefferson's Original Draft, before and after its Submittal to Congress—The Omitted Passages—The Document as it now stands—General Reflections on the New Posture of Affairs.

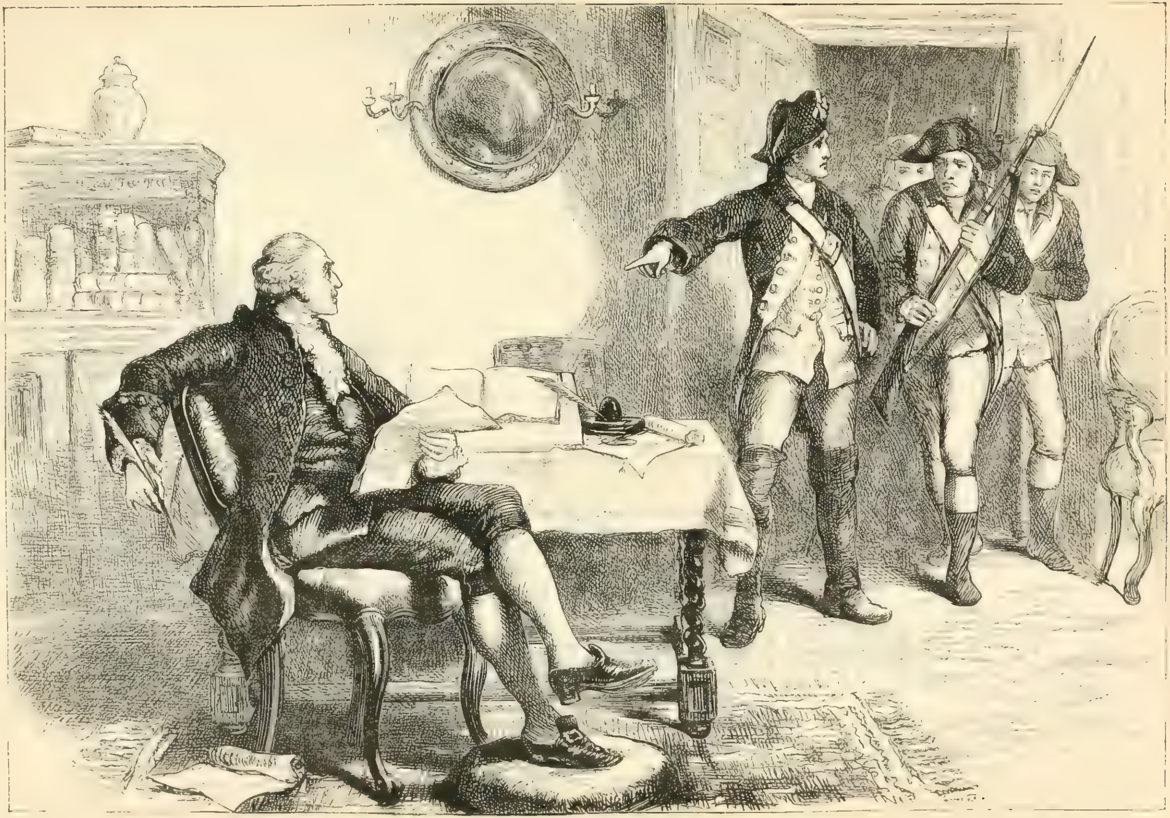
Having put forward her Declaration of the Rights of Man, Virginia, in the early part of June, proceeded to form a new constitution, in place of that which may be said to have vanished with Lord Dunmore, the Royal Governor who had recently fled. It was not a very Radical constitution. It contained no extension of the suffrage, and the question of slavery, except for the prohibition of the trade in negroes, was suffered to remain where it was. But a representative system of government was secured; and where that exists, and is wisely used, the door of improvement is always open, and every fit and desirable change is certain to arrive in time. The Virginian constitution provided for the election of a Governor, a Council of State, and a General Assembly, consisting of a House of Representatives, and a Senate of twenty-four members. To the Governor and his eight privy councillors pertained the Executive power of the State; to the two divisions of the Parliamentary body, all Legislative functions. Two out of the eight councillors were to be changed every three years, so that the whole body would be renewed once every twelve years, but not oftener. One fourth of the Senators were to be renewed each year, and the whole of the Representatives were to be chosen afresh annually. In the main, the convention which produced this constitution asserted the jurisdiction of the State over the whole region granted by the second charter of James I., in the year 1609; but the territorial rights of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, together with the limits set by the peace of 1763, were recognised. The privilege of purchasing Indian lands was reserved to the public, with a right of pre-emption to settlers already in actual possession. The constitution was mainly the production of George Mason, Richard Henry Lee, and George Wythe. Jefferson (who was then serving in the Continental Congress) furnished the draft of a preamble, which was adopted; but a form of government which he sent arrived too late. Patrick Henry was chosen as the first Governor.

By this act, and by those which had preceded it, Virginia established a state of independence before that condition had been openly proclaimed, on behalf of the Federal Union, by the Continental Congress. Connecticut and Delaware very shortly followed the example of the great southern settlement, and New Hampshire, on the 15th of June, unanimously agreed that the Thirteen United Colonies should be declared a free and independent State. Massachusetts took the opinion of the people in their town-meetings, and the result, as must have been known beforehand, was in favour of complete separation from Great Britain. The conduct of New York was more cautious, as its position was more exposed to danger. A committee of the Provincial Congress reported, on the 27th of May, that the right of creating civil governments is, and ought to be, in the people, and that the old form of government was dissolved; but all that was determined by the main body, four days later, was that deputies should be elected, with ample powers to institute a government "which should continue in force until a future peace with Great Britain"—a phrase of somewhat indefinite character, and such as did not necessarily exclude a reconciliation with the old country. Jay very properly denied the competency of the existing Congress of New York to decide whether or not the connection of the colony with England should cease. He moved, on the 11th of June, that the freeholders and electors be called on to invest the deputies they were about to choose with full powers of administering the government, framing a constitution, and deciding on the question of independence; and the motion was affirmed. The result of this appeal to the people was that New York was added to the other provinces which had voted in favour of separation.

The military situation of New York was such as to render the course thus adopted very dangerous. A large army and a powerful fleet were approaching the metropolitan city of the old Dutch province, and Washington had only an ill-armed and ill-disciplined force, of less than eight thousand men, for the defence. The term of service, as to several, would expire in the autumn, while in no case would it extend beyond December. Moreover, Tryon, the Royal Governor of the province, was planning how he could overthrow the existing political state, and re-establish the authority of the King. He was now on board a vessel in the bay, and he plotted with the Mayor of New York city to raise an insurrection, and, on the arrival of Howe, to blow up the magazines, take the guns, and seize Washington and his officers. Some of Washington's own soldiers were concerned in the scheme, and one of them, on the discovery of the plot, was hanged, after conviction before a court-martial. In the adjacent colony of New Jersey, a fresh Provincial Congress assembled on the 11th of June, and at once set to work to debate the question of independence, to create a new constitution, and to vote three thousand three hundred of the militia as a reinforcement for New York. William Franklin, the Governor—unlike his illustrious father, a loyal man, as we have already seen—called a meeting of the General Assembly for the 20th of June; but the Convention, on the 14th, voted that his proclamation ought not to be heeded. Next day he was arrested, and kept under guard till he could be despatched to Connecticut. The proceedings of the Convention were practically in favour of independence, although a clause in the new constitution provided for the possibility of a restoration of the old state.

In Pennsylvania, a provincial conference was held, and, on the 19th of June, the resolution of Congress, inviting the people of the several colonies to form governments of their own, was read twice over, and ultimately approved, without any dissentients. In the constitution afterwards adopted, political reforms were introduced, with a view to conferring the franchise on all persons liable to taxes, without respect to their nationality. Before the conference broke up, it ordered a flying camp of six thousand men to be called out, in conformity with the vote of the Continental Congress; and its last act was to declare its willingness to support the independence of the whole body of federated colonies. Even Maryland, which had for some time past shown a disposition to uphold the Royal power, now veered round to the opposite side. County meetings which took place in May and June resulted in a strong declaration of opinion in favour of independence; the Committee of Safety called a convention; and adhesion to the popular cause was quickly voted. On the 3rd of July, the election of a new convention was directed, and its work was to be the establishment of a government purely Republican in its character.

All these local movements prepared the way for the great act of the Continental Congress which was to make the 4th of July, 1776, one of the most memorable dates in the history of the world. It has already been related that in the early days of June the question of declaring the complete independence of the colonies was raised on the motion of the Virginian, Richard Henry Lee, and, after debate, was postponed for three weeks, that it might in the meanwhile be more maturely considered, and that a declaration of the nature suggested might be prepared. The subject was resumed on the 1st of July, when about fifty-one delegates appeared in their places. By this time the opinion in favour of separation was nearly unanimous; and Massachusetts, two months earlier, had gone so far as to expunge all reference to the King in her public proceedings, and to substitute the name of her Government and people. Before the great business of the day came on, a letter was read from Washington, giving a very bad account of his forces at New York. The accumulated disasters of the invading army in Canada were also known; and news had been received of the threatening movement of Parker and Clinton against Charleston, but not of its defeat. The prospects of the infant Republic, whose birth was about to be formally announced to the world, were therefore far from encouraging; yet the faith of those daring statesmen in the force and vitality of their idea was sufficient to triumph over all discouragements and all adverse fortunes. Several communications having been read, Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the question which had been adjourned from a previous day.



ARREST OF WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

The first speaker was John Adams, who had seconded Lee's resolution, and who now recapitulated, at the request of the members for New Jersey (then but just elected), the arguments in favour of a declaration of independence which he had before advanced. He was replied to by Dickinson, of Pennsylvania—a patriot, an eloquent denouncer of the oppressions of England, but one who had hitherto clung to the hope and desire of a reconciliation with the mother country, and who even now doubted the policy of an open defiance until allies had been obtained, and the internal affairs of the colonies had been reduced to better order and cohesion. The proposed declaration, he argued, would not strengthen them by one man, while it might expose their soldiers to additional cruelties and outrages. Without some experimentary trials of their strength, they ought not to commit their country to an alternative where to recede would be infamy, and to persist might be destruction. No instance, he alleged, could be recollected of a people, without a battle fought or an ally gained, abrogating for ever their connection with a warlike commercial empire. Such a step might unite the several parties in England against them, and divide themselves.

"With other Powers," continued Dickinson, "it would rather injure than avail us. Foreign aid will not be obtained but by our actions in the field, which are the only evidences of our union and vigour that will be respected. In the war between the United Provinces and Spain, France and England assisted the provinces before they declared themselves independent. If it is the interest of any European kingdom to aid us, we shall be aided without such a declaration; if it is not, we shall not be aided with it. Before such an irrevocable step shall be taken, we ought to know the disposition of the Great Powers; and how far they will permit any one or more of them to interfere. The erection of an independent empire on this continent is a phenomenon in the world; its effects will be immense, and may vibrate round the globe. How they may affect, or be supposed to affect, old establishments, is not ascertained. It is singularly disrespectful to France to make the declaration before her sense is known; as we have sent an agent expressly to inquire whether such a declaration would be acceptable to her, and we have reason to believe he is now arrived at the court of Versailles. The measure ought to be delayed till the common interests shall in the best manner be consulted by common consent. Besides, the door to accommodation with Great Britain ought not to be shut until we know what terms can be obtained from some competent Power. Thus, to break with her before we have compacted with another, is to make experiments on the lives and liberties of my countrymen, which I would sooner die than agree to make; at best, it is to throw us into the hands of some other Power, and to lie at its mercy, for we shall have passed the river that is never to be repassed. We ought to retain the declaration, and remain masters of our own fame and fate. We ought to inform that Power that we are filled with a just detestation of our oppressors; that we are determined to cast off for ever all subjection to them, to declare ourselves independent, and to support that declaration with our lives and fortunes, provided that Power will approve the proceeding, acknowledge our independence, and enter into a treaty with us upon equitable and advantageous conditions."

Other arguments against the contemplated declaration, Dickinson found in the disorganised, or at least not fully organised, condition of the colonies, and the conflicting claims to territory on the part of several, which ought to be adjusted before a definite Federation was established. On grounds of prudence there was a good deal of force in the representations of this speaker; but Congress was not in the mood to listen to them. The moment was one of those when boldness is worth more than prudence, and when the instincts of a people have a deeper sense of truth, and even of ultimate safety, than the most exact calculations. The hour had come, and the American people knew that it had come. The debate was long and impassioned, but the issue was pre-determined. Of that debate no authentic records are to be found, excepting a report, by himself, of the speech of Dickinson. It is certain, however, that it brought out some considerable divergences of opinion, yet that it also showed how strong was the majority in favour of independence. When the vote on this great question came to be taken, it was found that nine out of the thirteen colonies were prepared to issue the declaration, and, in the face of the world, to dissolve connection with Great Britain. The dissentients were South Carolina, all of whose delegates were adverse; and Pennsylvania, whose seven delegates were divided, in the proportion of four against to three in favour. It need hardly be said that Franklin was one of those who, on behalf of the Quaker province, voted for the distinct existence of the United States. The vote of Delaware was negatived, owing to the fact of only two representatives being present, and their opinions being exactly opposed to one another. The delegates from New York read to the committee a letter which they had received from the local Congress of their own province, explaining that their formal concurrence must be withheld for a few days longer, in order that the result of the recent elections might be ascertained; but it was known that all the representatives of the colony save one were desirous of voting on the side of independence. The defection of South Carolina was the more remarkable as the province had recently taken so very advanced a stand in opposition to the parent State. But John Rutledge, the President of the South Carolina Convention, still looked for an accommodation, and shrank from any act which should irrevocably commit the country to a policy of antagonism.

On the resolution being reported, the determination upon it was postponed to the following day. When the delegates met again on the 2nd of July, it was found that Dickinson and Morris, two of the four Pennsylvanian delegates opposed to the declaration, were absent, so that the three who held the contrary opinion were now in the majority. A third delegate had arrived from Delaware, and by his vote secured that colony to the national cause. In order not to disturb the general consent, the members for South Carolina consented to abandon their former view; and accordingly the whole of the thirteen colonies, with the exception of New York, which was simply unable for the time to give expression to its wishes, resolved—"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." To this resolution the sanction of New York was given a week later. John Adams writing to his wife at Boston, on the 3rd of July, to communicate to her the grand event in which he had acted so important a part, hailed that second day of July, 1776, as the most memorable epoch in the history of America. "I am apt to believe," he said, "that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought be solemnised with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, for evermore. You will think me transported by enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that it will cost us to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these States. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not."* The wife of Adams was a woman thoroughly qualified to appreciate her husband's sentiments.

The committee for drawing up the Declaration of Independence had entrusted that task to Thomas Jefferson, who, though at that time only thirty-three years of age—between seven and eight years younger than John Adams, and a mere juvenile as compared with Franklin, both of whom were on the committee—was chosen for a work of great difficulty and importance, because he was held to possess a singular felicity in the expression of popular ideas (as evinced in previous State papers), and because he represented the province of Virginia, the oldest of the Anglo-American colonies. Jefferson, having produced the required document, reported it to the House on the 28th of June, when it was read, and ordered to lie on the table. After the conclusion of the debate on the resolution of independence, on the 2nd of July, the Declaration was passed under review. During the remainder of that day, and the two next, this remarkable production was very closely considered and sifted, and several alterations were made in it. With respect to the modifications in the original draft, before its submittal to Congress, some contradictory accounts have been given. According to the statements of Jefferson himself, he showed his manuscript to John Adams and Franklin separately, as being the two members whose judgments he chiefly desired; and all the corrections they made were those which appeared on the paper in their own handwriting. Adams has left it on record that Jefferson and he acted as a sub-committee, and reviewed the production critically, without making or suggesting an alteration. It would seem, however, that Adams really introduced many more variations than either of these statements would lead one to suppose, although, when the Declaration was laid before Congress, he fought hard for every word as it then stood.† Jefferson considered it his duty to be a passive auditor of the opinions of others, though he afterwards admitted having writhed a little under acrimonious criticisms on some passages of his production. The alterations were prompted by various considerations. A clause reprobating the bondage of the negroes was struck out in deference to South Carolina and Georgia, and perhaps also to the northern provinces, which, though having few slaves themselves, were, as Jefferson remarks, considerable carriers of them for others.* Fear of alienating the goodwill of friends in England led to the omission of those sentences which reflected on the English people. The passage having reference to slavery was this: –

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* The Works of John Adams, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations, by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Vol. I., p. 232. Boston, U.S., 1856.

† Life and Works of John Adams, as before cited, Vol. I., p. 233.

"He [George III.] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel Powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes, committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

Edmund Pendleton, President of the Virginia Convention, regretted that this passage was omitted; but it was generally felt that such remarks would be offensive to the South, if not to the North, and it may possibly have occurred to some that, whatever the guilt of the English monarch with regard to slavery, it was in a certain degree shared by the colonies themselves, and could not justly be imputed altogether to the King. The paragraph on the relations between the American and English peoples was not entirely obliterated; but the greater portion was expunged, and wisely, for it was surely no part of the new Republican policy to create at the very outset, or even needlessly to intensify, a feeling of bitterness and angry recrimination, such as might last for generations. That the reader may compare this clause as it was first written with that which stands in the historic document, Jefferson's unamended paragraph is here subjoined:—

"Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their Legislature to extend a jurisdiction over these our States. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension; that these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain; that in constituting, indeed, our several forms of government, we had adopted one common King, thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them; but that submission to their Parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited; and we appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which were likely to interrupt our connection and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity; and when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have, by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over, not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonising affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce for ever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavour to forget our former love for them, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends. We might have been a free and a great people together; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity. Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory is open to us too. We will tread it apart from them, and acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation."†

The debate on the proposed Declaration came to a termination on the evening of the 4th of July. The document was then reported by the committee, agreed to by the House, and signed by every member present, except Dickinson. Of the alterations, other than those already pointed out, most were trivial, and the work must in the main be considered the production of Jefferson, around whose name it will cast the light of an enduring honour. It is not necessary to contend that every statement, even in the amended Declaration, is indisputable, that every argument is just, that nothing has been exaggerated by passion, and nothing suppressed by partisanship. Probably this could not be said of any statement on one side of any great question that has ever been in dispute. We do not expect to find the judge in the advocate, or, at any rate, we have no right to resent his absence. But it will not at this day be denied by many, even on the English side of the Atlantic, that the Declaration was a work of great power, that it had a large basis of truth, that it appealed, in noble and strenuous language, to the very highest principles of political right and virtue. Its crowning glory is that it did this in no utopian spirit, in no mood of wild and vindictive change, but with decorum, with dignity, with tenderness, and with sense. Englishmen, who regret the quarrel out of which this supreme act of renunciation arose, may yet reflect, with a just satisfaction and no ungenerous pride, that the root of all these principles is to be found in the traditions of a thousand years of English political life. Jefferson did but apply to novel circumstances the general ideas of popular freedom which had long been illustrated in the old country. George III. had endeavoured to introduce into the administration of affairs a species of German absolutism, distasteful alike to Englishmen at home, and to their descendants in America. The Declaration of Independence was the final reply of Americans to the ill-judged and ignorant attempt. Its effect on Europe was immense. It helped, in a very considerable degree, to make the French Revolution; it even influenced England. Doubtless, it is an exaggeration to say that, but for the success of the Americans, England would have been enslaved. The principles of George III. never could have permanently succeeded in the country of Hampden; nor was George himself, with all his errors, altogether devoid of a sturdy English sense of independence. But the example of America strengthened the Liberal party in the mother country, and guaranteed the certainty of reform. This is why the great production of Jefferson should have as much interest for English as for American minds.

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* Jefferson's Autobiography.

† Jefferson's Autobiography. The allusion to the Scotch in the above passage, where they are coupled with foreigners, is singular, considering how many persons from Scotland had settled in the western world.

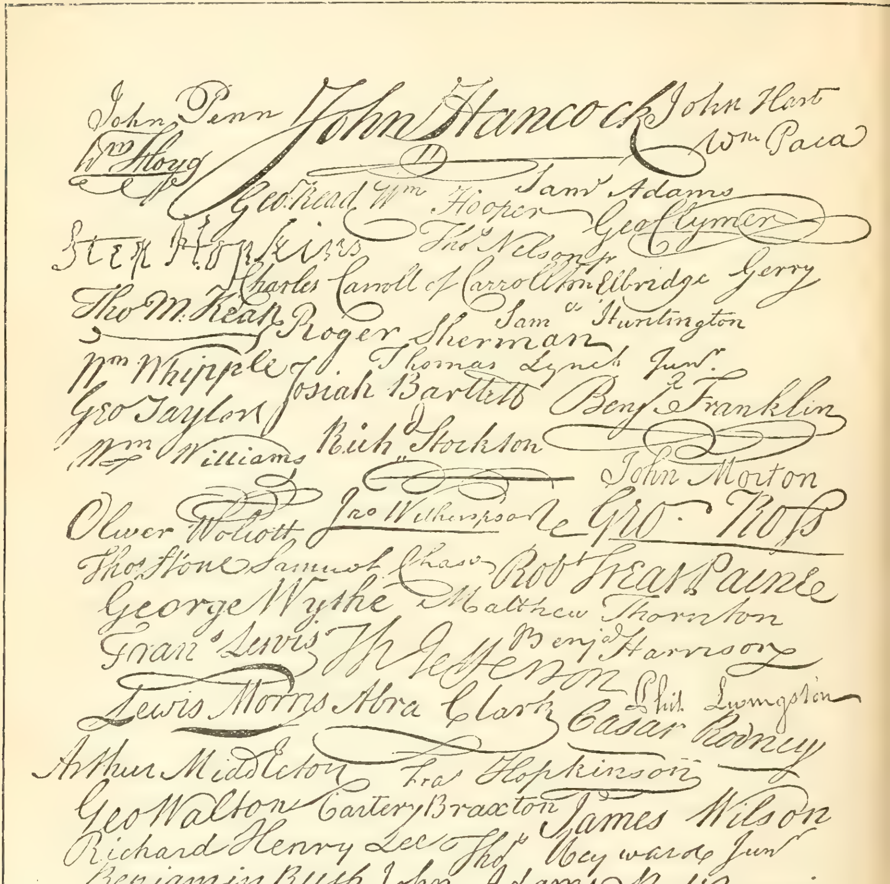
So important a document should be presented in full. As finally revised, it ran as follows :—

"In Congress, July 4th, 1776. A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

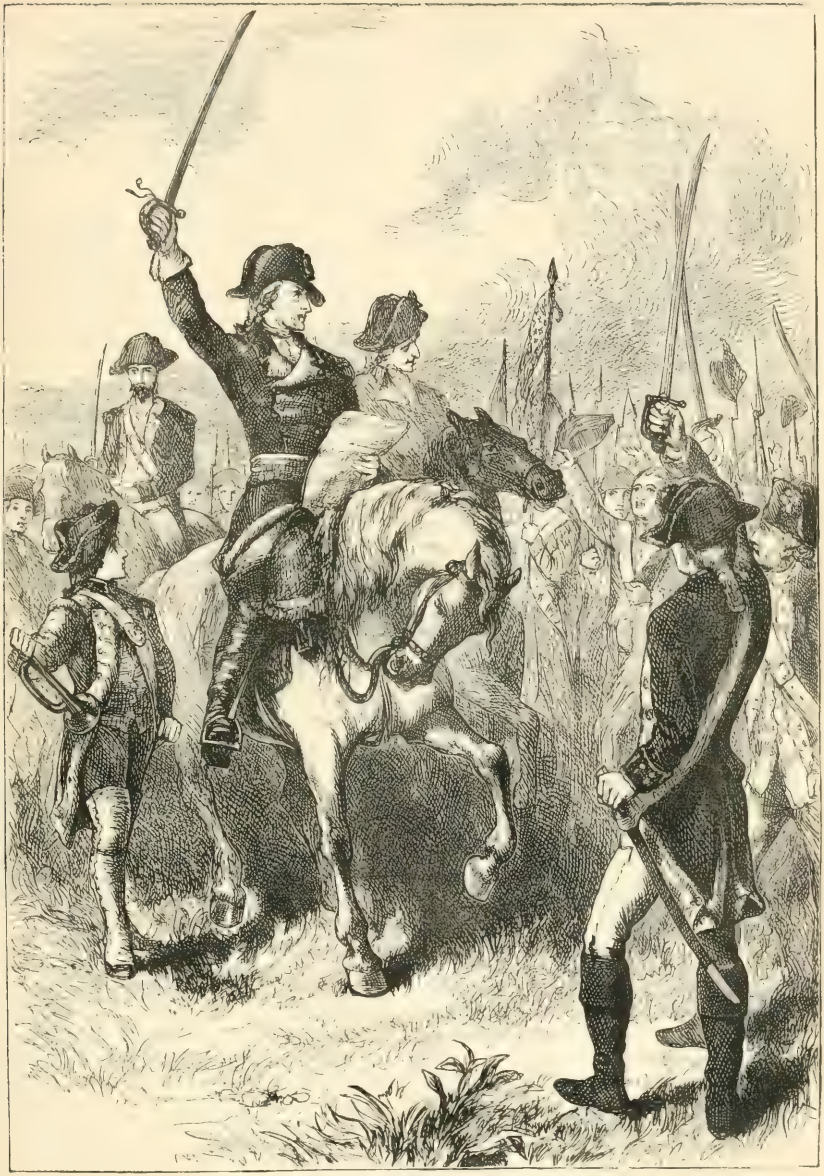
"We hold these truths to be self-evident :—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people. He has refused, for a



John Penn John Hancock John Hart
Wm Floyd Wm Paca
Geo Read Wm Hooper Saml Adams
Step Hopkins Thos Nelson jr. Geo Clymer
Charles Carroll of Carrollton Elbridge Gerry
Tho M:Kean Roger Sherman Saml Huntington
Wm Whipple Thomas Lynch Junr.
Geo Taylor Josiah Bartlett Benja Franklin
Wm Williams Richd Stockton
John Morton
Oliver Wolcott Jno Witherspoon Geo Ross
Thos Stone Samuel Chase Robt Treat Paine
George Wythe Matthew Thornton
Frans Lewis Th Jefferson Benja Harrison
Lewis Morris Abra Clark Phil Livingston
Cæsar Rodney
Arthur Middleton Fras Hopkinson
Geo Walton Carter Braxton James Wilson
Richard Henry Lee Thos Heyward Junr
Benjamin Rush John Adams Robt Morris
Lyman Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
Francis Lightfoot Lee
William Ellery Edward Rutledge Jas Smith

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURES TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE READ TO THE ARMY.

long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalisation of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws: giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments; for suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilised nation. He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands. He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

"JOHN HANCOCK."

The signature of John Hancock—which stood by itself, as being that of the President of Congress

—was followed by those of delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York (given a few days after the 4th), New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. One of the representatives of New Hampshire (Matthew Thornton) was permitted to append his signature as late as the 4th of November —just four months after the date of the Declaration. It cannot be said that this great act of national sovereignty was agreed to with spontaneous unanimity, for South Carolina and Pennsylvania were opposed to it, although, as we have seen, their scruples were overcome or evaded. But it must be admitted that, on the whole, it expressed the desire and the will of a majority of the American people. It appeared to them to offer the only resource against tyranny and injustice. It flattered, also, the national ambition to exist as a separate Power amongst the great countries of the world. Undoubtedly, no more important act has ever been performed. From that day forward—from that memorable 4th of July, 1776—the Republic of English America assumed a distinct and tangible existence. The United Colonies became the United States. George III. was formally deposed in thirteen provinces of his Empire, and some millions of his subjects became foreigners. A new chapter in the annals of the human race had been opened, and it was as yet too early to forecast with any certainty whether that chapter was to be mainly characterised by weal or woe.

CHAPTER XXX.

Proposed Articles of Confederation for the New Republic—Debate on Article XI., referring to the Quota of Money to be furnished by each State to the Common Treasury—The Question of Slavery—Division between North and South—Discussion on the Mode of Voting in Congress: whether in Proportion to Numbers, or simply by States—Speeches of Chase, Franklin, Witherspoon, John Adams, and Wilson—State Rights and Federal Rights—The Declaration of Independence read before the American Army at New York—Its Reception—Loyalists in the State of New York—Appointment of a Committee for Arresting suspected Persons—Arrival of the British Fleet from Halifax, Nova Scotia—Defective Condition of Washington's Army—English Ships sent up the Hudson—Lord Howe's "Declaration" to the American People—An Interview sought with Washington—The Negotiations prevented by a Point of Form—Interview of an American Colonel with Lord Howe—Fruitless Civilities—Lord Howe's Correspondence with Franklin—The Military Situation at New York shortly after the Declaration of Independence.

July 4th, 1776, was the birthday of American Independence. The great act then performed had conducted the nation from the closed gates of the past to the opening porches of the future; but it had done no more. It expressed a resolve, but as a matter of fact it accomplished nothing. All the dangers of the situation, now increased by the boldness of the defiance offered to England, had still to be encountered; all the details of government in a newly-created Republic had still to be settled. It was necessary, in the first instance, to draw up Articles of Confederation; for the tie which had previously held together the associated colonies was of a very slight and temporary nature. The framing of these articles was placed in the hands of a committee, and the report of the committee was presented to Congress on the 12th of July. On the 22nd, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take the proposed articles into consideration; and on the 30th and 31st of that month, and the 1st of August, those heads were debated which determined the proportion of money to be furnished by each State to the common treasury, and the manner of voting in Congress. In the original draft, Article XI. set forth:—"All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several colonies in proportion to the number of inhabitants, of every age, sex, and quality, except Indians not paying taxes, in each colony, a true account of which, distinguishing the white inhabitants, shall be triennially taken, and transmitted to the Assembly of the United States." The discussion which ensued brought out in a very forcible manner that radical division between the Northern and the Southern States which, eighty-five years later, led to civil war, and revealed, more clearly than before, the political difficulties entailed by the institution of slavery.

Mr. Chase moved that the quotas should be fixed, not by the number of inhabitants of every condition, but by that of the white inhabitants.

He admitted that taxation should be always in proportion to property—that this was, in theory, the true rule; but he added that, from a variety of circumstances, it was a rule which could never be adopted in practice. The value of the property in each State could never be estimated justly and equally. Some other measure for the wealth of the State must therefore be devised; some standard referred to which would be more simple. He considered the number of inhabitants as a tolerably good criterion of property, and that this might always be obtained. Negroes were property, and, as such, could not be distinguished from the lands or personalities held in those States where there were few slaves. The surplus of profit which a Northern farmer was able to lay by, he invested in cattle, horses, &c., whereas a Southern farmer laid out the same surplus in slaves. There was no more reason, therefore, for taxing the Southern States on their farmers' heads, and on their slaves' heads, than the Northern States on their farmers' heads and the heads of their cattle. The method proposed would, consequently, tax the Southern States according to their numbers and their wealth conjointly, while the Northern would be taxed on numbers only. Negroes, in fact, should not be considered as members of the State, any more than cattle, as they had no more interest in it.*

In reply to these arguments, John Adams observed that the numbers of the people were, in Article XI., taken as an index to the wealth of the State, and not as subjects for taxation. It mattered nothing, as regarded the object proposed, whether the labouring poor were called freemen or slaves. Ten labourers on a farm would add as much wealth annually to the State, and increase its exports as much, in the one case as in the other. A given number of freemen, said Adams, would produce no more profits, no greater surplus for the payment of taxes, than an equal number of slaves. Therefore, the State where the labourers were freemen should be taxed no more than that where they were bondsmen. In the course of his speech, Adams made the remarkable assertion that the condition of the fishermen in the Northern States was as abject as that of slaves. It was the number of labourers, he contended, which produced the surplus for taxation; and consequently numbers, taken indiscriminately, were the fair index to wealth. Men were in the habit of regarding a slave as being more properly the wealth of his master than a free labourer was the wealth of his employer; but both were equally the wealth of the State, and should therefore equally add to the quota of its tax. This view, however, was still resisted by the Southern members, and one of them put forward an amendment, to the effect that two slaves should be counted as one freeman. He affirmed that slaves did not do as much work as freemen, and doubted if two slaves effected more than one free labourer. This, he said, was proved by the price of labour; for the hire of a labourer in the Southern colonies was from £8 to £12, while in the Northern it was generally £24. On behalf of the North, it was urged that, if the proposed amendment were sanctioned, the South would have all the benefit of slaves, while the North would bear all the burden. Experience had shown that those colonies had always been able to pay most which had the most inhabitants, whether black or white; and the practice of the Southern provinces had invariably been to make every farmer pay poll-taxes upon all his labourers, whatever their colour. Freemen, it was true, worked the most; but then they consumed the most also. They did not produce a greater surplus for taxation. Slaves were neither fed nor clothed so expensively as freemen. White women, moreover, were generally exempt from labour; but negro women worked, and therefore added to the wealth of the State. On the side of the South, it was maintained that the tax, as suggested, would fall unfairly. The argument that the slave-holding States always took slaves into their estimates of taxes, was held not to be conclusive; for, it was contended, slaves, where they were held, pervaded the whole colony, whereas they did not pervade the whole of the Federal Union. On the question being put, the amendment was rejected by the votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, against those of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas,—Georgia being divided.

The other article which led to prolonged dispute (the seventeenth as it stood in the original draft) provided that, in determining questions, each colony should have one vote. This awakened a good many jealousies, and provoked an animated debate. Mr. Chase observed that not one of the articles was so likely to divide them as that. The larger colonies had threatened they would not confederate at all if their weight in Congress should not be equal to the numbers of people they added to the Confederacy; while the smaller colonies had declared against the Union if they were not to retain an equal vote for the pro tection of their rights. It was of the utmost consequence, said this speaker, to bring the several States together, as, if they parted from one another, either no foreign Power would ally with them at all, or the different States would form different alliances, and thus increase the horror of those scenes of civil war and bloodshed which, in such a condition of separation and independence, would be certain to occur. He proposed a compromise, which was that a discrimination should be made among the several questions which would come before Congress; that in all questions concerning life or liberty the smaller States should have an equal vote with the larger; but that in votes relating to money the voice of each colony should be proportioned to the number of its inhabitants. This suggestion was supported by Franklin, who remarked that if the States voted equally they ought to pay equally; which the smaller States would certainly not agree to.* Dr. Witherspoon, of New Jersey, a Scotch Presbyterian minister who sat in Congress as one of the representatives of the province in which he had settled, contended that the colonies should be considered as individuals, and that as such they should have an equal vote in all matters. John Adams, on the contrary, advocated voting in proportion to numbers. They stood there as representatives of the people. In some States the people were many; in others they were but few: consequently, their votes in Congress should be proportioned to the numbers of the communities from which they came. The councils of men were governed, not by reason, justice, and equity, but by interest alone: therefore, the interests within doors should be the mathematical representatives of the interests without doors. The individuality of the States, according to Adams, was a mere sound. The Confederacy, he conceived, was to form all the separate parts into one individual only; it was to weld them, like separate pieces of metal, into one common mass. They would no longer retain their separate individuality, but become a single individual as to all questions submitted to the Confederacy. These opinions of so great a man as John Adams are of the utmost importance, and should be borne in mind throughout the whole subsequent course of American history. The supremacy of the Union over the separate States was always insisted upon by the North, and questioned by the South; and it was this which, in connection with the great evil of slavery, caused the rupture of 1861.

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* Outline of the speech given by Jefferson in his Autobiography.

The debate went on, and drew forth from Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, a masterly exposition of those views which had already received the sanction of John Adams. It had been said, he remarked, that Congress was a representation of States, not of individuals. "I say," he continued, "that the objects of its care are all the individuals of the States. It is strange that annexing the name of 'State' to ten thousand men should give them an equal right with forty thousand. This must be the effect of magic, not of reason. As to those matters which are referred to Congress, we are not so many States; we are one large State. We lay aside our individuality whenever we come here. The Germanic body is a burlesque on government, and its practice on any point is a sufficient authority and proof that such practice is wrong. The greatest imperfection in the constitution of the Belgic Confederacy is their voting by provinces. The interest of the whole is constantly sacrificed to that of the small States. The history of the war in the reign of Queen Anne sufficiently proves this. It is asked, Shall nine colonies put it into the power of four to govern them as they please? I invert the question, and ask, Shall two millions of people put it in the power of one million to govern them as they please? It is pretended, too, that the smaller colonies will be in danger from the greater. Speak in honest language, and say, the minority will be in danger from the majority. And is there an assembly on earth where this danger may not be equally pretended? The truth is, that our proceedings will then be consentaneous with the interests of the majority, and so they ought to be. The probability is much greater that the larger States will disagree than that they will combine. I defy the wit of man to invent a possible case, or to suggest any one thing on earth, which shall be for the interests of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, and not also for the interests of the other States."†

Thus early did the American Republic develop those difficulties of divided jurisdiction which are inseparable from all Federal Governments, and which particular circumstances tended to make especially perplexing in the United States. The discussion has here been followed at some length, because it discloses the source of many subsequent troubles, and explains much that is of the highest importance in the annals of the nation. But we must now turn aside from these contests of the political arena, and again trace the progress of military events. News of the Declaration of Independence reached the camp of Washington, at New York, in the course of a few days, and, by order of the Commander-in-Chief, that great manifesto was read aloud at the head of every regiment on the evening of July 9th. It was accompanied by an order of the day, in which the General expressed his hope that so important an event would serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that the peace and safety of the country depended, under God, solely on the success of their arms, and that they were now in the service of a State possessed of sufficient power to reward merit, and advance the deserving to the highest honours of a free country.

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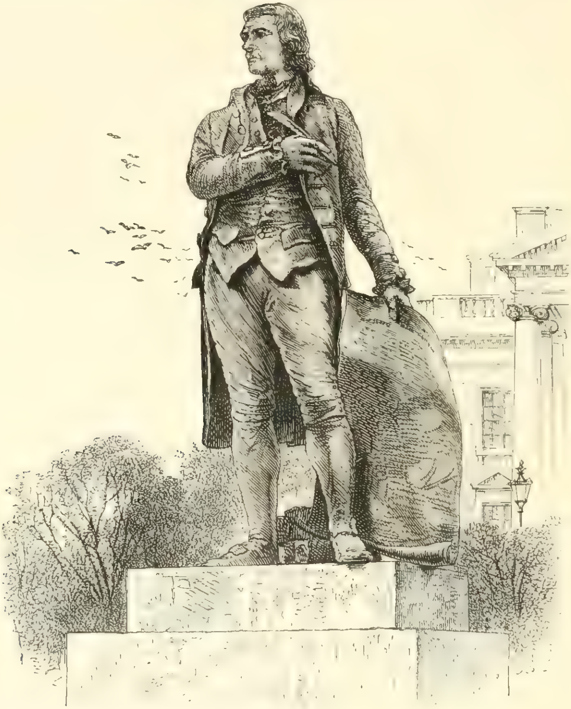
* Franklin was at this time presiding over the Pennsylvanian convention for the formation of a State constitution, and, on the question of the voting power of the States being brought forward, he drew up a protest against equality of voting, which, however, was not pressed, owing to a disinclination to create division at a critical period.

† Jefferson's Autobiography.



STATUE OF JEFFERSON IN FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON.

The reading of the Declaration has been said, by an authority of distinction, to have been greeted by the most hearty demonstrations of joy.* But another American author has observed that "no one can read the private correspondence of the times without being struck with the slight impression made on either the army or the mass of the people by the Declaration."† There were, indeed, some exceptions to this feeling of apathy. A party of soldiers riotously assembled at New York, pulled down a statue of the King which had been erected in the Broadway a few years before, and beheaded it—an act of political fanaticism for which Washington very properly rebuked them the next day. Yet, from whatever cause—whether owing to the event having been long anticipated, or from its making little tangible difference in the state of affairs—the great act accomplished at Philadelphia aroused no general or passionate enthusiasm.

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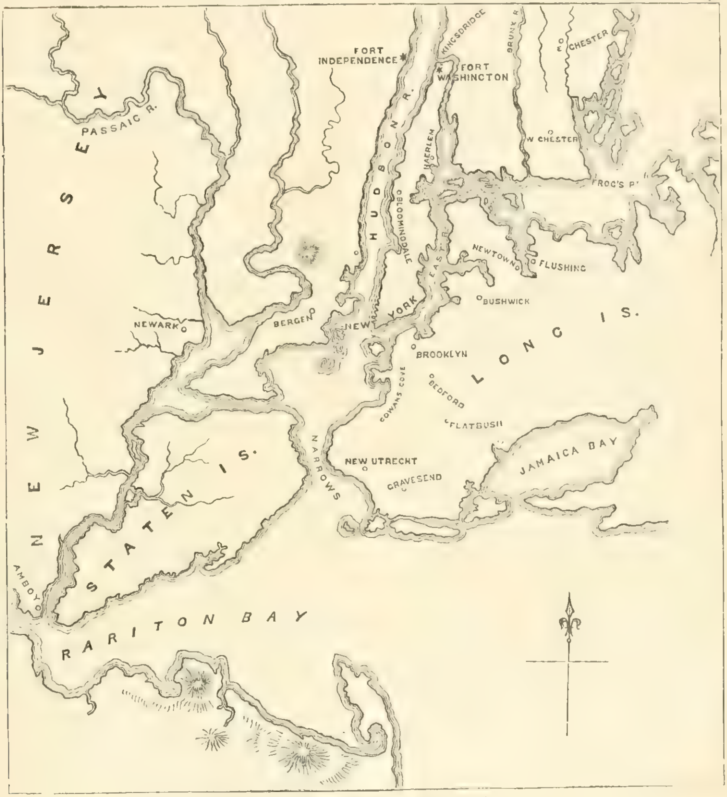
* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap 8.

† Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Vol. I.

Some weeks before the Declaration of Independence, Washington had attended Congress, to advise its members on the military situation, and to concert arrangements for the campaign. On his return to the camp, after an absence of fifteen days, he set about making preparations to receive the enemy, the approach of whose fleet was every day expected. His difficulties were increased by the large number of loyalists in the city of New York, in Long Island, Staten Island, and many parts of the interior, and by the timorous hesitation of the Provincial Congress, which showed little zeal in the eradication of opinions hostile to the new order. Washington frequently expostulated with that body, and it was at length found necessary to appoint a secret committee, charged with power to arrest and examine suspected persons. In the midst of this distracted and turbulent state, a part of the British fleet from Halifax, Nova Scotia, arrived off Sandy Hook. Its appearance at that spot was on the 28th of June, and the remainder of the fleet followed within a week, when General Howe established his head-quarters on Staten Island. Washington had under his command an army of eleven thousand men, of whom two thousand had no arms at all, while others were but poorly furnished. Even numerically considered, such a force was quite inadequate to the work required of it; but new levies were frequently coming in, for Congress had recently resolved to reinforce the New York army with large bodies of militia, drawn chiefly from the Northern and Central States. The discipline of all the troops, however, was so bad that Joseph Reed, of Penn-


FORT INDEPENDENCE
KINGSBRIDGE
BRUNX R.
CHESTER
FORT WASHINGTON
PASSAIC R.
HUDSON R.
HAERLEM
W CHESTER
FROG'S P.
BLOOMINGDALE
EAST R.
NEWTOWN
FLUSHING
NEW JERSEY
BUSHWICK
NEWARK
BERGEN
NEW YORK
LONG IS.
BROOKLYN
COWANS COVE
BEDFORD
FLATBUSH
STATEN IS.
NARROWS
NEW UTRECHT
GRAVESEND
JAMAICA BAY
AMBOY
RARITON BAY

MAP OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY, 1776.

sylvania, who had recently been made Adjutant-General, looked with dismay on the chances of the future; and, in private, he represented this feeling as universal. But Washington repelled the promptings of despondency. His military position in July, 1776, was decidedly grave; yet he confronted the dangers of the time with that unruffled serenity which was one of his finest characteristics.

The first step taken by General Howe, upon arriving off New York, was to send two ships with three tenders up the Hudson, with a view to cutting off the communication by water between Washington's army and Canada, and between the city and the country, so as to intercept supplies. He also hoped in this way to give support to the loyalists, and to take soundings of the river. The vessels managed to pass the New York batteries without injury, and gained a broad part of the river called Tappan Sea. They were absent five weeks, during which time one of the tenders was burnt by a fireship sent among them by the Americans, who were assembled in force on the banks for the protection of the neighbouring highlands. On the arrival of Lord Howe, the chief naval commander, at Staten Island, he and his brother, General Howe, took measures for giving effect to those conciliatory powers with which the King had invested them. They were in truth the commissioners for composing differences whom the less extreme section of patriots had long been expecting, with sanguine anticipations of the good effect of their offices; but they were commissioners bearing the olive-branch in one hand, and the sword in the other. While at sea, Lord Howe had written a circular letter to the Royal Governors of the colonies, accompanied by a Declaration, setting forth his authority as commissioner from the King; granting pardons to all such as were willing to return to their duty; promising that any colony, town, post, or place that submitted instantly should be exempted from the provisions of the Act of Parliament prohibiting trade, &c.; and giving assurances that the meritorious services of all persons who should aid and assist in restoring tranquillity would be duly rewarded. These papers were put ashore by a flag at Amboy, and shortly reached the hands of Washington, who enclosed them to the President of Congress. The chief document contained no promise to remove the grievances of which the Americans had for several years complained; and it is therefore quite certain that it would not, in itself, have produced any effect of a pacific character, even had it arrived before the Declaration of Independence. It was even published by Congress as a final and conclusive proof that the liberties of the country could only be saved by fighting; that nothing was to be expected from the justice or the tenderness of Great Britain. This, however, was a hasty conclusion. Howe was prepared to treat, and it was certainly worth while to hear what he had to say before pronouncing that his mission was in vain.

The attempt to negotiate broke down at the very outset on a matter of form. Lord Howe sent a flag of truce with a letter to Washington; but the letter was directed in a manner which, in the opinion of the American General, rendered it inadmissible. It had previously been determined by Washington that no letter from the British commanders, not directed to him in his official capacity, should be received. To Lord Howe it appeared equally clear that he, as holding the King's commission, could not acknowledge any rank or title not derived from his Majesty, yet claimed by one whom he was bound to consider a British subject. He had therefore directed his letter to "George Washington, Esq." Reed, who met the officer carrying the letter immediately on his landing, refused to receive a communication thus superscribed. Congress, on being apprised of the circumstance by Washington himself, highly approved of the course he had taken, and passed a resolution that in future no letters should be received from the enemy, by commanders in the American army, which should not be directed to them in the characters they sustained. A subsequent letter was addressed "George Washington, Esq., &c., &c., &c."; but, although some degree of concession was thus implied, the missive was refused, like its predecessor. Then a conversation took place between an English officer and the American commander, at which the former used many civil speeches; but it led to nothing. An interview between Colonel Palfrey, Paymaster-General of the American army, and Lord Howe, on board the Admiral's ship, on the 30th of July, was equally void of results. Palfrey, in a letter to the President of Congress, wrote that he and his companion were treated with the utmost politeness by Lord Howe, who spoke with high respect of General Washington, and said he wished to convey his sentiments to him in any mode of address that would not be blamed by the King, his master. He always alluded to the American commander as "General" Washington, and frequently referred to the "States" of America. Glancing at the contrast which had been drawn by Congress between the first Lord Howe and himself and General Howe, he said, with much emotion, "I hope

America will one day or other be convinced that, in our affection for that country, we also are Howes." He expressed a desire that the letter to General Washington, addressed "&c., &c., &c.," should be received, saying it would imply everything that the opposite side could desire, and at the same time save him (Lord Howe) from censure. But Colonel Palfrey declined to receive the communication; and from that time forward all letters addressed by the British commanders to General Washington bore his official titles.

Among the letters written by Lord Howe while yet at sea, was one to his friend, Dr. Franklin, with whom, it will be remembered, he had had several interviews before the latter quitted England—interviews prompted by the vain hope of effecting a reconciliation between the two countries. His letter is dated June 20th, 1776, with a postscript written "off Sandy Hook, 12th of July." It was expressed in terms of great friendship towards Franklin, and intimated that the grief of the writer would be heart-felt "if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity for preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels," should keep the English and their descendants a divided people. Franklin, while still confessing a great personal regard for his Lordship, replied on the general question with not a little acrimony. Referring to the terms held out in Lord Howe's official Declaration to the American people, he said:—"Directing pardons to be offered the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentment. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty burnt our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, excited the savages to massacre our farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters, and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every remaining spark of affection for that parent country we once held so dear; but, were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you (I mean the British nation) to forgive the people you have so heavily injured. You can never confide again in those as fellow-subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom you know you have given such just cause of lasting enmity. And this must impel you, were we again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our spirit by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity."

Lord Howe rejoined with another letter, written off Staten Island on the 16th of August, in which he remarked that he did not suppose it necessary to go into any particulars as to the conciliatory measures which he intended to propose, as he had not conceived that his public Declaration could be understood to refer to peace on any conditions but those of mutual interest to both countries, which could alone render it permanent. Franklin's letter to Lord Howe had been delivered to that nobleman on board his ship by Mr. Nathaniel Tracy, who accompanied Colonel Palfrey on the occasion already referred to. The latter gentleman records that the English Admiral frequently exhibited marks of surprise as he read the epistle. When he had finished perusing it, he said that his old friend had expressed himself very warmly, but that he (the speaker) had left England with an ardent desire to be the means of effecting a reconciliation on terms equally honourable and advantageous to both sides. Colonel Palfrey remarked that he had now a fair opportunity to mention to Dr. Franklin, in a private letter, his design in coming out, and what were his expectations from America. Lord Howe declined to do this, saying that the Doctor had grown too warm, and that, if he expressed himself fully, he should only give him pain, which he would wish to avoid.* Nevertheless, he afterwards wrote briefly to him, as described; but his letter produced no effect, and the preparations for active operations went on without abatement.

General Howe remained two months at Staten Island, waiting for reinforcements; and during that period Washington exerted himself to the utmost in strengthening his works on the island of New York and the adjacent continent. Between two forts, hastily thrown up on the opposite banks of the Hudson, the channel of the river was obstructed by hulks of vessels and rows of spikes. Batteries were formed on the shores of the North and East Rivers; several redoubts were erected; and the grounds near Kingsbridge were fortified. Such was the state of the American position when, about the middle of August, the last of the British reinforcements arrived. General Howe had now been joined by the detachments on board Sir Peter Parker's squadron, under Clinton and Cornwallis; by several regiments from England, the West Indies, and the Floridas; and by a number of

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* Extract from Letter of Colonel Palfrey to John Hancock (President of Congress), quoted by Mr. Sparks in Note to Franklin's Writings, Vol. V., pp. 102–3.

Hessians. Altogether, Howe had under his orders nearly thirty thousand men, and both the army and the fleet were admirably equipped. Washington's force, according to a return made on the 3rd of August, consisted, nominally, of twenty thousand five hundred and thirty-seven men, including the officers. Nearly four thousand of these were sick and unfit for duty; many were militia; and none could be described as veteran troops. Their training was imperfect, their habit of obedience precarious, their equipment bad, and their efficiency marred in many ways. With this army, and no better, Washington, towards the end of August, awaited the attack of the English.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Apprehensions of Washington—Provincial Jealousies among his Troops—Order of the Day on the Subject—The American and English Armies—General Howe lands on Long Island—Position of the Americans, and its Natural and Artificial Defences—Approach of the British towards the American Lines—A Vulnerable Point—Advance of the Attacking Force on the 27th of August—Severe Fighting along the whole Line—The English gain the Rear of the American Army—Defeat of the Americans, and Precipitate Flight—Error of Howe in not following up his Advantage—Losses of the Americans and English—Untenable Position of the Americans on Long Island—Their Escape to New York—Mistakes committed by Washington's Subordinates—Complaints by Washington as to the Quality of his Soldiers—The Americans prepare to evacuate New York—Lord Howe's offer to open Negotiations with a View to a Pacific Arrangement—Course adopted by Congress—Three Commissioners elected to confer with Lord Howe—Interview with his Lordship on Staten Island—The Americans refuse to Treat, except as Independent States—Failure of the Negotiations.

WASHINGTON was far from satisfied with his position or his resources, although he determined to do the best he could with the means at his disposal. In a letter to Congress, dated the 8th of August, he explained the heavy disadvantages under which he should labour in the event of an attack by the English. He believed, however—a belief which subsequent events tended to modify—that he should have the support of his troops; and he added that, although the encounter which he was expecting might not terminate happily for the Americans, the enemy would not succeed without considerable loss, and any advantage he might gain would cost him dear. What chiefly troubled him in his own army was insubordination, resulting from provincial jealousies, which were carried to such an excessive degree that the General felt compelled to issue a special order of the day on the subject. He reminded the several regiments that they could not assist their adversaries more effectually than by making divisions among themselves; that the provinces were united to oppose the common enemy; and that local differences had been sunk in the name of an American. "Let all distinctions of nations, countries, and provinces, therefore," he said, "be lost in the generous contest, who shall behave with the most courage against the enemy, and the most kindness and good humour to each other. If there be any officers or soldiers so lost to virtue and a love of their country as to continue in such practices after this order, the General assures them, and is authorised by Congress to declare to the whole army, that such persons shall be severely punished, and dismissed from the service with disgrace." The words thus earnestly put forth did not entirely fail of their effect; but in many quarters they were little heeded. It was always found necessary to keep the troops of each State as much as possible together, and under general officers from the Government to which they belonged.[*]

As August advanced, the American army received further reinforcements; but it was still inferior to the English army in numbers alone, if merely the effectives be considered. General Howe, on the other hand, had not only a strong body of highly-trained and well-armed soldiers, but the assistance of a powerful fleet, which was peculiarly serviceable in operations against a city like New York, standing on a small island, and therefore capable of being approached by water from several directions. The assailants could at any time land at many different places; and in proportion as this added to the advantages of the English General, it increased the difficulties of the American. The attempts to obstruct the navigation of the rivers proved ineffectual; and several British ships of war sailed up the Hudson, receiving but slight damage from the batteries on shore. The American army was now posted partly in the city of New York, and partly on Long Island. The command on the island was, at first, in the hands of General Greene—an officer of great ability, unimpeachable courage, and much zeal, who was unfortunately stricken with a raging fever at the very time when his judgment and vigour were most needed. Sullivan was appointed to fill his place—an unlucky selection, that General having shown, by his conduct of the retreat from Canada, that his military capacity was not at all equal to the grand promises he was so eloquent in making. On the side of the attacking force, everything was managed with care and prudence; and on the 22nd of August, under cover of a sharp fire from some of the fleet, Howe crossed the Narrows from Staten Island, on the west, to Long Island on the east. His passage was not resisted; and he landed between two small towns, which bear testimony to the successive Dutch and English occupations of the soil by their designations of Utrecht and Gravesend.

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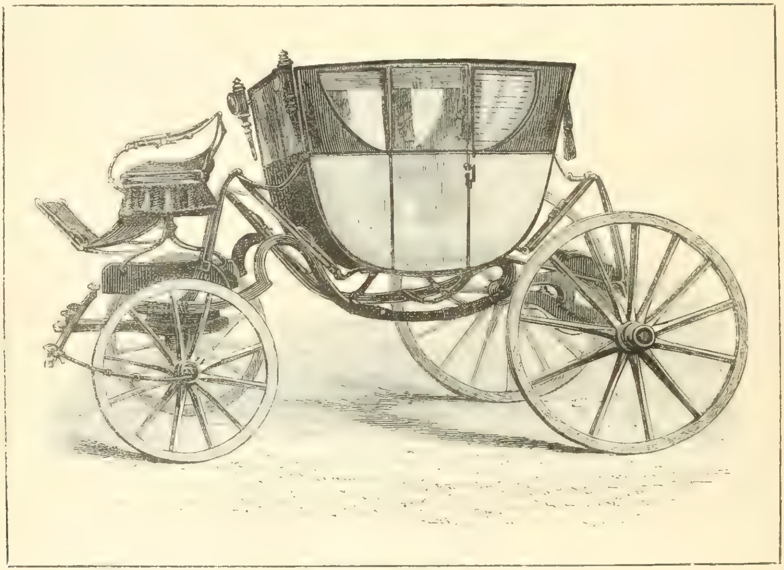
[*] Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 8.

It was now evident that the design of the English was to approach the city of New York across Long Island, instead of bombarding it from the bay. Washington had anticipated such a movement, and had stationed Greene's division at Brooklyn, opposite to the city, and separated from it by the East River. The position was secured on the land side by a chain of entrenchments and redoubts, which had been constructed under the directions of Greene; towards the water it was covered by batteries at several points. A range of hills, shadowed by a thick wood, and crossed by three roads, extended between Brooklyn and the spot where Howe effected his landing. Breastworks had been thrown up at the principal passes of the hills, and three or four regiments were stationed where it was hoped they might dispute the advance of the attacking force. The total number of troops on the island has been variously estimated at from five to eleven thousand; they were at any rate sufficiently numerous to form a good-sized army. The division sent forward by Howe consisted of English regiments under Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, and of Hessians under General Heister and Count Donop. Their numbers were about eight thousand. The fortified camp at Brooklyn, which the Americans had taken so much pains to construct, was excellently situated for resisting assault. The right flank of the army stationed there was covered by a marsh which extended to Gowanus Bay, in the west of the island; on their left they had an elbow of the East River, called the Wallabout; their rear was backed by the Strait between Brooklyn and New York; and in front were the artificial works to which allusion has been made. From the 23rd to the 26th of August, nothing occurred of greater note than a series of skirmishes between the British forces and the advanced posts of the Americans. The former were now occupying the plain lying to the south-east of the hills in front of the American position. General Grant commanded the left wing, near the coast; Heister, with his Hessians, the centre; and Clinton the right. The work which they had to perform was to force one or more of the passes through the hills, to fall on the American position, and to inflict a defeat on the army posted there.

Sullivan seems not to have been fully sensible of the necessity of strengthening the defensive works that had already been thrown up in these defiles. During the few days he held the chief command on the island, he did nothing to improve the position which he found; and, with his usual habit of boasting, he said of the very weakest of the three paths that it was so strongly guarded that an angel could not force it. He was soon superseded by General Israel Putnam, who threw forward strong detachments to guard two of these passes—the one nearest the Narrows, and the middle one, on the Flatbush road; but that which fronted the right of the English line he left with no other protection than an officer and a small party, who were to give notice should the enemy approach. The force sent to the middle defile was under the orders of Sullivan; that which was detached for the security of the pass bordering on the Narrows, was commanded by a gentleman named William Alexander, who had been Surveyor-General of the Jerseys, and a member of the Royal Council, although he subsequently embraced the popular cause. He was a distant kinsman of the last Earls of Stirling, and had claimed the title at the bar of the House of Lords; but the case was decided against him. Nevertheless, the Americans always called him Lord Stirling, and American writers to this day admit the same designation. The troops under his command and that of Sullivan had to bear the chief brunt of the engagement which ensued on the 27th; and, although no great generalship was exhibited, some hard fighting took place when at length the opposing armies came into collision.

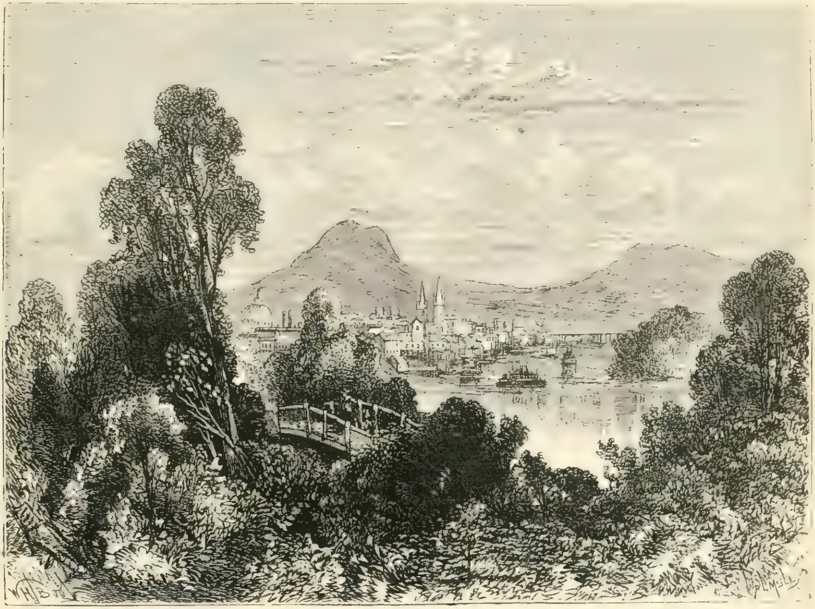
General Howe, having received information as to the position and resources of his antagonist from some American officers who had been taken prisoners, determined to send the main portion of his forces through the eastern defile—that on the Bedford road—and thus turn the left of the American line. Early on the morning of the 27th of August, Clinton and Cornwallis moved forward on this road; and at the same time, to divert the attention of the Americans, Generals Grant and Heister attacked the passes next the Narrows and on the Flatbush road. The necessity of defending these inlets drew off a large part of the American army, and made the passage of the eastern defile a matter of little difficulty. The officer appointed to watch that weak point, and to give notice of any hostile movement, performed his office of scout very badly. He raised no alarm until it was too late, and the English were thus enabled to penetrate through the hills, to turn westward when they had reached the northern side, and to gain the rear of the American division which was defending the pass on the Flatbush or central road. Grant and Heister had been ordered to advance but slowly until the flanking movement was accomplished; but when the sound of the guns assured them that this part of the design had succeeded, they pushed on, and added materially to the embarrassments of the enemy. The American advanced guard on the western road had in the first instance fled on the approach of Grant, firing the houses and granaries as they retreated; but Alexander, to whom that General was opposed, afterwards made a determined stand, and it is generally allowed that the men whom he commanded, and who belonged to the Southern and Middle States, exhibited great courage and firmness, contesting every foot of ground against a superior force.



WASHINGTON'S COACH.

Success, however, was hopeless as soon as the right of the English line had managed to outflank the American left. The centre, under Sullivan, had, up to that point, kept the Hessians at bay; now, fearing an attack in the rear, the men began to retreat, but the movement was too late. The division of Clinton and Cornwallis soon appeared at their back, and commenced a furious assault. Placed between two fires, and unable at the moment to discover any means of escape, their situation became terrible. By the English they were forced towards the Hessians; by the Hessians they were driven back upon the English. In this manner they were tossed about from one division of the opposing force to another, until, by a desperate effort, they cut their way through the English line, and regained their camp at Brooklyn. Alexander's detachment was similarly surprised, and exposed to a double attack, the right of the English line gradually overlapping so far as to gain the rear of the American right. After a brave resistance, Alexander's regiments retreated hurriedly and in confusion. The greater number attempted to escape along the dyke of a mill-dam, and through the marsh lying in the vicinity of Gowanus Bay; but many of them were drowned, and only a shattered remnant got back to camp. By mid-day, the rout of the

Americans was complete. During the action, reinforcements were despatched both to Alexander and to Sullivan, and Washington himself crossed over to Brooklyn, where he witnessed with keen anguish the rout and slaughter of his troops. He was unable to send any further reinforcements, lest his camp at New York should be dangerously weakened; and for a moment it seemed as if the lines at Brooklyn would have been carried. The English and Hessians pursued the discomfited forces almost to the foot of those lines, and so great was the ardour of the conquerors that they desired to assault the position at once. But Howe, who had by this time arrived on the ground, checked their impetuosity, although not without some trouble, and in the evening they encamped in front of the American works. In his despatch with reference to this contest (which is sometimes called the Battle of Brooklyn, but more often the Battle of Long Island), General Howe admitted that, had his troops been suffered to go on, they would in all probability have carried the redoubt. But he did not care to spend so many lives in an enterprise which appeared to him superfluous, as he felt convinced that the lines could be obtained at a very cheap rate by regular approaches. His hesitation, however, was much to be regretted from a military point of view; for, had the position been carried, the greater part of the American army would doubtless have been captured or destroyed, and a severe blow would thus have been inflicted on the insurgents at the outset of the campaign. Even as it was, the result of the action was discouraging to them. They lost nearly a thousand men in killed and wounded, and an unusually large number of prisoners remained in the hands of the British. Among the latter were Generals Sullivan and Alexander; but these officers were exchanged, together with other prisoners, on a cartel being established between the two armies shortly afterwards. The loss on the part of the English and Hessians was comparatively slight. Many of the Americans fought admirably; others exhibited the unsteadiness and ready fear common to raw and undisciplined levies.



VIEW OF LONG ISLAND.

On the morning of the 28th, the English troops began to open their approaches about six hundred yards from one of the redoubts. But Washington had come to the conclusion that the position was untenable, and he resolved to abandon it. The day was so rainy that little could be done, although sallying parties occasionally came out from the American lines, and slight skirmishes took place. As yet, a strong head-wind prevented the English ships from ascending the harbour; but it was certain that, on the wind shifting, the fleet would sail into the East River, and cut off the only means of retreat. Already, some of the English ships had passed round Long Island, and were riding in Flushing Bay, eight miles from New York. It was feared that General Howe intended to transport a part of his army across the Sound, and form an encampment above King's Bridge, which would have seriously endangered the capital. The army at Brooklyn was greatly reduced in numbers, owing to the battle of the 27th of August; and the arms and ammunition were being damaged by the rains. Washington called a council of war, and, after brief deliberation, it was resolved to withdraw from Long Island. Boats having been collected, the whole of the army stationed there, consisting of nine thousand men, was carried over to New York during the night of the 29th and early morning of the 30th of August. The military stores, nearly all the provisions, and the artillery with the exception of a few heavy guns, were also got off, and the entire movement, which spread over thirteen hours, was managed with remarkable skill, secrecy, and success. The operation was assisted by the state of the weather. Rain descended heavily, and the atmosphere was still further obscured by a thick fog, although at New York the air was perfectly clear. Everything was done with so much silence that the last boat had pushed off from shore ere the English, notwithstanding the nearness of their position, discovered that the enemy had slipped through their hands. Half an hour after the rear-guard had left the island, the fog lifted and disappeared.

On perceiving that his adversaries had escaped, Howe must have mentally condemned his determination not to pursue the attack on the Americans at the moment of their greatest discouragement and depression. In conducting the retreat, Washington had again displayed his wonderful powers of invention and grasp of details. The operation was one of the most perilous nature, and the anxiety of the General was necessarily very great. For forty-eight hours, he did not once close his eyes, and rarely dismounted from his horse. But he was now comparatively safe, having by a masterly stroke baffled the English commander, and repaired the errors of his own subordinates. The illness of Greene was peculiarly unfortunate, for he was thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the island, and with the roads which intersected it. Sullivan and Putnam, on the other hand, were devoid of such knowledge, and had not had sufficient time to acquire it. Washington had given very particular instructions that every part of the outer lines should be watched with great vigilance; yet the eastern pass had been neglected. The movements of the English army had not been properly observed, and the want of vedettes had prevented the quick diffusion of intelligence, for at that time not a single company of cavalry was attached to the American army.* Whether Washington did wisely in attempting to defend an island which the English fleet might easily have blockaded, is a question that has been much discussed. But the great design of the American General was to delay the progress of the British; and in this he was to some extent successful. Many of his own countrymen, however, were dissatisfied with his conduct, and murmured because he did not at once realise their sanguine anticipations of brilliant victories and decisive battles.

He had in truth done the utmost that was possible with the materials which lay to his hand. Some of his troops, indeed, were very good; but many were of the worst possible quality, and the military system under which they had been raised was enough to drive any commander to distraction. The Massachusetts Assembly had granted its soldiers the privilege of electing their own officers; and they frequently chose those who were willing to share their pay with the friends who had thus promoted them. As a necessary consequence, many of the officers were men of low and corrupt character, vulgar, illiterate, and scandalous in their lives. The militia could scarcely be considered soldiers in any sense whatever, and claimed such ample rights of withdrawing whenever they pleased that their services could never be counted on. Moreover, the regimental surgeons were often ill-instructed in their duties, and so dishonest that they would sell recommendations for furloughs and discharges for a shilling or even sixpence each. On the 2nd of September, Washington felt compelled to write to the President of Congress as follows:—

"Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances, almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies, at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but, when their example has infected another part of the army,—when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct, but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well-doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of,—our condition becomes still more alarming; and, with the deepest concern, I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops. All these circumstances fully confirm the opinion I ever entertained, and which I more than once in my letters took the liberty of mentioning to Congress,—that no dependence could be put in a militia, or other troops than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations heretofore have prescribed. I am persuaded, and as fully convinced as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our liberties must of necessity be greatly hazarded, if not entirely lost, if their defence is left to any but a permanent standing army; I mean, one to exist during the war." In the judgment of this most competent observer, the expense of such a body of troops as would be equal to almost every emergency would not far exceed that which was being constantly incurred by the calling in of succours and new enlistments, which, after all, effected nothing of any value. He very justly argued that men who had been subject to no control could not be reduced to order in an instant, and that the privileges and exemptions which they claimed, and always insisted on enjoying, influenced the conduct of others; so that the aid derived from them was nearly counterbalanced by the disorder, irregularity, and confusion they occasioned among their comrades.

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* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 8.

The hope of defending New York, which Washington had at first confidently entertained, now rapidly melted away. He himself stated as much in his letter to Congress, explaining his change of view by the simple fact that his soldiers failed to do their duty. It was not long, therefore, ere he came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to evacuate the important city where he had been stationed since the spring. Early in September, the English fleet entered the harbour, and an armed vessel passed up the East River; but the city was not attacked, nor were there any indications of an intention to bombard, but rather of a design to make approaches on the land side. When the question of a speedy evacuation of New York was submitted by Washington to a council of general officers, a difference of opinion was found to exist. Greene—who perhaps had not fully recovered from his fever—advised that the place should be utterly destroyed, so that the enemy should not be able to use it as winter quarters, nor derive from it any benefit whatever; and he mentioned, as an argument in favour of this proceeding, that two-thirds of the property belonged to the Tories—that is to say, to the supporters of the Royal cause. Others held that the position should be maintained at any cost as long as it could possibly be defended. Ultimately, by way of compromise, it was resolved so to dispose of the troops as to be able to resist attacks on the upper part of the island, and at the same time to retreat with the remainder, if serious occasion should arise. In pursuance of this plan, the several regiments were distributed at different localities, ready for further orders, and preparations were made for removing the sick (who amounted to a quarter of the whole army) to the New Jersey side of the Hudson.

But active operations were for awhile suspended by another attempt at negotiation. Shortly after the Battle of Long Island, General Sullivan was despatched, at his own request, to Philadelphia, with a verbal communication from Lord Howe to Congress, intimating a wish to hold a conference with some of its members, though simply as private gentlemen, and stating that he had full powers to compromise the disputes between Great Britain and America on terms advantageous to both, the obtaining of which had detained him nearly two months in England, and had prevented his arrival in America before the Declaration of Independence. He was now very anxious to enter into a compact before any decisive blow had been struck, so that neither side should feel itself under the influence of compulsion. The message of the English Admiral was certainly seductive in its tone, for it alluded to "many things" which the colonists had not yet asked, but which ought to be granted, and expressed the opinion that, should any probable ground of accommodation be discovered, the authority of Congress should be acknowledged, or the compact would not be complete. On the 5th of September, the delegates in Congress resolved that they could not with propriety allow any of their members to confer with Lord Howe in a private capacity, but that, being desirous of restoring peace, they would send a committee of their body to know whether his

Lordship had any authority to treat with persons authorised by Congress for that purpose, and to hear such propositions as he should think proper to make. General Sullivan was then directed to return to Lord Howe with an intimation to that effect, and, on the following day, Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge were elected as the committee charged with this delicate duty. As the two first of these gentlemen were among the most bitter opponents of Great Britain, and the last-named, although somewhat less extreme, was but little inclined to resist the opinion of the majority, their selection showed no very friendly disposition.

The committee thus appointed met Lord Howe on Staten Island, opposite Amboy, on the 11th of September. They were treated with great consideration and courtesy, the Admiral receiving them at the landing-place, and conducting them through his guards to a convenient room for the conference. Their position and character seem not to have been exactly settled. Lord Howe expressly said that he treated with them only as private gentlemen; the commissioners persisted in regarding themselves as official representatives of Congress. But this formality was not suffered to stand in the way of a discussion. In opening the proceedings, Lord Howe spoke of the good feeling of the King and his Ministers towards the colonies, and hinted that, in case of their submission, the offensive Acts of Parliament would be revised, and the instructions to the Governors be reconsidered, so that anything amiss might be amended or withdrawn. The commissioners replied by reminding the English Admiral that the repeated petitions of the colonies to the King and Parliament had been treated with contempt, and answered only by additional injuries; that it was not till the last Act of Parliament, which denounced war against them, and put them out of the King's protection, that they declared their independence; and that this declaration had been called for by the people of the colonies in general, and approved of by every colony when made. They added that all the colonies considered themselves as independent States, and were settling or had settled their governments accordingly; and that it was not in the power of Congress to act for them in the matter of restoring their former condition of dependency. There could be no doubt, said the commissioners, of their inclination to peace, and of their willingness to enter into a treaty with Great Britain; but, if there was the same inclination in England, his Lordship might much more readily obtain fresh powers from his Government to treat with them as independent States, than powers could be obtained by Congress from the several colonies to consent to a submission.* It was of course impossible to continue the discussion after such an emphatic statement of opinion; and Lord Howe, with an expression of regret, put an end to the conference.

In this way, the hope of a peaceful arrangement vanished in utter disappointment. Had Lord Howe arrived before the Declaration of Independence, it is conceivable, though perhaps not very likely, that his terms, vaguely expressed as they were, might have received a more favourable consideration. But the colonies had now taken their stand as an independent nation, and pride alone would have forbidden a voluntary return to their old condition as provinces. England could hardly have been expected to do more than she then did. For a long time past, there had been a disposition on the part of the mother country to adopt a conciliatory course, and to retrieve the errors of an earlier day. The colonists, however, had no desire to enter on the same path, or to meet the advances of the parent State. Whether from resentment at the unjust and despotic acts from which they had been made to suffer in the opening years of George III.'s reign, or from a not unwarrantable ambition, which would be content with nothing less than a place among the sovereign Powers of the earth, certain it is that they never inclined towards an accommodation, and that they now rejected it in set terms. Lord Howe had only one course left. The "olive-branch," whether wisely or not, had been refused. He was still in a position to wield the sword.

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* Official Report to Congress.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Resumption of Active Hostilities—Landing of English and Hessians in Kip's Bay—Disgraceful Flight of the American Advanced Guard—Occupation of New York by the Royal Army—Use of Spiked Balls by American Troops—Violent Counsels of Greene, Jay, and John Adams—Persecution of the "Tories" by the Revolutionary Party—Burning of a Portion of New York—Position of Washington after quitting that City—Animosity between North and South—Complaints of a Northern Officer—Desperate State of the American Army—Necessity for a Change in the Whole Military System of the Federation—Washington and Joseph Reed on Plundering and Absence of Discipline—The Custom of Short Enlistments—Determination of Congress to institute a Reform—The New Military System—Its Merits and Defects—Washington's Criticisms—Various Acts of Congress—Franklin sent to France—Government by Standing Committees—Love of Royalty among some of the Americans—Reform of the Several State Constitutions—Difficulties of Washington in Re-organising his Army—Renewed Activity of General Howe—The Battle of Chatterton's Hill.

Lord Howe and his brother lost no time in pushing forward their concerted operations as soon as the attempt at reconciliation had been made, and failed. The abortive interview with Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge was immediately followed by an active prosecution of hostilities. Four ships sailed into the East River on the 13th of September, and anchored about a mile above New York. Six more entered the next day; parties of troops landed on Buchanan's Island, and a cannonade was opened upon a battery at Horen's Hook, in New York Island. On the 15th, three men-of-war ascended the Hudson as high as Bloomingdale. This was a feint, to draw off attention from the operations of General Howe, who at the same time despatched a division of his forces, under Clinton, from Newtown Bay, on Long Island, to Kip's Bay, on the East River. At the latter point, the Americans had erected batteries; but the men in charge of them fled in dismay from the firing of five English vessels whose guns covered the landing of the troops. Washington had gone to Haerlem, a village about seven miles north of the city of New York, to watch the movements of the enemy on Montresor's Island. Hearing the sound of guns he hastened to the place of landing, and, to his great indignation, beheld his troops (chiefly Connecticut men) in full and very disorderly retreat. Although not more than seventy of the English and Hessians were yet in sight, the advanced guard of the Americans had at once taken to their heels, without firing a shot; and two brigades which had been ordered to their support did nothing more than join the fugitives in their disgraceful flight. The American commander was transported with rage and vexation at the spectacle. Drawing his sword and snapping his pistols, he threatened the fugitives, and endeavoured to rally them; but his exhortations were unheeded. He then tried what a better example would do, and rode towards the British line until his own person was in danger; but nothing had any effect. The troops, amounting in all to eight regiments, fled to the main body on Haerlem Plains. Washington was left almost alone, and at length his attendants seized the reins of his horse, and turned him away from the enemy.* The rest of the Royal army followed Clinton's detachment, and, after a little skirmishing, took possession of New York. Three hundred prisoners remained in the hands of the British, together with nearly all the heavy cannon, and a considerable quantity of baggage, stores, and provisions. The American forces were now drawn together within their lines on the Heights of Haerlem, and Howe encamped with the larger part of his army not far from his opponents, his right resting on the East River, and his left on the Hudson, with ships of war supporting him on both flanks.

When Howe's troops occupied the lines lately in possession of the Americans, they found some instruments of war which are commonly regarded as too barbarous for use among civilised nations. The English General, who was by this time in communication with Washington with respect to an exchange of prisoners, wrote to him:—"My aide-de-camp will present to you a ball cut and fixed to the end of a nail, taken from a number of the same kind found in the encampment quitted by your troops on the 15th. I do not make any comment upon such unwarrantable and malicious practices, being well assured the contrivance has not come to your knowledge." It is probable that these balls had been prepared by the soldiers themselves, and were used without the sanction, or even the cognisance, of the superior officers. Certainly, Washington himself was quite ignorant of the fact; and, in his reply to Howe, he expressed the utmost abhorrence of so savage a practice, which, he said, he would take every care should not be adopted in his army. It is to be feared, however, that a great deal of violence and passion pervaded, at this time, the councils of some among the American patriots. We have related that Greene was disposed to burn the whole of New York. John Jay declared, in a letter to a friend, that, had he been vested with absolute power in those parts, he would in the spring have desolated all Long Island, Staten Island, the city and county of New York, and all that portion of the county of West Chester which lies below the mountains. John Adams declared from the first that he would fine, imprison, or hang all Americans inimical to the cause of independence; and he added at a later date that he would have hanged his own brother, had he taken part with the enemy. Fortunately, the proposal to burn New York, which was referred by Washington to Congress, was disapproved by that body, on the ground that, if compelled to leave the city, their troops would be able very speedily to recover it—a conclusion which subsequent events entirely falsified.

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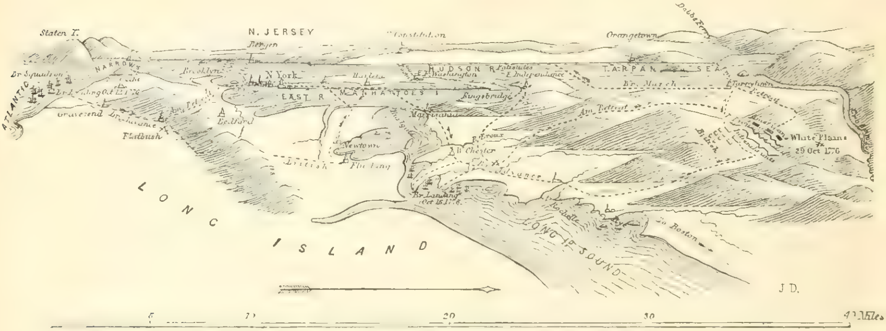
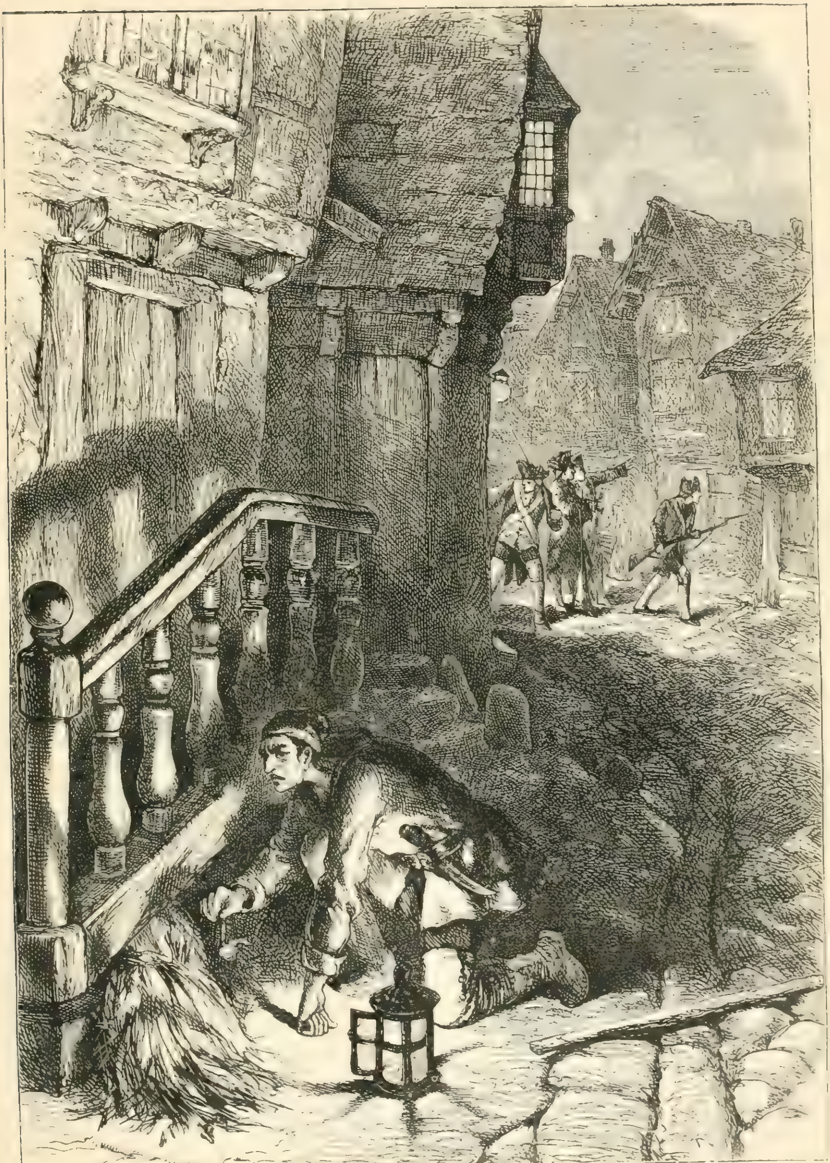
* We have the authority of Washington himself, and of General Greene, in letters written at the time, for these statements with regard to the cowardice of the troops.

The animosity of the extreme revolutionists against New York was prompted by the fact that that province contained a large proportion of loyalists. When the English troops passed into Long Island, they found that the greater number of the people were on their side. In New York itself, they were hailed as friends and deliverers by very many; and not without reason, for the late occupants of the city had acted with great injustice towards the so-called Tories. Several persons had been arrested, and sent to distant places of confinement, on no more specific charge than that, from the general tenor of their lives or opinions, they were supposed to be unfriendly to the popular cause. But the arrival of General Howe's army did not give them all the protection they had anticipated. A great many revolutionists were still in the town, and they were little inclined to remain quiet. A few nights after the appearance of the troops, the city was fired in several places at once, and it was found that matches and other combustibles had been skilfully disposed with a view to that result. Several incendiaries were detected in the fact, and instantly killed by the enraged soldiers. Two regiments of the military, and numerous sailors from the fleet, did their utmost to stay the progress of the flames; but at least a quarter of the city, containing a thousand houses, was destroyed ere the mischief could be subdued. It was asserted at the time that the conflagration had been caused in obedience to a secret order from head-quarters; but it is most improbable, from all we know of his exalted character, that Washington had anything to do with such an act. Yet that the fire was caused by incendiaries is rendered the more likely by a statement of Washington in a letter to the President of Congress, in which he says that his own troops, in order to conceal their robberies, had actually set houses in flames.


Staten I.
N. JERSEY
Bergen
Constitution
Orangetown
Dobbs Ferry
NARROWS
Br. Squadron
ATLANTIC
Br. Landing Oct 22 1776
Gravesend
Flatbush
Brooklyn
N York
Harlem
EAST R
MANHATTOES I
HUDSON R
Palisades
F. Washington
F. Independence
Kingsbridge
TARPAN SEA
Br. March
Tarrytown
Retreat
Am. Retreat
Bedford
Newtown
British
Flushing
Bronx
W. Chester
Advance
Br. Landing Oct 18 1776
American
British
White Plains 29 Oct 1776
Rochelle
Rye
To Boston
LONG ISLAND SOUND
LONG ISLAND
J D.
5
10
20
30
40 Miles

PLAN OF THE BRITISH OPERATIONS IN NEW YORK.

A sharp skirmish on the 16th of September, in which certain Virginia and Maryland companies behaved with great intrepidity and spirit in support of a body of New England Rangers, had some effect in restoring the confidence of the American army; yet there was still too much reason to fear that the mass of the troops would quail before a vigorous assault. It was lucky for Washington that his position was a strong one, or it might have been at once taken with the most disastrous results. At the point where he was now stationed, New York Island is only a mile broad. His lines, like those of Howe a little below, stretched across the whole tongue of land from river to river. In his



DETECTION OF AN INCENDIARY.

rear he had a fort, to which his own name had been given as a designation. On the opposite side of the Hudson was Fort Lee; and his communication with the mainland of New York was secured by some works at King's Bridge, protecting the strait over which he would have to pass in shifting his quarters. But the material of the army did not improve with time, and the animosity between North and South grew in rancour and intensity every day.

Speaking of this animosity, a Brigadier, apparently a New England man, wrote to a friend:—"It has already risen to such a height that the Pennsylvania and New England troops would as soon fight each other as the enemy. Officers of all ranks are indiscriminately treated in a most contemptible manner, and whole colonies traduced and vilified as cheats, knaves, cowards, poltroons, hypocrites, and every term of reproach, for no other reason but because they are situated east of New York. Every honour is paid to the merit of good men from the South; the merit, if such be possible, from the North is not acknowledged, but, if too apparent to be blasted with falsehood, is carefully buried in oblivion. The cowardice or misbehaviour of the South is carefully covered over; the least misconduct in the gentlemen of the North is published with large comments and aggravations."*

The general character of the army was described by another officer, who wrote to a member of Congress:—"Absolute tyranny is essential to the government of an army, and every man who carries arms, from the general officer to the private sentinel, must be content to be a temporary slave, if he would serve his country as a soldier. Almost every villainy and rascality that can disgrace the man, the soldier, or the citizen, is daily practised, without meeting the punishment they merit. So many of our officers want honour, and so many of our soldiers want virtue, civil, social, and military, that nothing but the severest punishments will keep both from practices which must ruin us. The infamous and cruel ravages which have been made on the wretched, distressed inhabitants of this unfortunate island [New York] by many of our soldiers, must disgrace and expose our army to detestation. I have heard some tales of woe, occasioned by the robberies of our army, which would extort sighs from the hearts of tigers. Our men are at present only robbers; that they will soon be murderers, unless some are hanged, I have little doubt."† This was the emphatic testimony of an American and a patriot, and it is confirmed by many other statements emanating from the same side.

Every thoughtful and honourable man in the American forces saw the necessity for a total change in the military system of the country. The soldiers were enlisted for such brief periods (sometimes extending over no more than a few months, and never beyond a year) that they had barely time for mastering their duties, and no time for acquiring the steadiness of veterans. Fighting is a business, which must be learned like any other; but existing arrangements precluded all effective study, and shut out every motive for special exertion, valour, and endurance, excepting that principle of purely disinterested and patriotic self-devotion which permanently influences none but the highest natures, though it may for a little while, in a sudden access of enthusiasm, carry with it a large number of very ordinary people. Enthusiasm can never be relied on as a continuous motive power. It is subject to reaction, and its reaction is despondency, if not despair. The multitude will at times assume a perfectly heroic attitude; but their work must be finished quickly, or the impulse flags, the spirit evaporates, the momentum ceases. They expect to do everything with a rush; are apt to lose heart at the prospect of prolonged resistance; are impatient of instruction, of plodding labours, and of the dull routine of duty. The time soon comes when it is found necessary to appeal to a lower set of motives than those with which a revolution started. If men are required to withdraw themselves for a lengthened and indefinite period from the ordinary engagements of their lives, they must be well paid and well cared-for.

It was remarked at this period by a member of Congress that the Americans had in a great measure lost that virtue which first drew them to the field, and were sinking into an army of mercenaries. There had certainly been a great degeneracy since the days of Concord and Bunker's Hill; but it would have been more correct to say that the troops were sinking into a rabble of desperadoes. The soldiers of independence received scarcely any pay, and were so ill-provided with the veriest necessaries of life that their acts of plundering may in some measure be excused. It is vain to expect from human nature in the mass a higher degree of virtue than is common to the general level.

These plunderings, however, were in truth a very serious matter. Washington spoke of them as infamous, and said that no man was secure in his effects, and scarcely in his person. The property of loyalists was seized without remorse, and there were several instances of people being frightened out of their houses, under pretence that the buildings were ordered to be burnt, and of their goods being then carried off. The Commander-in-Chief confessed his inability to stop this "lust after plunder," as he called it, and lamented the want of laws by which such crimes might be punished.* An army is a terrible instrument under the best of conditions: if not subjected to rigid government and the stringency of martial law, it will soon be a greater terror to its friends than to its enemies. The insubordination of Washington's regiments had its serious and its ludicrous aspects. Among the former were the robberies, the acts of violence, and the bad conduct in the field, which have previously been described. Among the latter may be mentioned an incident that moved the indignation of Joseph Reed, the Adjutant-General. That officer, one morning in October, saw a captain of horse, who attended on Washington himself, shaving one of his men on the parade near the house—he appears to mean head-quarters. The captain was from Connecticut, and had probably been a barber before he became an officer. He considered himself no better than his men, and his men doubtless shared in that opinion. But such an officer was not very likely to be obeyed by the soldiers whom he shaved.

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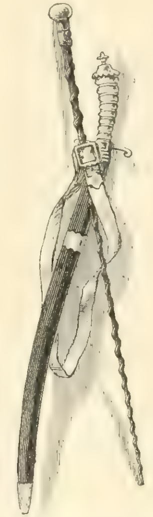
* Gordon's History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, Vol. II., pp. 331-32.

† Ibid., p. 332.


WASHINGTON'S SWORD AND STAFF.

The system of short enlistments excited from an early period the strong disapprobation of Washington. He repeatedly represented to Congress the vices of that system, and earnestly desired that it might be superseded by a better. A term of enlistment extending over the whole period of the war seemed to him the best that could be adopted, and he would have had both officers and men paid better, that they might not be without inducement to give their utmost energies to the work which their country required of them. These representations remained for a long while unheeded. The majority in Congress carried their dread of a standing army to an extent which endangered the national cause. They positively discouraged the formation of such habits as can alone change civilians into soldiers. They deprecated in the members of their army even a temporary forgetfulness of domestic attractions. "Let frequent furloughs be granted," they said, "rather than that the endearments of wives and children should cease to allure the individuals of our army from camps to farms." This was very sweet and idyllic; but it was not the way to beat a military power like Great Britain, and, in time, Congress itself discovered the truth. A little before the evacuation of New York by Washington, it was resolved, though not without serious opposition, to form the army anew into eighty-eight battalions, to be enlisted as soon as possible, and to serve during the war. To each State was apportioned a certain number of battalions as its quota, and of these numbers the largest was fifteen, assigned to Virginia and to Massachusetts. To encourage enlistment, a bounty of twenty dollars and one hundred acres of land was given to every non-commissioned officer and private; and lands in certain quantities and proportions were promised to the commissioned officers. Each State was charged with the duty of enlisting the troops to fill up the quotas, and of providing them with arms and clothing. Colonels and all lower officers were to be appointed by the States, but commissioned by Congress. A new set of rules for the more strict discipline of the army was at the same time put forth. At the commencement of the struggle, it had been too easily assumed that the war would be brief, and it was therefore supposed that regiments of the most raw and uninstructed troops would answer the necessities of the time. Now that the fond delusion had been dissipated, it was seen that nothing but a regular army would suffice.

As soon as the contemplated change was resolved on, a circular letter was sent round to the several States, urging them to complete their quotas without delay. They were not backward in taking the requisite measures; but a great deal of mischief resulted from the offering of irregular bounties over and above those which were given by Congress. Moreover, when it was found necessary, on a sudden emergency, to call out the militia, they were tempted by extraordinary rewards for a short term of service. The effect was to deter men from enlisting, in the hope of getting more; and the fact that some of the soldiers received higher pay than others, though the Continental rate was uniform, led to many dissensions and heartburnings.* Washington—who, like all reformers, must have earned for himself the title of an incorrigible grumbler—was compelled in a little while to renew his complaints. Congress, satisfied with its own good intentions, had let the matter drop. On the 4th of October, therefore, the Commander-in-Chief reminded the President that there was a material difference between voting battalions and raising men. On the 19th of November, he wrote to his brother:—"All the year I have been pressing Congress to delay no time in engaging men upon such terms as would insure success; telling them that the longer it was delayed the more difficult it would prove. But the measure was not commenced till it was too late to be effected; and then in such a manner as to bid adieu to every hope of getting an army from which any services are to be expected; the different States, without regard to the qualifications of an officer, quarrelling about the appointments, and nominating such as are not fit to be shoe-blacks, from the local attachments of this or that member of the Assembly. I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde motion of things, and I solemnly protest that a pecuniary reward of twenty thousand pounds a year would not induce me to undergo what I do—and after all, perhaps, to lose my character."† On Washington's recommendation, the pay of the troops was increased, and other modifications of the original scheme were introduced. It was also determined to allow some men to enlist for a definite term of three years; but these were not to receive a bounty in land.

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* Washington to the President of Congress, Sept. 24th, 1776.

Another act of Congress about this time took the form of an attempt to seduce from their service the German legions in the employment of England. Bounties were offered to such foreign troops in British pay as should desert, and enlist under the Republican banners. A colonel was to have one thousand acres of land; a lieutenant, eight hundred; a major, six hundred; a captain, four hundred; a lieutenant, three hundred; an ensign, two hundred; and every non-commissioned soldier, one hundred. To meet the extraordinary expenses of the time, Congress resolved to borrow five million dollars, and pledged the faith of the United States for the payment of principal and interest. The advisability of procuring foreign alliances again engaged the attention of the representative body, and it was determined to appoint three commissioners, or secret envoys, to the court of France. One of these was to be Silas Deane, who had for some time been acting in much the same capacity at Paris; another was Arthur Lee, a Virginian settled in London, and holding a general commission to ascertain the views of foreign countries; the third was Franklin. The last-named accepted the office with some reluctance. He was old and weary, and it was to him a very doubtful matter whether such appointments were expedient. He would have preferred to wait until foreign Powers applied to the young Republic for the privilege of an alliance with her rising fortunes. But this was perhaps somewhat too lofty a view, and at any rate Franklin did not feel himself justified in declining the mission with which he was charged. It had been intended to confer a similar office on Jefferson, but that eminent man was disinclined to accept the post, and Arthur Lee was accordingly appointed in his place. Franklin departed about the beginning of November, and, escaping the English cruisers by which he feared he might be captured, got safely to France, and had reached Paris before the close of the year.

While these matters were being arranged, Congress was also devoting a large part of its attention to the framing of the Articles of Confederation. The debates, of which the earlier portion has already been related, continued for several months, developing a great variety of views; and in the meanwhile the active affairs of the Confederation were carried on by a number of standing committees which the Congress from time to time appointed. But these standing committees fell very much under the direction of the chairman for the time being. It was he who received and answered letters and other applications, who took all necessary steps in Government, who prepared reports and issued orders. The members of the committee, who knew nothing of these things until they were effected, were afterwards expected to ratify them as a matter of form, and equally as a matter of course. The conduct of affairs must have been extremely difficult on many accounts, and especially so by reason of the well-known opposition of a considerable minority in Congress to the cause of independence itself. Joseph Reed, in writing to his wife on the 11th of October, 1776, alludes to this fact, but desires her to keep the knowledge of it to herself. The love of Royalty amongst some Americans, or possibly some settlers in America, survived all feeling of regard for George III.

The Legislatures of the several States were not idle while Congress was attending, with more or less success, to the general affairs of the Confederation. In pursuance of a resolution of Congress, passed on the 15th of May, they had been remodelling their own constitutions. A good deal of discussion took place in all of them on the question whether or not there should be a second Legislative Chamber; but, in eleven instances out of the thirteen, the point was settled in the affirmative. Only in Pennsylvania and Georgia was it resolved to have but one Chamber. In no great length of time, however, the Pennsylvanians found that their single Chamber did not work well, and were glad to add a second; and the same thing occurred in Georgia. The example of a single Legislative Chamber has certainly not received the sanction of the United States of America, nor has it hitherto been successful where tried. France, in her latest Republican Government, has considered it advisable to include a Senate; and opinion, up to the present time, is for the most part in favour of a divided authority. But it cannot be said that the question is yet settled, or that a dual Legislative body is devoid of dangers and inconveniences peculiar to itself.

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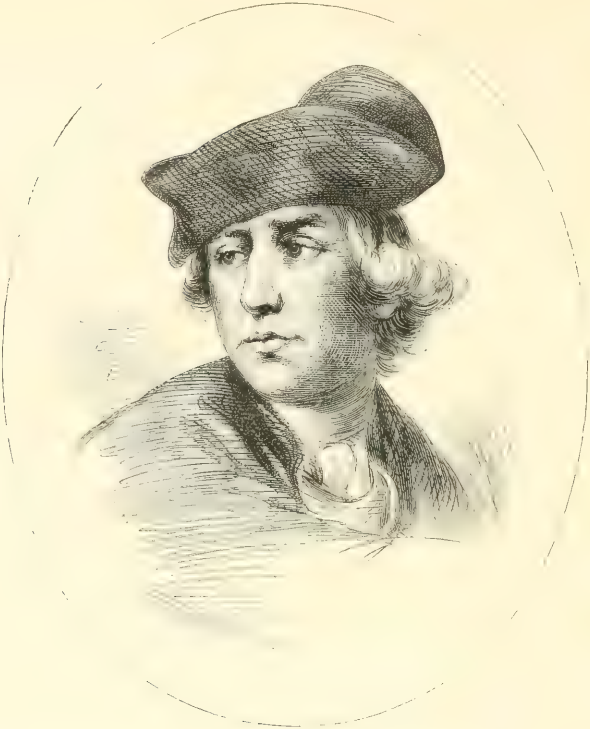
* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 9.

† Ibid., Vol. IV., p. 184.

With advancing autumn, the duties of Washington were materially increased by the necessity of organising a new army, and of holding conferences with certain commissioners who, at the recommendation of Congress, were despatched to him by the several States, with a view to the appointment of officers. Ultimately, the filling up of vacancies was confided by Congress to Washington solely, the States being negligent and dilatory in the discharge of that duty; but for the present he was obliged to consult with a number of gentlemen often holding contradictory views, and frequently not qualified to hold any views at all. All this was encountered in the face of an army greatly superior to his own, and at a time when the commander of that army was obviously about to renew the offensive. Howe was now maturing his plans for gaining the rear of the American forces, so that he might cut off their communications with the country, or bring on a general action. Having first sent some ships and tenders up the Hudson, where they passed the batteries and other obstructions, thus opening a free passage into the highlands, he embarked his troops, on the 12th of October, in flat-bottomed boats, sloops, and schooners, and, sailing along the East River, passed into Long Island Sound, and landed the same day at Frog's Point, on the mainland of New York. There he stayed five days, apparently kept in check by the destruction of a causeway connecting the Point with the wider country beyond, and by the American defences, which were guarded by detachments from Washington's army, although he himself accounted for his delay by alleging that he was expecting stores, provisions, and three battalions from Staten Island. At length he re-embarked, landed again at Pell's Point, and advanced to the high grounds between East Chester and New Rochelle. Having, a few days later, been reinforced by some German regiments, he found himself in a position for more vigorous operations.

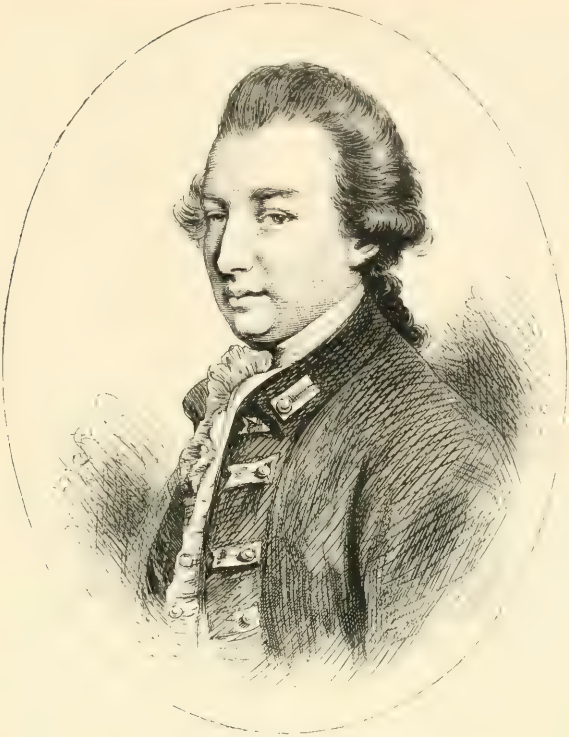
But all this while, Washington had not been unobservant of the enemy's plans, nor regardless of the best means of encountering them. He arranged his army in four divisions, the first of which was commanded by General Lee, who had recently arrived from the Carolinas, and who strongly dissuaded Washington from risking all on a pitched battle. The other divisions were commanded by Generals Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln, the last-mentioned of whom was not a Continental officer, but was in command of a body of Massachusetts militia.

It was decided to quit the heights of Haerlem and the island of New York, and to extend the lines of the army into the open country, but at the same time to retain Fort Washington as long as possible. The several divisions having passed the strait at King's Bridge, a line of detached camps, with entrenchments, was formed on the heights stretching along the west side of the river Brunx, from Valentine's Hill to the White Plains. This line—of which the right wing rested on the Brunx where it made a short bend, encompassing the flank and part of the rear—extended a distance of nearly thirteen miles, and was stronger on the flanks than in the centre. After a series of skirmishes, with no important result, the American position was attacked on the 28th of October. The British force was divided into two columns; the left led by Howe, the right by Clinton. The weak point in the enemy's lines was discerned as the army advanced, and, had the English commanders fallen at once on the centre, they would probably have inflicted a crushing defeat. As it was, they preferred concentrating their attack on the flanks, and especially on an eminence called Chatterton's Hill, which was held by four thousand men, very advantageously posted. The hill was taken; but, in the execution of this movement, the left and right wings of the English army became widely separated, and the American centre was saved from attack. The general result of the action was favourable to the Royal troops, but not so decidedly favourable as it might have been under a better arrangement.



GENERAL C. LEE.

No pursuit was undertaken, for Howe feared lest any division which he might detach for that purpose should be cut off by venturing too far from the main body. The British now stood on both sides of the Brunx, and they slept that night on the ground they had won. So far, Howe had the advantage; yet Washington, by extricating himself from New York island, where he would doubtless have been completely hemmed in, and compelled to surrender with his whole army, had placed his forces in a much better position. He had the broad continent before him, and could act in many directions, according as it might seem advisable. Although he had still to encounter many difficulties, and to suffer many defeats, he had contrived to rescue himself from immediate danger, and had opened a boundless chapter of possibilities, of which, it will be seen by the further progress of this narrative, the fullest advantage was taken by his active intellect and daring spirit.



LORD CORNWALLIS.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Military Character of General Howe—Opportunities Missed—Washington takes up a New Position—Retirement of the British Army towards the Line of the Hudson—Fort Washington Threatened—Withdrawal of the American Vanguard to the Western side of the Hudson—Capture of Fort Washington by the British—Abandonment of Fort Lee by the Americans—Rapid Retreat of Washington through the Jerseys—He crosses the Delaware, and enters Pennsylvania—The People of New Jersey and Pennsylvania inclined to Support the Royal Cause—Dilatory Conduct of Lee—Capture of that General by Colonel Harcourt—Washington's Scanty Reinforcements—Moments of Dejection—Rhode Island Taken by Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker—Issue of a Proclamation promising Pardon—Its Effects—Removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore—The Darkest Hour of American Independence—Meeting of the British Parliament—References to America in the King's Speech—Tactics of the Opposition—Opinions of Lord Chatham—Incendiary Fires in England, caused by an American Sympathiser—The Story of John the Painter.

If it were desirable that England should vanquish her insurgent colonies, it was certainly unfortunate that the conduct of military affairs was not in more competent hands. General Howe (who had recently been knighted) was a man of unimpeachable courage as far as concerned the risking of his own life; he was also well instructed in the science of his profession; but he seems to have been afflicted by moral timidity as to the possible consequences of his actions. Had he possessed the audacity of Wolfe, it is not improbable that he would have crushed the rebellion in its infancy. While still at Boston, he let slip many opportunities for striking effective blows. The condition of Washington's army during the winter was such that it could not have withstood a sudden and spirited attack; yet

Howe did nothing but defend his own lines, and kept so bad a watch on the enemy that he allowed his opponent to seize on Dorchester Heights, and thus render untenable his position in the capital of Massachusetts. After his success on Long Island, he refrained from assaulting the American camp while the troops were disheartened and almost panic-struck; when the insurgent forces were evacuating that territory, he failed to discover the movement until too late; and when they were retreating from New York, he omitted to cut off the rear of their army by throwing his own across the narrow island on which that city stands. For similar reasons he now forbore from following up his superiority in the encounter at Chatterton's Hill. On the following morning (the 29th of October), he contemplated an assault on the American lines, but speedily relinquished the idea, because of the apparent strength of the works. They were in fact extremely weak. Being intended principally for defence against small arms, they had been hastily constructed of corn-stalks, supported by the lumps of earth adhering to the roots. It is true that Howe was not aware of this fact; but a more enterprising officer would probably have divined that entrenchments so quickly thrown up could hardly be impregnable, and would have risked something on a rapid attack.

The plans of Howe were constantly being thwarted, in whole or in part, by the greater activity of Washington. While the former was thinking how he could best break up the enemy's lines, and was awaiting a reinforcement from Earl Percy, who was then at Haerlem, the latter was making active preparations for the removal of his army further into the country. Howe got his reinforcement in a couple of days; but he was then prevented by weather from leading his troops to the assault, and, on the night of the 31st of October, Washington withdrew behind the river Croton to the hills in his rear, which he had had time to fortify strongly. Again was the English commander baffled: the movement had been so skilfully and quietly performed that he knew nothing about it until, on the following morning, it was discovered that the Americans had vanished from the ground which they had held the day before. It appeared to Howe perfectly hopeless to attempt to dislodge his adversary from so formidable a position, and on the 5th of November he directed his troops towards Kings Bridge and the line of the Hudson, leaving Washington in great perplexity as to what he would next do. Fearing that a false movement was being executed, in order to entice the insurgent forces from the hilly country, the American General remained in his new camp for a few days; but when it became apparent that this was not the case, and that a real advance was being made in the direction of Fort Washington, it became necessary to concert measures for meeting a danger which might have serious consequences.

Fort Washington stood on the western side of New York island, near the river Hudson, and about twelve miles north of the city of New York. The garrison left in this fort, when Washington withdrew from his lines on Haerlem Heights, amounted to two thousand men; and the American commander afterwards acknowledged that it was a grave strategical error to isolate that division of the army, and abandon it to the very probable chance of being captured. The fault was his, only to the extent that he yielded his judgment in the matter to that of others, especially of General Greene, who had commanded at the station for several weeks, and was supposed to be better informed as to the condition of the fort than any one else; but the error was attended by very unfortunate results. It appears to have been thought that the retention of the post would protect New Jersey from an invasion by the British; in truth, it simply invited attack. Lee had urged its abandonment, together with the fort called after himself; but he was overruled, and Greene threw in reinforcements. Washington, apprehending what would now ensue, ordered all the troops belonging to the States west of the Hudson—five thousand in number—to cross the river at Kings Ferry, and separated the rest of his army, consisting of New York and New England troops, into two divisions, one of which, under General Heath, was stationed on both sides of the stream, to defend the passes of the highlands, while the other (which included numerous militiamen, whose times of service were soon to expire) was left in the camp near White Plains under the orders of General Lee, who was, according to his discretion, either to remain where he then stood, or to cross over to New Jersey. Washington himself left for Hackensack, on the western side of the Hudson, where his troops destined for service in that direction had assembled, after a circuitous march of more than sixty miles.* At the same time, Howe moved his forces to the neighbourhood of Kings Bridge, and thence transported them in flat-bottomed boats to the island of New York; upon which the Americans retired from Fort Independence, destroyed the bridge over the river Haerlem, and withdrew to the lines near Fort Washington. But the position was doomed, and it speedily fell into the hands of the English. The fort was assailed on the 16th of November from four sides, on two of which the attacking troops were obliged to climb a steep and rugged ascent to the walls. The garrison had on the previous day been summoned to surrender, on pain of being put to the sword if they refused; but the commandant, Colonel Magaw, replied that he would defend himself to the last extremity. A combat of from four to five hours' duration resulted in the defenders being driven from the outer lines, and compelled to take refuge in the fort itself. Magaw was by profession a lawyer, and knew little or nothing of the art of war. He probably thought that he had by this time done enough to vindicate his defiance of the day before. At any rate, he surrendered, together with two thousand eight hundred men who formed the garrison. Washington, who was near enough to the attack to view several parts of it, cried like a child at seeing so many of his soldiers bayonetted. During the progress of the assault, he wrote to Colonel Magaw that, if he could hold out till night, the garrison should be withdrawn. But Magaw had done his utmost, and Fort Washington passed into English hands.

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* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 9.

On this occasion, Howe acted with more vigour and promptitude than he generally displayed, and his success was speedily followed up. He resolved to attack Fort Lee, on the New Jersey side of the river, nearly opposite Fort Washington. This second fort was situated on a slip of land, ten miles long, lying between the Hudson and the Hackensack. It was therefore not difficult of approach, and Howe detached six thousand men, under Cornwallis, to operate against it. They landed in New Jersey, some six or seven miles above Fort Lee, gained the high grounds, and, marching between the two streams, approached the object of their solicitude on the 18th of November. Greene, who commanded at the fort, did not venture to abide the shock. Having gained information of the movement, he evacuated his stronghold, and, by a rapid march, escaped with the main body of the garrison. Some stragglers, however, were left behind, together with the heavy artillery and baggage, which fell into the hands of the British. Washington now dreaded an advance on Philadelphia, the seat of the Congressional Government. He and his army were in a level country between the rivers Hackensack and Passaic, where defence would have been difficult, and escape still more so. It was imperatively necessary that he should move farther off, and he withdrew in a south-westerly direction towards the Delaware, that he might protect the capital of Pennsylvania. Closely pursued by Cornwallis, and occasionally making a brief attempt to establish himself in positions which seemed for awhile to offer a chance of defence, he fell back from town to town, and ultimately reached Trenton, where he crossed the Delaware, taking up a favourable post on the western or Pennsylvanian shore. Of men fit for duty, he had now no more than three thousand, and his situation was so desperate that, while on the march, he had written earnest letters to the Governor of New Jersey and to Congress, soliciting reinforcements. Cornwallis was probably unaware of his adversary's extreme weakness, for he made no attempt to cross the river, but, in order to secure the possession of New Jersey, formed a chain of cantonments at Pennington, Trenton, Bordentown, and Burlington.

Congress did not well know what to do in answer to Washington's appeal for help. The Board of War put forward a plan for enlisting prisoners; but Washington conceived that such a measure would not be consistent with honourable warfare. It is asserted that the English commander was less scrupulous in this matter, and that he actually sought to recruit his ranks with the offscourings of gaols. He had certainly endeavoured to win over a number of Americans to his standards, but with little success. Whenever Ministers at home found themselves unable to send out as many troops as they had promised, and as were really necessary, they instructed their Generals to make up the deficiency with native levies. But the plan bore scanty fruit, and both Howe and Clinton frequently remonstrated, though to no effect, against placing any dependence on such a source of supply. To the discerning mind of Washington, it seemed a very impolitic thing, not to speak of its dishonourable character, to employ released criminals in the defence of their country, for such men, with a few exceptions, could never be relied on for continuous service, but would at all times be apt to desert, and carry intelligence to the enemy. It is evident that at this period no inconsiderable part of the American population was disinclined to risk life or limb in the ranks of either army, and more disposed to give a safe support to the Royal than to the popular side—possibly for no better reason, in many instances, than that the former appeared for the moment to be winning. An American historian, not wanting in a patriotic devotion to his country's cause,* has related that, as the retreating Americans marched through New Jersey, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined them, while numbers every day flocked to the Royal army, to make their peace and obtain protection. This was done not merely by the poor and humble, but also, according to the same authority, by some of the leading men of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The defection was particularly observable among those who had been most loud in their defiance of the parent State as long as the perils of rebellion were seen only in the distance.

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* Dr. Ramsay: History of the American Revolution. See also Dr. Gordon's History—a work partly written in America, though not by an American.

Together with the three thousand effectives under the immediate command of Washington, Lee, as we have seen, had four thousand men in the camp near White Plains. The Commander-in-Chief wrote to his subordinate from Hackensack, directing him to lead his division into New Jersey, and join the army on its march. The order was afterwards repeated several times in the most positive terms; but Lee hesitated about obeying it, and at length did so with reluctance and tardiness. In pursuance, apparently, of some designs of his own, pointing to an attack on the rear of the British pursuing forces, he progressed very slowly, and at length, owing to a want of proper caution, fell into captivity. With only a small guard, and at some distance from his troops, he was staying one evening at a private house not far from Baskengridge, when his presence there became known to one of the loyally-disposed inhabitants of the place. This person gave information to Colonel Harcourt, who, with a detachment of light horse, had been sent to observe the movements of that division of the American army. Early on the following morning, the house was surrounded by a small party of dragoons under the command of Harcourt himself, and Lee was carried prisoner to New York. He was at the moment busy writing letters of complaint as to the military conduct of Washington, little thinking that his own lack of judgment was on the eve of being so signally illustrated. On both sides, Lee had been regarded as the mainstay of the rebellion. Congress placed great reliance on him, and the English looked upon his capture as a success of the highest importance. Washington, in relating the event to his brother, spoke of it as a misfortune, and said that the dragoons bore away their captive "with every mark of triumph and indignity." This may have been an exaggeration; but it is true that for some time Lee was closely confined, not as a prisoner of war, but as a deserter from the English army.

The command of Lee's division now devolved on Sullivan, who marched with it as rapidly as he could towards the place of junction with Washington. The Commander-in-Chief was also reinforced by four regiments under General Gates, who had been released from guarding Ticonderoga by the retreat of General Carleton into winter quarters in Canada. Some other reinforcements had previously reached him, but not to any considerable amount, and his older troops left with scarcely an exception when the term of their service had expired, though they were often entreated to stay a few months longer. When Washington was retreating through New Jersey, he appealed to the people to furnish him with fresh recruits; but very few came forward. It was a period of great depression, and Washington himself could not always resist a feeling of dejection. Such moods, however, were with him but momentary. His singular cheerfulness, fortitude, and self-reliance were abiding influences, which nothing could permanently destroy. One day he said to his Adjutant-General, Joseph Reed, "If we should retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, would the Pennsylvanians support us?" Reed answered, "If the lower counties are subdued and give up, the back counties will do the same." Washington passed his hand over his throat, and remarked, "My neck does not feel as though it was made for a halter. We must retire to Augusta county in Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety; and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war. If overpowered, we must cross the Alleghany mountains."* Such were the brightest prospects which at that time Washington could hold out, even to himself.

On gaining the western side of the river Delaware, the American commander had about five thousand men at his disposal—an ill-provided army, dispirited by defeat. Cornwallis, on the eastern shores of the same stream, was at the head of twenty-seven thousand men, well-disciplined, well-provided, and animated by the confidence of success. No fewer than four thousand four hundred and thirty prisoners had fallen into the hands of the English, including several officers; and of munitions of war a very large quantity had been carried off from the insurgents. To make matters still worse for the Americans, General Clinton, acting in conjunction with a squadron of men-of-war under Sir Peter Parker, took possession of Rhode Island, without opposition or loss (for the troops there retired in time to save themselves), on the very day that Washington crossed the Delaware; and at the same time the British fleet blocked up Commodore Hopkins's squadron, and a number of privateers, at Providence. Writing to his brother on the 18th of December, Washington remarked that, if every nerve were not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, he thought the game was nearly up. This he attributed to the insidious arts of the enemy, to the disaffection of certain colonies, to the ruinous policy of short enlistments (which, however, had by this time been abandoned), and to placing too great a dependence on the militia. Under all these circumstances, the English commander ought to have been inspirited to pursue a more vigorous course, and to finish, by a series of well-directed blows, what had thus far progressed so well. But the characteristic caution or slowness of Sir William Howe again held him in check, and, although he now formed a design of passing into Pennsylvania, he resolved to wait until the Delaware should be frozen over, instead of procuring boats, and attacking the enemy with the greatest rapidity possible. The immediate command in the Jerseys was in the hands of Lord Cornwallis. Howe himself remained at New York, where for some time his action had a political rather than a military character.

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* Gordon's History, Vol. II.

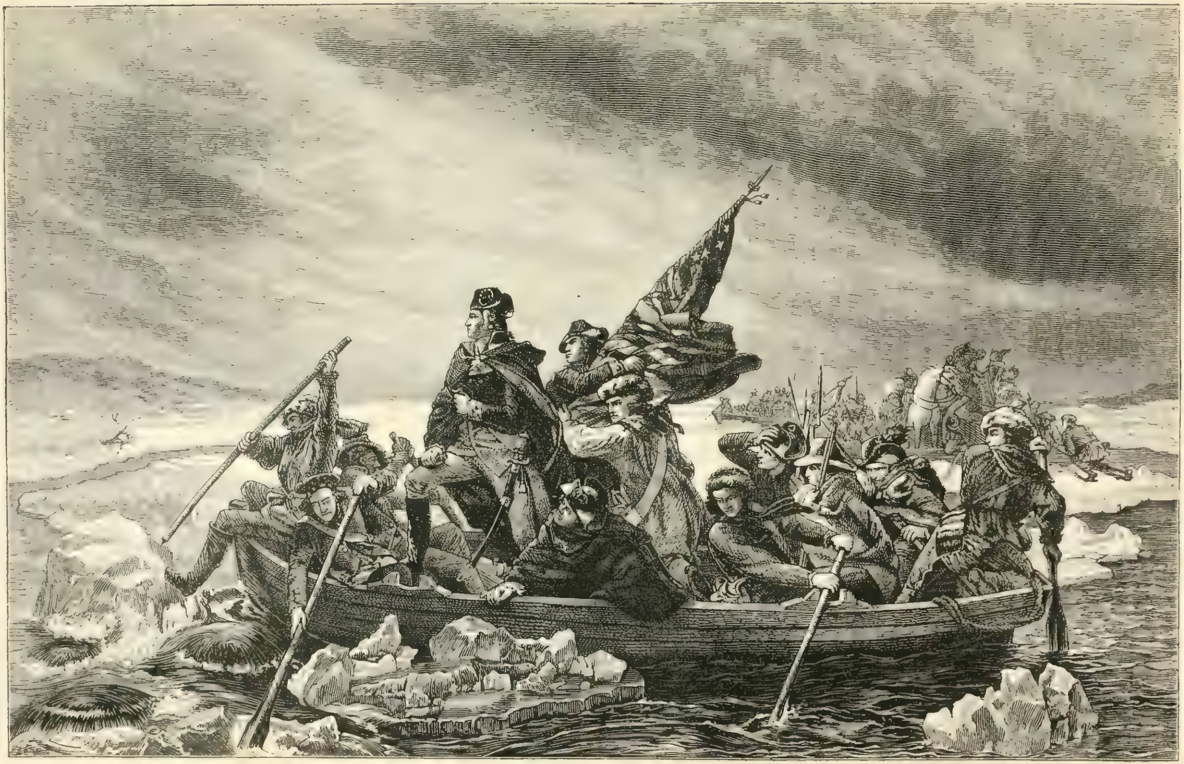
On the 30th of November, the Howes, in their capacity as peace-makers, had issued a Proclamation promising pardon to those who should return to their allegiance within sixty days, and subscribe a suitable declaration. "Numbers," writes Dr. Gordon, "who had been Provincial Congress-men, committee-men, justices, and the like, though out of the way of immediate danger, ran to take the advantage of the Proclamation. Many of the Whigs shifted about. Only a few of fortune stood firm to the cause. It was the middle rank of the people, in general, that remained steadfast in this day of trial." To most persons it must have appeared that the sun of American independence had hopelessly sunk before it was fairly above the horizon; and Congress, though it did not entirely lose heart, considered it prudent to move farther from the enemy. The Federal Assembly, therefore, quitted Philadelphia on the 12th of December, and retired to Baltimore. General Putnam took command of the militia in Philadelphia, and was instructed to throw up a line of entrenchments and redoubts from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and to prepare for an obstinate defence. The very darkest hour of the American cause was then resting heavily on the land; and men not naturally inclined to despondency must have had their secret, if not their avowed, misgivings as to the policy of a quarrel which appeared to have been pushed to extremities without sufficient preparation.

We must here turn aside from the course of events in America, to note the progress of opinion in England, and to chronicle the action of the English Government and Parliament with respect to the development of the revolution in the thirteen colonies. Parliament assembled on the 31st of October, and the Royal Speech necessarily had very considerable reference to the civil war then proceeding on the other side of the Atlantic. The King congratulated himself on one great advantage which he said would ensue from the object of the rebels being openly avowed and clearly understood. There would be unanimity at home, founded on a general conviction of the justice and necessity of the Ministerial measures. He concluded by saying:—"In this arduous contest I can have no other object but to promote the true interests of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those now revolted in the provinces. The improvements in every art of which they boast declare it; their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My desire is to restore them to the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

The King's assurance that the rebellious attitude of the colonists would lead to unanimity at home, was not entirely justified by the event. In the House of Commons, Lord John Cavendish moved an amendment to the Address, the object of which was to throw on Government the blame of what was occurring in America. The amendment was seconded by the Marquis of Granby, and gave rise to an embittered debate, in which the leading members of the Opposition insisted that the revolt had been provoked by the injustice of England, by the endeavours of successive Ministers to subvert the liberties of the colonists, by a long accumulation of neglect, insult, and injury, by blunders innumerable, and by two years of a savage, piratical, and unjust war, carried on against them by the English people. It was, indeed, admitted by some who supported these general views that the Americans were to blame for having too precipitately resorted to violent measures; but it was added that they had doubtless felt themselves justified in declaring their own sovereignty, and it would therefore become the House to express its respect for the spirit and the principles which had dictated such a course. Among the speakers on this side were Wilkes, Barré, and Fox; and the oratory of the last-named has been described by Horace Walpole, and by Gibbon the historian, as magnificent. The defence of the King's Speech and the Address rested chiefly with Lord North and Lord George Germaine. The Premier denied the charge that had been brought against him of having withheld information; and the Colonial Secretary argued that England had been anxious for reconciliation on mild and fair terms, but that those terms had been rejected with scorn by the American leaders. It was clear, he said, from the reports of the Americans themselves, that, on the occasion of the conference on Staten Island, Lord Howe was as eager for the restoration of peace as Franklin and his coadjutors were for the continuance of hostilities. Replying to some who had contended that the pacific declarations of foreign Powers, and especially of France, could not be relied on as sincere, Lord George Germaine said that if they proved false—if those Powers should incur the folly and guilt of assisting a rebellion—Great Britain was prepared to meet them in the field. The questions at issue were fairly debated on both sides, and, on a division, the amendment was negatived by 242 votes against 87. A corresponding amendment in the House of Lords drew from the Earl of Shelburne a speech of extreme acrimony in denunciation of the Government; but the attempt was defeated by 91 against 26. Fourteen peers caused this amendment to be entered on the journals of the House, at full length, as a protest signed by themselves.

Equally unsuccessful was a proposal, made by Lord John Cavendish on the 16th of November, that, in conformity with the tenor of the Proclamation issued in America by Lord Howe and his brother, the House of Commons should resolve itself into a committee for revising the Acts by which the colonists felt themselves aggrieved. The motion was seconded by Burke, but resisted by Ministers on the ground that the inquiry into grievances had been proffered only to those who should return to their duty, and that consequently a disavowal of independence, and an acknowledgment of British supremacy, were requisite before any measures of reconciliation could be adopted by the parent country. A majority of 109 against 47 disposed of this motion, and the Opposition now felt so utterly disconcerted that several of its members, especially those of the Rockingham party, withdrew from the business of Parliament, declaring that it was impossible to save a people against its will, and that it was a waste of time to discuss the Ministerial measures. Without any formal secession, these members appeared in their places only when private Bills, in which they had some personal interest, were being discussed. It has been properly remarked that this was a strange way of exhibiting patriotism; but patriotism is not without its aberrations. To many of the Opposition such conduct appeared highly reprehensible, and they endeavoured to bring forward Lord Chatham once more as the champion of America in the British Parliament. But the great orator of former days was now incapable of mental exertion; and all that could be extracted from him was a statement that his views on American affairs had undergone no change, and that he feared an invasion of England by the French as a consequence of the policy then being pursued. It is clear that the general feeling of the country was against the views of the Opposition, and this fact strengthened the hands of Ministers in Parliament. Whatever they asked for, they obtained. The supplies for the year were voted on a liberal scale, and some new contracts with German princes, for fresh bodies of troops to serve in America, were sanctioned. Lord North had no reason to complain of the Parliament which he led.

While the two Houses were in recess for the Christmas holidays, the country was greatly agitated by a number of incendiary fires, which pointed to the existence of a conspiracy for the destruction of the shipping and arsenals. Although a similar design had been conceived in 1764 by the French Minister, Choiseul, and had come to the knowledge of the English Government, proper precautions for the guarding of the arsenals and dockyards were not taken, and on the 7th of December a fire broke out at Portsmouth, which threatened the total destruction of the national property there. It was at first supposed to be a mischance, but, on the 15th of the following January (1777), a clerk in the dockyard, in moving some hemp in the hemp-room, discovered an explosive machine and various combustible materials. Some of the authorities then recollected that a sullen, silent man, an artisan, had been seen loitering about the yard on the day of the fire, and had been accidentally locked one night into the rope-house. His exact name was not known, but, from his calling in life, he was generally spoken of as John the Painter. A reward was offered for his capture; but he had disappeared, and could not be found, in spite of a diligent search, either in Portsmouth or the neighbourhood. The suspicion against him was strengthened by the fact that he had recently come from America; and a panic spread through the country, where it was said that a band of American incendiaries had arrived, with instructions to spread fire



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE. *(From the Painting by Leutze.)*

and havoc in every direction. Subsequent events gave colour to this apprehension. Incendiary fires were attempted at Plymouth and at Bristol; and in the latter city the miscreant, having failed to set fire to some vessels, contrived to burn down several warehouses which stood upon the quay, close to a crowded mass of shipping. In a house of the same city, combustibles were found stored, and the feeling of alarm was naturally increased in no slight degree.

At the beginning of February, a man was apprehended at Odiham, in Hampshire, on a charge of burglary. He was a Scotchman, named Aitken, twenty-four years of age—a wandering, unsettled person, who had at various times borne several *aliases*, and who now turned out to be John the Painter. Three years previously, he had been to seek his fortune in America, and had there adopted the most extreme views of the party of independence. On returning to Great Britain, he had committed various acts of theft and was at length in custody on suspicion of housebreaking. It was found a very difficult matter, however, to fix on him any connection with the recent acts of incendiarism, for he showed great cleverness in parrying such questions as were asked. On the suggestion of Earl Temple, another painter, named Baldwin, who had also travelled in America, was put into the same cell with Aitken. By professing sympathy with his views, he managed to win his confidence; and John the Painter speedily divulged a great deal which, if true, it was very important that the Government should know. The fellow's statements were that he had enlisted in several regiments, and deserted from them as soon as he had received the bounty-money; that he had travelled through pretty nearly the whole of England, supporting himself by many depredations; that while in America he had conceived the idea of advancing the cause of liberty by burning the shipping and the principal trading cities of England; that he had then gone to France, where he had had several interviews with Silas Deane, the American agent at Paris; that Deane had encouraged his project by giving him money, and promising him further rewards when he had accomplished his task; and that he had then come to England, and made the attempts at Portsmouth and other places. Early in March he was tried at Winchester. The evidence of Baldwin being confirmed by other witnesses, the accused was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. The execution took place on the 10th of March, on a gallows sixty feet high, in front of the dockyard at Portsmouth, after the prisoner had first been carried in an open cart round the ruins of the building he had destroyed. He had already made a full confession, re-affirming what he had told Baldwin about Silas Deane, and adding that, on Deane's suggestion, he had called on an American resident in London, Dr. Bancroft, who expressed himself adverse to the scheme, but, by implication, promised not to inform against him. That any of the really great Americans of that day, or that the members of Congress, were concerned in this plot, is most unlikely; but the revelations of John the Painter increased, by a natural, though not very reasonable, process, the general repugnance felt by Englishmen to the cause which that scoundrel, for a promised reward, endeavoured to promote by fire and ravage.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Disastrous State of the American Fortunes at Christmas, 1776—Washington's Plan for Re-crossing the Delaware—Dictatorial Powers conferred on the Commander in Chief—Positions of the Hessian Contingents—Arrangements of Washington for attacking them—The Evening of Christmas Day—The Attack on Trenton—Defeat of the Hessians—Inability of some of Washington's Divisions to join in the Attack—The British and Hessians fall back from the Line of the Delaware—Effects of the American Success—Advance of Lord Cornwallis towards Trenton—Renewed Fighting—Determination of Washington to get to the Rear of the Enemy—Surprise of three British Regiments at Princeton—Cornwallis compelled to Abandon his Position—Retreat of Washington towards Kingston—His Head-quarters for the Winter fixed at Morristown—New Jersey recovered by the Americans—Issue of a Proclamation by the American Commander-in-Chief—Interchange of Prisoners—The Case of General Lee—Treatment of Colonel Campbell and of other Captives—Howe and Washington—Chatham's Speech in the House of Lords on the Satisfaction of American Grievances.

THE tide was at its very lowest, as regards the fortunes of the American revolution, as the Christmas of 1776 approached. Even the genius of Washington, despite all the vigilance, activity, and skill of that remarkable man, had been able to accomplish little. The Americans had been driven from New York, had been chased through New Jersey, had been forced to take refuge in Pennsylvania, had relinquished Rhode Island, had been deprived of their forts, had been defeated upon several occasions, and had lost a large number of men and much material of war. Congress had been compelled to move further to the south-west; and Lee, on whom reliance had been placed, as a man instructed in military science, a veteran, and a renowned hero, was in the hands of the enemy. What was worse than all, was the poor quality of the National army, the insubordination and want of spirit, the readiness to desert the service, the unpatriotic reluctance of the masses to come forward, and risk their lives in the defence of American Independence. The waverers were going over to the Royal standard in multitudes, and it was a question whether in a little while the American Commander-in-Chief would have any forces to command. All things conspired to produce the utmost depression and misgiving. The tide indeed was low.

Nevertheless, Washington did not despair. By the removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore, he felt relieved from the responsibility of protecting the deliberations of that body, and therefore more free to act in any direction that seemed to afford him the best chances of successful results. His plans finally took the shape of a re-passage of the Delaware, with a view to surprising some portion of the King's troops. It is said that Benedict Arnold first suggested this idea to Washington. Colonel Reed also conceived the possibility of some such enterprise, and, in a letter of the 22nd of December, asked his principal if it were not feasible. To Washington, however, is due the credit of working out the details of this daring scheme. Its execution was favoured by the bad arrangements of the enemy. Two of the most important positions in New Jersey—Trenton and Bordentown—were occupied by bodies of Hessians, under Colonel Rahl and Count Donop. These troops, being unacquainted with the English language, were not very likely to obtain intelligence of the movements of the American army; and, as if to add to the weakness thus created, the posts that were the most liable to attack were left with a small number of men to guard them, and without any fortifications or entrenchments. Trenton was more particularly exposed; and on Trenton, therefore, Washington determined to concentrate his attack.

It was a desperate enterprise, and the American commander well knew its risks. On the 23rd of December he wrote to the Adjutant-General, informing him of his intention, but begging him to keep the fact to himself, as its discovery might prove fatal. "Our numbers," said Washington, "are less than I had any conception of; but necessity, dire necessity, will—nay, must—justify my attack." There was shortly, however, to be some prospect of an improvement in the army. In answer to renewed remonstrances as to the worthlessness of the militia, Congress, on December 27th, conferred on Washington power to raise sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to the eighty-eight already voted by the Federal Assembly; to appoint the officers; to raise and equip three thousand Light Horse, three regiments of Artillery, and a corps of Engineers; to call upon any of the States for such aids of militia as he should judge necessary; to form magazines of provisions; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadiers; to fill up vacancies in every part of the army; to take whatever he should want for the use of his soldiers, allowing the people a reasonable price for their commodities; and to arrest and confine persons who refused to receive the Continental currency, or who were otherwise disaffected to the American cause, and report them for trial to the States of which they were citizens.* These powers—which virtually created a military Dictatorship, somewhat resembling those of the old Roman Republic in times of danger—were to continue for six months only, and they were conferred, as it was expressly stated in the preamble to the resolve, on account of the perfect reliance felt by Congress on the wisdom, vigour, and uprightness of their General.

While the arrangements thus cast upon him by Congress were still in progress, Washington determined on his great attempt of re-crossing the Delaware. The Royal force at Trenton consisted of three regiments of Hessians, amounting to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British Light Horse. At Bordentown, further down the river, was a second detachment of Hessians; and the other divisions of the invading army were quartered about the country from the Hackensack to the Delaware. With the quick reasoning of military genius, Washington discerned his opportunity. "Now," he exclaimed, "now is the time to clip their wings, when they are so spread!" The plan of attack included a movement against the detachments stationed at Bordentown, Burlington, Black Horse, and Mount Holly, which were to be surprised by General Cadwallader, advancing across the river from Bristol; while Washington, at the head of the main body, should cross above Trenton, and fall on the Hessians under Rahl. Having completed his dispositions, the Commander-in-Chief fixed upon the night of Christmas Day for commencing operations, conceiving that the Germans would be sleeping soundly after a carouse, and therefore not in the best condition for resisting their assailants.

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* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 9.

As the early darkness was closing in on that memorable 25th of December, two thousand four hundred of the Continental troops, with twenty pieces of artillery, began to cross the Delaware at a ferry nine miles above Trenton. The stream was choked with floating ice, and the passage was in this way rendered so difficult that it was almost four o'clock on the following morning before the whole body under Washington had reached the opposite shore. The men were then formed into two divisions, one commanded by Sullivan, the other by Greene. The former marched along the path nearest to the river; the latter followed the upper road, farther to the left, which led to Pennington. Colonel Rahl had had some reason to suppose that an attack on his position was meditated. Captain Washington (a relative of the great man) had for some days been on a scouting party in New Jersey, with about fifty foot-soldiers, and on Christmas Day had exchanged a few shots with the advanced sentinels at Trenton. The circumstance was a very fortunate one for the Americans, as the Hessians imagined this to be the threatened attack, and, conceiving the danger to be over, relaxed their vigilance. The captain, on his retreat, met the forces on the upper road, and joined them. It was feared that the alarm caused by this slight collision might have put the Hessians on their guard, instead of lulling their suspicions, as afterwards proved to be the case; but, as it would now have been very imprudent to withdraw, the march continued. It was a march of the most trying character. Snow and sleet drove mercilessly against the advancing columns; the road was slippery and toilsome with ice; and the cold was terrible. Yet the two divisions struggled manfully on.

The distance to Trenton by both roads was about equal; and the two divisions came in sight of the town, as it was intended they should, at the same time. It was eight o'clock in the morning, however, before they got there, approaching at different points. Washington had been so far frustrated in his original design, that, instead of attacking in the dead of the night, he was obliged to do so in broad daylight. But the Hessians were surprised none the less, and made no very prolonged resistance. Their outposts, startled by a sudden and simultaneous fire opening upon them from opposite quarters, fell back into the town, and presently the main body formed. Two or three pieces of artillery were brought up, and soon taken by the assailants. Colonel Rahl did the utmost to rally his men; but early in the engagement he received a mortal wound, and his soldiers, dismayed by the American cannon, which did terrible execution, became discouraged. A thousand of them, after endeavouring to retreat towards Princeton, and being intercepted by a detachment sent for that purpose, threw down their arms, and made submission; the rest, including the Light Horse, had at an early period fled by the bridge over the Assanpink, and escaped to Bordentown. Six brass field-pieces and a thousand stand of arms remained in the hands of the conquerors. Nearly thirty of the Hessian privates, and six officers (exclusive of Rahl) were killed, while the Americans lost only four men, of whom two were frozen to death by the intense cold.

Some portions of the design were not so fortunate. A small party of militia, under Colonel Griffin, who were to pass the Delaware near Philadelphia, and to advance to Mount Holly, met with a check. Count Donop marched from Bordentown against these troops, and, having forced them to withdraw, returned to his post. Below Trenton, the river was so completely frozen over that the troops under Cadwallader, and another detachment under General Ewing, who was to co-operate with Washington, were unable to get across at the preconcerted times. Cadwallader, indeed, managed to land a battalion of infantry; but the artillery could not be dragged over the heaped-up masses of ice on the margin of the stream, and the men therefore returned. Ewing was altogether unsuccessful; and the failure of these two officers prevented the completion of Washington's plan, and facilitated the escape of those who had fled from the town. It also rendered advisable the speedy return of the victors to their own side of the Delaware. Some of the officers were disposed to follow up their blow by a further advance; but the Commander-in-Chief, though personally well-inclined to such a course, considered that it would be risking too much, as his men were exhausted with their fatigues, and the enemy was in force at Princeton and New Brunswick. Accordingly, on the evening of the 26th, he re-passed the Delaware, carrying with him his prisoners, and their arms, colours, and artillery. The British and Hessian troops posted at Bordentown and its neighbourhood, under the command of Count Donop, retreated to Princeton, thus breaking up the line of cantonments along the Delaware. Donop, in fact, was panic-struck at the blow which had fallen on Rahl's division, and sought safety by concentrating his forces, and removing farther from the river which had proved such an imperfect protection.

As soon as it came to the knowledge of Washington that his adversaries were falling back along the whole of their line, he once more crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, and took up his quarters at Trenton, that he might be ready for further action. Cadwallader and the Adjutant-General at the same time succeeded in crossing from Bristol, at the head of one thousand eight hundred Pennsylvanian militia, who, with an equal number under General Mifflin, formed a junction with the main army. The position of the Americans had vastly improved since the morning of Christmas Day, and they began to recover heart when they saw the Hessian troops paraded through the streets of Philadelphia. The loyalists had at first denied the reality of the asserted triumph over the German troops, who had up to that time enjoyed an exaggerated reputation for prowess; but here they were visibly in captivity. The peace-party were discouraged, and the Quakers, who had thrown all their influence on the side of the Crown, found they could do nothing against the rising spirit of the nation. The people of New Jersey were also excited to martial enthusiasm, partly by the victory achieved on their soil, and partly by exasperation against the Royal troops, especially the Hessians, who had behaved with insolence, rapacity, and cruelty, during their time of predominance.* But the old trouble about the army had again to be encountered. In several regiments the term of service expired with the last day of the year, and the men were so worn with their exertions and hardships that they threatened to go off the very moment they were free. Many of them, however, were persuaded, by a bounty of ten dollars each, to remain six weeks longer; and this gave time for the creation of fresh regiments.

Sir William Howe was still at New York when intelligence arrived of Washington's brilliant performance on the Delaware. Cornwallis was on the point of departing for Europe, but Howe requested him to remain, and resume his command in New Jersey. He at once proceeded to Princeton, massing the scattered forces that had lately been dispersed; additional troops from Brunswick followed him; and on the morning of the 2nd of January, 1777, the Royal army advanced towards Trenton. At their approach Washington retired, and posted himself on some high ground behind the Assanpink rivulet, where, under cover of artillery, he awaited attack. After some cannonading on both sides, Lord Cornwallis suspended his operations, and encamped his troops near the rivulet, apparently with the intention of renewing the battle on the following morning. The Americans bivouacked on the ground they had assumed after retiring from their first position, and Washington turned his fertile mind towards the elaboration of some scheme by which he might evade, rather than encounter, the embattled hosts before him. He feared to risk a general action when the light should have returned; he knew that his enemy was superior to him in numbers and in discipline; and he more than questioned whether some of his men could be trusted to abide the shock. When, therefore, he met his officers in council early in the evening, he observed that, from the number of hostile troops then in front of them, it was reasonable to suppose that Cornwallis could not have left many in the rear. He accordingly proposed to move, by a secret night-march, to Princeton,—thence, if no insuperable difficulties presented themselves, to push on to New Brunswick,—and in this way to surprise the rear-guard, and capture their stores before the English General could come up. The plan was approved, and steps were immediately taken for putting it into execution. To secure his own baggage, Washington caused it to be removed to Burlington, and at midnight the march began. Every precaution was taken to mask the removal of the troops, and to deceive the enemy as to what was intended. Men were employed throughout the night digging an entrenchment close to the English sentries; the bivouac-fires were kept burning; and a certain number of guards were ordered to remain at the bridge and the fords until the approach of daylight, when they were to follow their comrades.

By a circuitous route, which was rendered comparatively easy by the hard condition of the frozen roads, Washington reached Princeton a little after sunrise on the morning of the 3rd. He found there three British regiments commanded by Colonel Mawhood, two of which were on their march to reinforce Lord Cornwallis at Trenton. A sharp and spirited encounter ensued. The Americans were at first thrown into some confusion by the vigorous resistance they encountered; but, by great personal exertions, in which his own life was almost recklessly exposed, Washington rallied his men, and in the end was rewarded by a partial success. One of the regiments desperately fought its way through the American ranks, and gained the road to Trenton; the other two retreated by different roads to New Brunswick. So much heroism was displayed by the British troops that one of the American officers exclaimed, "When will our men fight like those fellows?" The loss was serious on both sides; but the advantage gained by the insurgents was worth the price paid for it.

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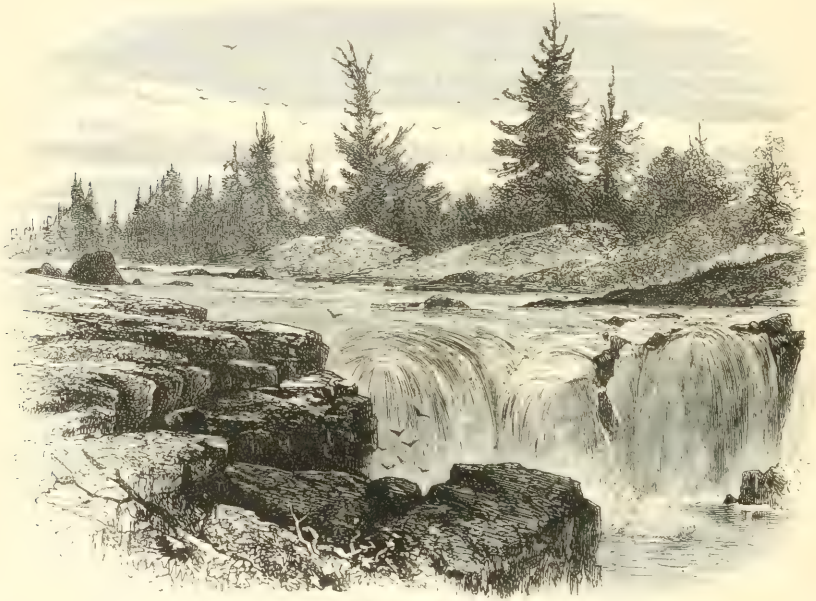
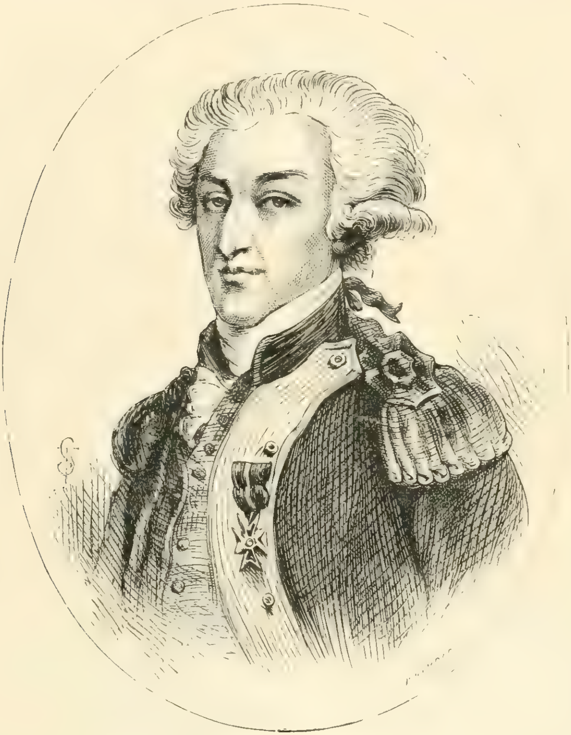
* Several statements were made at the time as to acts of horrible atrocity committed by the British and German soldiers. Relations of this kind are sometimes exaggerated, and sometimes wholly false; but it is to be feared that the conduct of troops in a conquered country is generally marked by much that is a disgrace to human nature.


FALLS OF THE PASSAIC.

Cornwallis, perceiving the disappearance of the Americans when morning dawned, and divining the direction in which they had moved by the reports of artillery which soon reached his ears, felt apprehensive that the stores he had left at New Brunswick might fall into the hands of the enemy. He consequently retreated without loss of time, and moved towards Princeton with so much celerity that the rear of the American army had scarcely left that place when the van of the English forces appeared in sight. It was the desire of Washington to make a forced march on New Brunswick, and he did in fact pursue the regiments which he had broken up in the morning a considerable distance along the road; but the soldiers, who had been without rest, and very scantily supplied with food, for thirty-six hours, and of whom many were insufficiently clad, and barefooted, were so utterly worn out that the design could not be completed. After a brief pause for rest and refreshment, the American General advanced to Morristown, where he established his winter quarters. The pursuit by the British had ceased at Kingston, on the other side of the Millstone river, where the Americans broke down the bridge; and for the present Washington felt safe. His situation at Morristown was in some respects a very good one. The place was situated in a mountainous country, and was therefore protected by Nature herself from the advance of an enemy; yet it had a fertile country at its back, so that the army could be well supplied. It was destined to be the starting-point of a new campaign.

The first great result of Washington's march to Princeton, in the rear of the enemy's position, was that Cornwallis was obliged to relinquish his posts on the Delaware. But that was not all. From his vantage-ground at Morristown, the American Commander-in-Chief sent out detachments to harass the Royal troops. Giving them no rest, but repeating his blows with the greatest rapidity in various directions, he compelled his opponent to abandon one post after another, and to withdraw towards the comparatively loyal province of New York. East and West Jersey were equally overrun by the Americans, who, in a little while, made themselves masters of the coast opposite Staten Island. As the winter progressed, not a British or Hessian regiment remained in the province, except at New Brunswick and Amboy; and the frequent surprise and cutting-off of advanced guards created a wide alarm. For six months, however, nothing further of importance occurred. Howe remained at New York, tamely acquiescing in his loss of the Jerseys. The American troops at Morristown were encamped for the winter in temporary huts, and cantonments were established at various points. Thence the patriots could readily issue forth on their rapid excursions against the foe; but no general action was hazarded while the new army was as yet imperfectly organised. Still, the gain had been neither slight nor fugitive. The tide was not yet at its highest, but it had begun to turn.

In the course of the winter, Washington issued a counter-proclamation to that of Sir William Howe. Some of the New Jersey people having hesitated about entering the militia, owing to the oath of allegiance to the King which they had taken, the American Dictator, as he may now be called, put forth an order, absolving the inhabitants from their engagements to Great Britain; commanding all persons who had received protections from the British Commissioners to repair to head-quarters, or to some general officer of the army, deliver up such protections, and take an oath of allegiance to the United States; yet at the same time granting full liberty "to all such as preferred the interests and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country" to withdraw themselves



THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

and their families within the enemy's lines. Thirty days were allowed for complying with this order; at the end of which period, those who had neglected or refused to comply were to be deemed adherents of the King of Great Britain, and treated as enemies to the American States.* This proclamation did not meet with anything like universal approval; even in Congress there were those who condemned it. The New Jersey Legislature regarded it as an encroachment on their prerogatives; and it was argued that to require an oath of allegiance to the United States before the Confederation was formed, was an invasion of local rights. Washington, however, was not to be driven from his purpose by these objections; and he instructed his officers to enforce the order in every case.

During this period of comparative inaction, much discussion went on between the Americans and the British with respect to the interchange of prisoners, especially in reference to the case of General Lee. Sir William Howe insisted on regarding that officer as a deserter from the King's service, and therefore kept him in close confinement; the Americans, on the other hand, alleged that, as he had resigned his commission as an officer in the English army before joining the forces of the Republic, he could not be contemplated in that light. Washington had no prisoner of equal rank to offer in exchange. He therefore proposed six Hessian field-officers as a substitute, and required that, if this were not accepted, Lee should be treated according to his rank in the American army. Howe refused to alter his conduct towards the officer in question, and a long discussion in writing followed, without any satisfactory result. That Howe had some doubt in his own mind as to whether the resignation of his half-pay had not removed Lee from the operation of military law, appears from an admission which he made in a letter to the Colonial Secretary. In replying to this letter, Lord George Germaine said that, as the doubt had arisen, it was his Majesty's pleasure that the prisoner be sent to England by the first ship of war; but Howe was afraid of retaliations, should he execute this order, and Lee was still detained. After the failure of Washington's negotiations, Congress took up the matter, and ordered that reprisals should be inflicted, unless the English General altered his course. The Council of Massachusetts, moreover, was desired to detain in close custody Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who, at the head of some Highlanders, had been captured while sailing into Boston harbour, shortly after the evacuation of the city, and in ignorance of that fact. In consequence of this request, the colonel was thrown into a loathsome dungeon, not more than thirteen feet square, and was prohibited from entering the prison-yard on any consideration whatever. The attendance of a servant was denied him, and he was not permitted to receive visits. On Howe learning the circumstances, he remonstrated with Washington, who, with the characteristic fairness and justice of his nature, immediately wrote to the Massachusetts Council:—"You will observe that exactly the same treatment is to be shown to Colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers that General Howe shows to General Lee; and as he is only confined to a commodious house, with genteel accommodation, we have no right or reason to be more severe to Colonel Campbell, whom I wish to be immediately removed from his present situation, and put into a house where he may live comfortably." Washington also addressed the President of Congress in condemnation of what had been done.

Lee was kept in close confinement until the capture of General Prescott put an officer of equal rank into the hands of the Americans. On the 3rd of September, the Colonial Secretary wrote to Howe that his Majesty consented to Lee (though deserving the most exemplary punishment) being deemed a prisoner of war, in consideration of his having been struck off the half-pay list; he also permitted his being exchanged whenever it might be convenient. At the time the exchange was effected, the English had in their power nearly three hundred American officers, while the Americans had not more than fifty of the Royal officers. In January, 1777, the greater number of the American officers were sent to Long Island on parole, and billeted on the inhabitants at two dollars a week; but the unhappy privates were ill-lodged, and so badly fed and clothed, that many are said to have died of actual cold and hunger. They were frequently solicited to join the Royal army, and it was probably hoped that their sufferings would induce them to desert the national cause; but, in the greater number of instances, these expectations were disappointed. Washington wrote to Howe on the subject with great severity, and refused to return, in exchange for a number of emaciated and almost dying Americans, an equal number of healthy British or Hessians. The English General characterised this refusal as a violation of the rule for exchange of prisoners which had been mutually agreed to; and he declared that his captives had been treated as well as his means would allow. Washington defended the course he had taken, as essentially just and fair; but it is generally admitted that Howe was not aware of the ill-usage of his prisoners, and that he was personally a humane and honourable man. When a member of the British Parliament, he had always supported the claims of the colonists, and opposed the despotic Acts from which they had suffered; and, although he had conceived that his duty as a soldier required him to suppress rebellion, he was not likely to act with vindictive rigour, since he had no feeling of revenge to gratify.

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* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 10.

American affairs continued to engage the attention of the British Parliament throughout the session, and the Opposition were not always unsuccessful in their endeavours to check the arbitrary tendencies of Government. A Bill empowering his Majesty to detain and secure persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high-treason, committed in North America or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy—the practical operation of which measure was to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in respect of several persons, in England as well as in America, who might be the objects of suspicion—was not passed without considerable modifications, of a nature to mitigate or circumscribe its effects. In the Upper House, however, Lord Chatham, who, after two years' retirement from illness, had again entered the political world, was unable to obtain many supporters of his motion for an address to the Crown, lamenting the unnatural war against the English colonies in America, and beseeching his Majesty to take the most speedy measures for arresting it upon the only just and solid foundation,—the removal of accumulated grievances. Notice of this motion had been given by Lord Camden in the name of his illustrious friend; and, on the 30th of May, the great orator of earlier days,—the great War Minister who had humbled the power of France and Spain,—appeared in his place, supported on crutches, and swathed in flannel. The two speeches which he then delivered —one in support of his motion, the other in reply to its impugners—were described by his son, afterwards the no less celebrated William Pitt, as remarkably eloquent and beautiful, full of force and vivacity; and many others testified to the same effect.

Taunting Ministers with their inability to conquer the Americans, and referring to their boasts as to the large forces with which they would disperse the rebel hosts, Chatham raised one of the supports to his gouty limbs, and exclaimed, "I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch!" Then he painted in the darkest colours the military position of the country as regarded America. "You have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony," he said; "but forty thousand German boors can never conquer ten times the number of British freemen: they may ravage—they cannot conquer. But what would you conquer?—the map of America? And what will your troops do out of the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, they are starved; if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises; I know what Ministers throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointments. You have got nothing in America but stations. You have been three years teaching them the art of war, and they are apt scholars. What you have sent are too many to make peace,—too few to make war. If you did conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth; you will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do, they never can respect you." In specifically explaining what it was that his motion contemplated, Lord Chatham stated that he desired the repeal of every oppressive Act which had been passed since 1763. He threw on the British Legislature the blame of all that had happened. England had been the aggressor from the beginning. She had imprisoned the persons of the Americans, burned their towns, plundered their country and confiscated their property. The plan which he now proposed would, he believed, produce division in America, and unanimity at home. It would give the colonists an option which they had not previously had, and would open the way for a treaty, and for the restoration of peace. The majority of the peers, however, thought differently. They were influenced by the national or Imperial feeling that England must resist the demands of rebellion, whatever that resistance might cost. They rejected the Earl's motion by 99 votes against 28.

In the course of the debate on the motion, Lord Lyttelton made use of most insulting language towards the Americans. "The rebels," he said, "have added to all the horrors of war the brutality of savages and the treachery of cowards." Nothing could be more imprudent, more wicked, or more false than such expressions; but they had been in some measure provoked by the extravagant tone adopted by Lord Chatham. The Earl was either influenced by no small degree of factious partizanship, or had lost some of the penetration of his more vigorous years. His proposals were out of date, even if good in themselves. England, while being so openly defied, could not consent to beg for peace while the chance of victory remained; and even if she had so begged, she would not have obtained it on any terms short of a recognition of the independence of the thirteen colonies. In May, 1777, there was no ground for supposing that any amount of concession would induce the Americans to return to their allegiance as subjects of the British Crown.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Effects of Washington's Successes in New Jersey—Misadventure of Major-General Heath—Doings of the Privateers—Covert Assistance to the American Cause rendered by France and Spain—Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee—A Dishonest Proposal—Money granted to the Insurgents—The Winter Months in the Two Opposing Camps—Minor Expeditions of the English and American Armies—Opening of the Spring Campaign—Washington's Misrepresentations as to the Strength of his Forces—Movements and Counter movements of the Opposing Generals—Abandonment of New Jersey by Sir William Howe—Perplexity of Washington—Doubtful Movements of Howe—Washington at Philadelphia—Introduction of the American General to the Marquis de Lafayette—Incidents attending the Departure of that Nobleman from France—His Courteous Reception by Washington—Foreign Officers in the American Army, and Difficulties caused by the Want of a Common Language—Capture of General Prescott by the Americans.

NOTHING could exceed the effect of Washington's successes in the Central American States. In New Jersey especially, the alteration in public sentiment was most remarkable. Towards the close of 1776, the King had so many adherents in that province that the Republican army, in its retreat from New York to the Delaware, was received almost as a host of invaders. On numerous houses along the road, bits of red rag were seen nailed upon the doors, as tokens of attachment to the Crown; and the Royal troops who followed were greeted as if they had been deliverers. By the spring of 1777, all this had changed. The British and Hessian soldiers had behaved with such cruelty and arrogance that the people, in a few months' time, came to hate them. As Washington's forces regained possession of the State, they found abundant evidence that the people were no longer monarchical. Everywhere, the bits of red rag were being torn down from the houses with as much haste and enthusiasm as a Parisian mob, in the first hours of a barricade revolution, tears down the emblems of Royalty or Imperialism. The ill-behaviour of King George's troops, and the rapid successes of the Congressional arms, had rallied multitudes to the revolutionary cause. This was the case not merely in New Jersey, but in many other parts of the Confederated States. A feeling of confidence was re-born. The hopeless despondency of the previous months was dissipated. It was seen that the King's army was not invincible; that the soldiers of the Republic were capable of victory, and were being handled with skill and resolution. With the restoration of confidence, the feeling of nationality was proportionately strengthened. The recruiting of the army went on more rapidly than it had yet done; and several who had talked of leaving the ranks as soon as they were legally free to do so, now willingly remained, in the hope of future distinction.

From this date, the American army became worthy of the name, as it had hardly been before. Some infusion of a higher feeling, and of a more professional spirit, was assuredly required. The usual tendency to cover weakness and incompetency by boasting, and to evade hard work by theatrical demonstrations, was frequently apparent. An instance of this kind occurred early in the year. A detachment of the American forces, under Major-General Heath, was pushed forward beyond the Hudson in the direction of Kings Bridge, where the commander summoned Fort Independence, then in possession of the English, to surrender. This may have been all very well; but the summons was expressed in language of the most ridiculous rhodomontade, and that under circumstances which should have made Heath particularly cautious. "Twenty minutes only," said he in his message, "can be allowed for the garrison to give their answer; and should it be in the negative, they must abide the consequences." No answer at all was returned, and Heath took no further steps, or rather he took those steps which form a retrograde movement. According to his own account of the matter, he was in command of nothing but militia, who evinced a very poor spirit. This should have taught him a more circumspect mode of procedure; but he seems to have thought he could conceal his feebleness, and strike terror into the garrison, by strutting and bragging. Washington, who had advised the expedition, was extremely vexed at the absurd nature of its collapse. In a public despatch to the General, dated "Morristown, 3rd of February, 1777," he remarked that, under the circumstances, he wished the summons had never been sent, as he was fearful it would expose them to the ridicule of their enemies. But at the same time he wrote a private letter to his subordinate, giving much stronger expression to his displeasure, and declaring that, by what had occurred, the army had been disappointed, and in some degree disgraced. He added:—"Your summons, as you did not attempt to fulfil your threats, was not only idle, but farcical, and will not fail of turning the laugh exceedingly upon us."* The rebuke was certainly merited, and no man had a greater right to make it, even apart from his official right, than Washington.

The Americans were by this time deriving great assistance from their privateers, which had now become numerous, and which were well-built, well-equipped, and commanded with courage and enterprise. Many rich cargoes fell to their lot, and the victors were permitted to dispose of their prizes in the ports of France and of the French West Indies. This was a direct breach of French neutrality, and the fact at length became so notorious that the English Government remonstrated with the Cabinet of Versailles. A plausible and courteous answer was returned; but the malpractices went on none the less, though with a little greater caution. That both France and Spain were secretly acting against the interests of England, and making ready for future war, was, indeed, evident in many ways. The policy which the French Minister, Vergennes, had so sedulously advocated, was being craftily pursued. The English Government could not fail to perceive this; and although, at the opening of Parliament in October, 1776, the relations of the country with foreign Powers had been referred to in the usual terms of formal reliance and civility, it was thought prudent to augment the national defences, and to prepare for those Continental embroilments which were only too likely to result from the rebellion of the American colonies. Franklin was now in Paris, working with Silas Deane for the promotion of American interests, and meeting with a reception which was certainly not discouraging. It was the business of these two envoys to urge the conclusion of a treaty with the Court of France; and at the same time Arthur Lee proceeded on a similar errand to Spain. They did not scruple to bid high for the support they needed. If France and Spain would, on their behalf, declare war against England, the United States would assist the former in the conquest of the British sugar islands, and the latter in the subjugation of Portugal.† It can be nothing but a source of regret that a cause which, at its outset, had so much to recommend it, should, by the necessities of an extreme position, have been compelled to make a proposal so unjust and impolitic—one, moreover, utterly destructive of the principles on which the American revolution rested. The bait was not swallowed. Both France and Spain were very willing to injure England; but they were equally afraid of encouraging revolutionary principles, and of vindicating the claims of a colony to throw off its allegiance to the parent State.

As the motives and desires of the two Bourbon monarchs were similar, their conduct had much the same general characteristics. King Charles of Spain, however, was more cautious than his French kinsman. He sent word to Arthur Lee that he was to stop at Burgos, in the north of the peninsula, instead of proceeding to Madrid, where his presence might excite the suspicions of the English Ambassador, and lead to awkward interrogations. At Burgos, Lee was met by the chief Minister, Grimaldi—an astute Italian, who was not likely to commit his Royal master too much, and who in fact could not be induced to do more than grant a small sum of money for the purchase of military stores. France went a good deal farther. She had already made over to the insurgents a large number of fire-arms, which were to be convoyed by a man-of-war. She now granted them a subsidy of two millions of livres in quarterly payments, and secretly licensed four officers of the Engineers to accept commissions in the American army. These were covert acts of war; but they were accompanied by repeated asseverations to the English Ambassador of the most friendly feelings and intentions. Such were the morals of statesmanship in the eighteenth century.

The winter months of 1777 passed heavily away in the British camps at New Brunswick and Amboy. The divisions of the army stationed at these towns were kept constantly on duty, and suffered many privations, for the Americans maintained so vigilant a blockade that provisions and forage could only be obtained with difficulty. Sallies would occasionally be made, and, after more or less of skirmishing, would terminate in a little relief to the garrisons; but it was found impossible to drive off the enemy, or to change the general conditions of the military situation. In other directions there was some activity. A detachment of the Royal army from New York was sent out in March to destroy the American barracks and stores at Peekskill, on the Hudson, nearly fifty miles above New York—an enterprise which entirely succeeded. Near the end of the following month, a similar feat, on a much larger scale, was accomplished at Danbury; but the forces, on their retreat, were intercepted by a party of Americans, under Sullivan, Wooster, and Arnold, and, on two successive days, a good deal of fighting took place. Before the English could regain their ships, they had to traverse a road where they were exposed to a destructive fire of musketry from houses and behind stone walls. Nearly four hundred were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; but the Americans also suffered considerably, and General Wooster was among the slain. About a fortnight earlier, Lord Cornwallis and General Grant, at the head of two thousand men, had attempted to surprise and carry off General Lincoln, who was posted with five hundred men at Boundbrook, seven miles from New Brunswick; but Lincoln, notwithstanding that he was almost surrounded, forced his way through the British lines, and escaped.

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* Sparks's Washington, Vol. IV., pp. 306-7.

† Franklin's Works, Vol. VIII., p. 207.

The Americans, on their part, were not inactive. On the 8th of May, they attacked the British post at Piscataway, but, after a fierce contest, were repulsed. Towards the close of the same month, they burnt some English vessels in Sag Harbour, Long Island, which was attacked by a party from Connecticut, who traversed ninety miles by sea and land in twenty-five hours, and exhibited remarkable energy and resolution. But all actions of importance were postponed until the return of spring. In the meanwhile, attempts were made by both belligerents to increase their military forces. Sir William Howe determined to avail himself of the services of the American loyalists, and several of these enthusiasts—many of whom, doubtless, were as honest in their devotion as the Republicans—were embodied in a separate corps, with the same pay as the British troops, and the promise of an allotment of land at the close of the rebellion. Tryon, the Royal Governor of New York, who had always been very zealous in his support of English authority, and who had taken great pains in raising and organising the force in question, was promoted to the rank of Major-General of the loyal provincialists; and it was he who commanded the expedition against Danbury. On the opposite side, Washington did his utmost to complete his new army for the ensuing campaign. In circular letters to the several States, he urged the necessity of sending him a large number of additional troops; and, although the responses were not always such as he could have desired, some progress was made as the year advanced towards the season of active operations.

The first indication of the opening campaign, as regarded the English forces, was the building of a bridge at New Brunswick, so constructed as to be laid on flat-bottomed boats. It was supposed that Howe intended to transport this bridge overland to the Delaware, and there employ it in crossing that river. Washington, having collected at Morristown the troops which had been enlisted in Virginia and the Middle States, ordered those from the east to assemble at Peekskill. As June approached, he drew his main army to a strong position at Middlebrook, nine miles north-west of New Brunswick, but south of his former quarters, so as to defend the Delaware, should the enemy move in that direction. The new army was very far from complete, and the numbers at Washington's disposal were small in comparison with his needs. The American commander has himself recorded that nothing but a good face and false appearances had up to that point enabled him to deceive the enemy as to his strength.* This method of misrepresentation was systematically pursued by Washington, and that not merely with respect to the adversary, but in regard to his own countrymen as well. He cautioned Congress to conceal from the public the real number of their forces. Writing to General Putnam on the 5th of January, he directed him to give out his strength to be twice as great as it was. His motive for so doing was to guard against any communication between the disaffected and the English commanders, or any accidental revelation of the weak points in the American military system. It has been remarked, however, that this policy of deception operated in two ways; for, while it may have restrained the actions of the British by creating a false impression as to the American strength, it checked the efforts of the State Governments to provide those additional levies which Washington so sorely needed.†

Under the direction of Sir William Howe himself, the Royal forces, on the 13th of June, marched from New Brunswick, and formed a line which extended several miles into the country. Their right rested on the fortified position which they had just quitted, and they were secured in front by the Raritan, and on the left by the Millstone—two rivers which would have proved obstacles in the way of any

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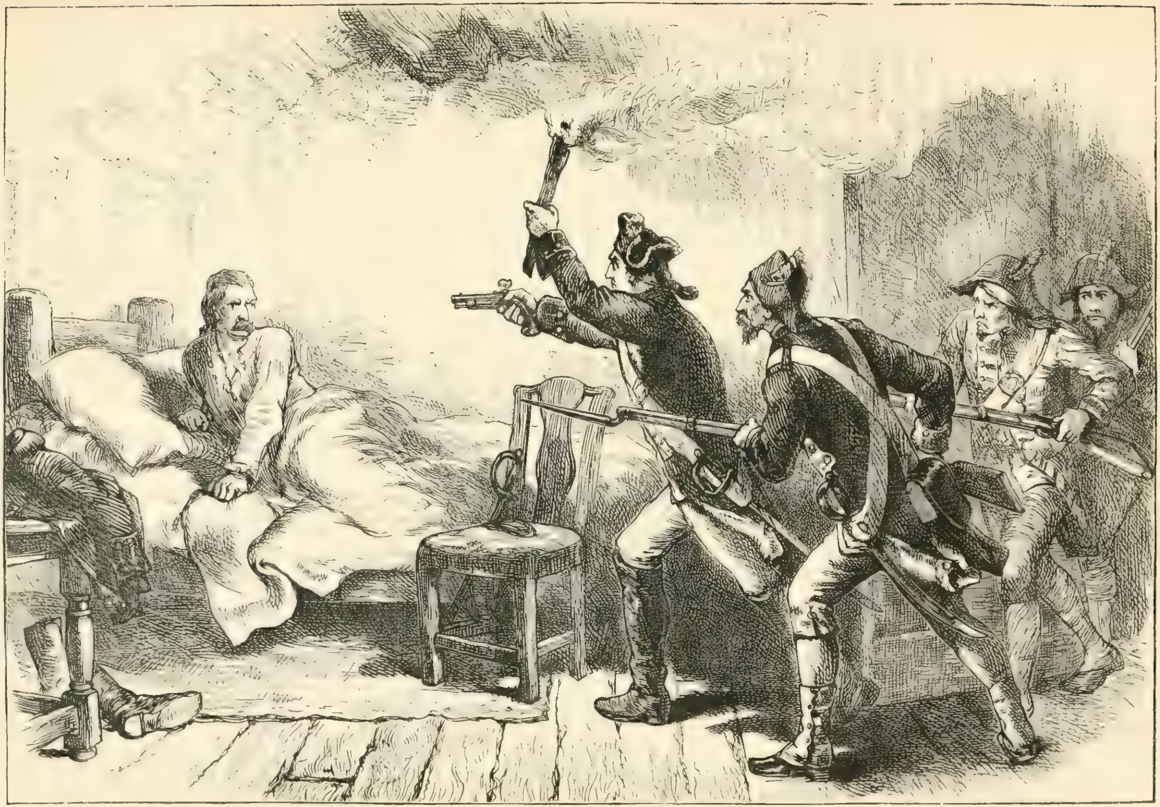
* Letter from Washington, quoted in Gordon's History, Vol. II., p. 467.

† Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 10.



ARREST OF GENERAL PRESCOTT.

hostile advance. The opposing armies were now only a few miles apart, and Howe hoped to provoke his adversary to a general action. Washington, however, knew too well the inadequacy of his army to risk his forces on so desperate a throw. He had not eight thousand effectives at his command, whereas the English General, who had been lately reinforced from home, could reckon on the services of thirty thousand good troops. It is true that Washington also had received reinforcements; but they were not very numerous, nor of the best quality, and it had been found necessary to divert several of the new recruits towards the north, to oppose a threatening movement from Canada. Howe was probably unaware of the weakness of his antagonist's regiments, or he would perhaps have advanced and given battle, though the position at Middlebrook was strong in itself, and well fortified by art. From this, his usual excess of prudence restrained him, and he accordingly employed every artifice to draw the enemy on to more exposed ground. Marching in two columns to Hillsborough, on the south side of the Raritan, he endeavoured to create an impression that he was about to advance to the river Delaware. But Washington declined to be tempted from his camp by this feint, and preferred to harass the English by skirmishing parties. Tired out by these tactics, Howe at length returned to New Brunswick, devastating the country on his line of march. From New Brunswick, on the 22nd of June, he fell back to Amboy, his other New Jersey post. While he was on the road, three regiments, under General Greene, fell upon his rear, and made a series of attacks, attended by considerable damage, all the way to Piscataway. Washington thereupon moved forward to Quibbletown with the main body of his army; and Howe, finding that he had left his stronghold, suddenly faced round, and advanced from Amboy to Westfield, on the north side of the Raritan, with the intention of turning the American left, gaining possession of the passes in the highlands, and so compelling the enemy to abandon the strong position in which he had lately been entrenched. On the morning of the 26th of June, Earl Cornwallis, with a detachment, proceeded against the Americans under Alexander (the titular Lord Stirling) and General Maxwell, and a hot engagement followed, ending in the rout of the insurgents, with considerable loss. Nevertheless, Washington was not outflanked, nor placed in any position of danger; for, retiring rapidly to Middlebrook, he once more reached the mountains, and took up a position in which Howe was not disposed to attack him.

The English Commander-in-Chief now resolved on a complete change of plan. Abandoning his original design of re-conquering New Jersey, he determined to go by sea to Philadelphia. He therefore withdrew his troops both from New Brunswick and Amboy, thus entirely quitting the province which at one time had been wholly in his possession. On the 30th of June he crossed over to Staten Island, and on the 5th of July embarked a portion of his army on board transports, that he might in this way transfer them to the new object of attack. The weather was at its hottest, the men were overcrowded, and much suffering was the result. The new movement was objectionable in many ways; for it imperilled the health of the soldiers, and, by the relinquishment of New Jersey, tended to encourage the insurgents by the appearance of hesitation and weakness. It had this advantage, however, that it caused great perplexity in the mind of Washington. The American General was of course ignorant of the direction which his opponent had taken, and, having received information that Burgoyne was approaching Ticonderoga from Quebec with a formidable army, he feared a junction of that commander with Howe. It had long been known to Washington, through information supplied by spies and deserters, that a fleet of large vessels and transports was being got ready at New York; and it was supposed, and correctly, that its destination was Philadelphia. But when the news of Burgoyne's approach reached the American head-quarters, considerable doubt was created as to the general intention of the campaign. It then seemed not improbable that the fleet was designed to carry troops up the Hudson, and that operations against New England were to be undertaken, with a view to creating a diversion in favour of Burgoyne. The English commanders had always shown great solicitude for the possession of the Hudson, as a means of securing their communications with Canada, and of separating the eastern from the southern States. Yet it was equally evident that Howe had for a long time been aiming at Philadelphia, and it would therefore have been highly injudicious to leave that position entirely open. To guard the Hudson, Washington despatched two regiments to Peekskill; but at the same time he kept a watch in the direction of the Delaware.

On learning that the British army had actually embarked at New York, the American General moved slowly northwards, but after awhile saw occasion to retrace his steps. Although the troops under Howe were on board their transports as early as the 5th of July, it was not until the 23rd that they left Sandy Hook. Information soon reached Washington of the direction taken by the fleet, which, instead of sailing up the Hudson, was sent in a southerly direction along the coast of New Jersey. It seemed that there could no longer be any doubt as to the point at which the enemy intended to strike. The army was to be carried up the Delaware, and employed against the capital of Pensylvania, to which Congress had returned after the successes at Princeton and its neighbourhood. Without a moment's hesitation, Washington turned back, recalled his troops from the vicinity of Peekskill, and directed the whole army by various routes to the banks of the Delaware. By the 30th of July, Howe had reached the capes of that river; but, being then informed that the Americans had obstructed the navigation of the stream, he altered his course, continued in a southerly direction, and entered Chesapeake Bay. Washington had by this time taken up a position at Germantown, on the Pennsylvanian side of the Delaware, where he was in the best position for defending Philadelphia. He himself went forward to Chester, south-west of the capital, where he soon learned the new direction of the invading fleet. This revived his feeling of perplexity; but until the destination of the British troops could be ascertained, it was impossible to make new arrangements, and the larger part of the American army accordingly remained at Germantown, in readiness to march at a moment's notice in any direction which might be found necessary.

While thus waiting for information, Washington passed two or three days at Philadelphia, consulting with the authorities there. It was then that he made the acquaintance of a young man destined to acquire distinction in America, and whom we have already had occasion to mention. This was the Marquis de Lafayette, who, acting on the generous emotion excited in his mind by the declamation of the Royal Duke of Gloucester on his visit to Metz in 1776, had come out to America to see what he could do in aid of the Republican cause. His enthusiasm was unbounded, and he was prepared to risk all for the furtherance of what he regarded with so much admiration. Before quitting France, he had sought an interview, at Paris, with Silas Deane, who promised that, if he would join the American forces, he should receive from Congress the rank of Major-General, though his age was then not much more than nineteen. He was to be accompanied by the Baron de Kalb, and by eleven other officers of lower rank than himself. Having secretly despatched an agent to Bordeaux, where he was to purchase and prepare a vessel for the voyage, he crossed the channel to London, to see his uncle, the Marquis de Noailles, French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's. Noailles presented his nephew to the King, who said to Lafayette, "I hope you mean to stay some time in England." Lafayette replied that it was not in his power to do so. "What obliges you to leave us?" asked the King. The question was startling, and Lafayette answered, rather disingenuously, that he had a very particular engagement, and that, if his Majesty were acquainted with it, he would not desire him to stay. George, not unnaturally, expressed displeasure at this reply when events had shown what was its real meaning; but it may have resulted from simple embarrassment, for Lafayette, by his own confession, was all his life a man of nervously awkward manners. The young enthusiast shortly afterwards informed the Ambassador of his speedy return to France, but not of his ultimate design with regard to America. At Bordeaux he learned that Lord Stormont, having discovered his purpose, had complained of it to the Government, which had in consequence issued a *lettre de cachet* for his arrest. Resolving not to be defeated, he crossed the Spanish frontier in the disguise of a courier, and embarked in his vessel from Pasages.

When the truth with regard to Lafayette came to the knowledge of the English court, it was believed that the Marquis de Noailles had from the first been cognisant of the design, which, however, appears not to have been the case. The Ministers took care to let the French Ambassador see that they suspected him; but he seems to have been really annoyed at the escapade. Several years after, when Noailles, then Ambassador at Vienna, was visited by his nephew, he said to him, "Now, Lafayette, I hope you have not come here to play me another such trick as you did in London."* The French Government were apparently sincere in their desire to restrain the young devotee; for, finding the *lettre de cachet* of no avail, they sent two vessels after the fugitive, but without any result. Lafayette got safely across the Atlantic, and towards the middle of June landed on the coast of South Carolina, whence he proceeded to Philadelphia. The members of Congress seem not to have received him very warmly, and to have regarded Silas Deane's promise that he should be made a General as rather extravagant. Ultimately, however, they ratified that promise, on the French nobleman declaring his willingness to serve as a volunteer, and that he would accept no pay. This was on the 31st of July. The first introduction of Lafayette to Washington took place shortly afterwards at a dinner-party, where several members of Congress were present. Mr. Jared Sparks, in his collection of Washington's writings, has published, from information derived from the Marquis's own lips, an interesting account of the meeting of these two famous men. When they were about to separate (says this narrative), Washington took Lafayette aside, spoke to him very kindly, complimented him on the noble spirit he had shown, and the sacrifices he had made in favour of the American cause, and then told him that he should be pleased if he would make the quarters of the Commander-in-Chief his home, establish himself there whenever he thought proper, and consider himself at all times as one of his family; adding, in a tone of pleasantry, that he could not promise him the luxuries of a court, or even the conveniences which his former habits might have rendered essential to his comfort, but that, since he had become an American soldier, he would doubtless contrive to accommodate himself to the character he had assumed, and submit with a good grace to the customs, manners, and privations of a Republican army. His horses and equipage were immediately sent to camp; and ever afterwards, even when he had the command of a division, he kept up his intimacy at head-quarters, and enjoyed all the advantages of a member of the General's family.*

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* These facts with regard to Lafayette and his uncle are mentioned by Mr. James Grahame, in the Notes to Vol. IV. of his "History of the United States," on the authority of information given to him at Paris, in 1829, by Lafayette himself.

It does not appear how the conversation at this first interview was carried on; for Washington did not understand French, and Lafayette, at that date, had only a very slight knowledge of English. This want of a common language was always a great trouble in the American camp, where many foreigners had now assembled. A knowledge of French was at that time not very common in England, but it was still more rare in America. A certain Captain Walker is described as the only officer in the American army who could speak French, unless Hamilton could be accounted a second. Walker acted as aide-de-camp to Baron Steuben, a Prussian who had served under Frederick the Great, and who joined the Americans a few months later than Lafayette. The Baron was extremely useful in improving the discipline of the inexperienced provincials; but his small command of English sadly embarrassed him, not only in conveying his instructions, but in venting his temper when those instructions were misunderstood, or not properly carried out. An American biographer relates of him that, on such occasions, after he had exhausted all the execrations he could think of in German and French, he would call to Captain Walker, "Venez, Walker, mon ami! Sacré de gaucherie of dese badauds; je n'en puis plus! I can curse dem no more!" Pulaski, the Pole, was similarly troubled, and some notes of his are preserved, which profess to be written in English, but which are scarcely intelligible.

During the pause in the main operations of the American army which was necessitated by the uncertainty of Washington as to the movements of the English under Sir William Howe, a spirited and successful enterprise was conducted towards the north by a band of Rhode Island volunteers. In that part of the Union, General Prescott was in command of the Royal forces. His head-quarters were on the west side of the island, near Narragansett Bay, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and at some distance from any body of troops. His situation, in fact, was similar to that of Lee a few months earlier, and he shared a similar fate. He trusted for protection to the numerous cruisers which were constantly passing to and fro along the shore, and to a guard-ship which lay in the bay opposite to his quarters. But this reliance proved illusory. At the head of forty men, Colonel Barton proceeded by night, on the 10th of July, from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island, eluded the British ships, and about midnight reached the General's quarters undiscovered. Securing the sentinel, they surprised the General in bed, and, without giving him time to put on his clothes, hurried him on board their vessel, and conveyed him to Providence. This was a very happy stroke, since it enabled the Americans to exchange General Prescott for General Lee, who returned to the service of his adopted countrymen. His reputation, however, had by this time fallen very considerably. As some people have no opinion of a physician who cannot keep himself in good health, so it was now generally held by the Americans that an officer who could not save his person from the clutches of the enemy was not very likely to save the Republic. They began by overrating him; they ended by doing him an injustice. With all his faults, Lee was a man of ability, of varied experience, and of powerful mind.

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* Appendix to Vol. V. of Washington's Writings, pp. 454–5.

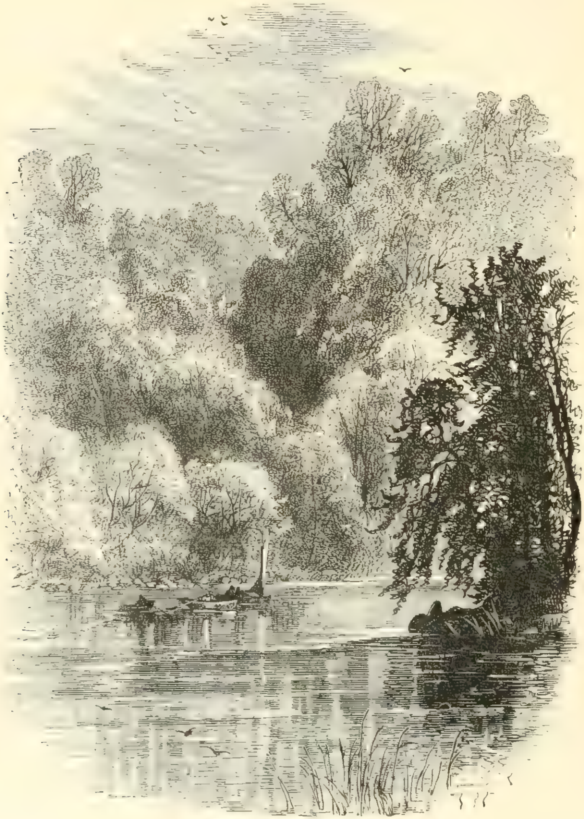
CHAPTER XXXVI.

Days of Doubt and Anxiety—Howe continues to sail Southward, turns up Chesapeake Bay, and lands at the Head of the Elk River, in Maryland—Washington falls back behind the Brandywine, on the Borders of Delaware and Pennsylvania—Battle of the Brandywine, and Defeat of the Americans—Inquiry into the Conduct of Sullivan and Deborre—Fresh Powers granted to Washington—Bad Condition of his Army—Movements in the Vicinity of Philadelphia—Minor Successes of the British—Second Removal of Congress from Philadelphia—Washington's Attack on the Enemy's Position at Germantown—Defeat of the Americans, after a sharp Engagement—Incidents of the Battle—Opinion of the Count de Vergennes on the Military Conduct of the Americans—Bon-mot of Franklin—Operations of the English Army and Navy against the Forts in the Delaware—Clearing of the River—The Thirteen Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union—Summary of the Principal Heads of those Articles—General Character and Tendency of the Federation thus established.

When Lafayette was consulting with Franklin and Silas Deane on the advisability of his proceeding to America, the two representatives of the United States were in so desponding a mood as to the success of their countrymen that they at first endeavoured to dissuade him from risking anything on such a venture. It appeared to them that the cause of American liberty was irretrievably lost, for they were not aware of the successes achieved by Washington. Even had they known of them, they might well have doubted whether the gleam of good fortune was not merely transient; whether the forces of the Revolution were strong enough to cope with such an army as that which the King of England then commanded on American soil. Washington himself was sorely troubled during those weary days of waiting, hesitation, and anxiety. He knew not in what direction the next blow would fall, and it is possible that he credited his adversary with greater powers of strategy than he really possessed, or at any rate was then exhibiting. However, he made a display of his military strength in the streets of Philadelphia, that he might overawe the adherents of the Royal cause, who were still numerous in that city; and he consulted with the members of Congress as to the best mode of procedure under the perplexities of the time. He found them in better heart than they had been at the close of the previous year. The recovery of New Jersey had acted like a cordial, and they believed in the final triumph of their adroit and energetic captain. The pause, it was clear, could not continue long. It was embarrassing, but it must soon be broken up by renewed action. In the meanwhile, Washington kept a close look-out in every direction, and suffered not his vigilance to relax for an hour.

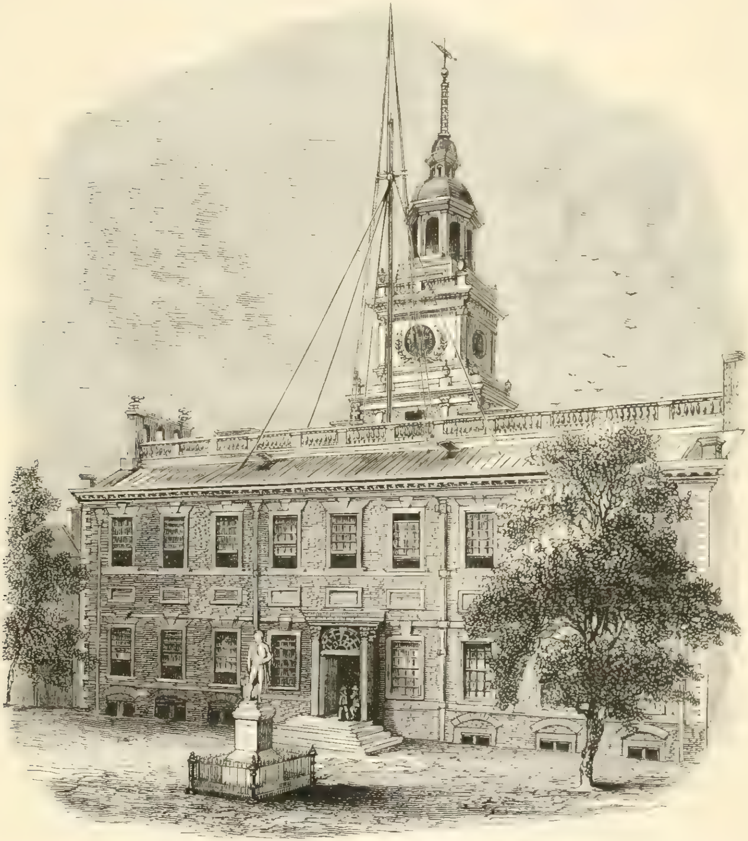
During several days there was an entire failure of intelligence with respect to the fleet containing Howe and his army. Then it was again seen near the coast about sixteen leagues south of the Capes of Delaware. Another long period ensued without any news arriving, and the General and his officers became so persuaded that the troops were proceeding to Charleston that it was resolved to give up all pursuit, and to march towards the Hudson, with a view either to act against Burgoyne, or to attack New York. The army was on the very point of starting, when, on the 24th of August, an express arrived with intelligence that the fleet was coming up Chesapeake Bay, and had already ascended two hundred miles from its mouth. After all, then, Philadelphia was the object which Howe had in view, though Washington could not tell why he had chosen so circuitous a route, since the obstructions in the Delaware were not at that time very formidable. On being thus relieved from doubt, the American recalled his detachments from New Jersey, where they had recently been engaged in an unsuccessful attack on Staten Island, and, at the head of his entire army, marched to Wilmington, in the northern part of Delaware. The next intelligence was to the effect that the British had landed a little below the head of the river Elk, close to the borders of Delaware, but within the State of Maryland. From want of horses, many of which had died on the voyage, and from other causes, Howe was unable to move forward until the 3rd of September. It then became apparent that he designed to outflank the American right; and Washington, fully conscious of the great inferiority of his army to that by which he was opposed, fell back from his first position, after a few skirmishes, in which his troops were not altogether unsuccessful, and withdrew behind the Brandywine, a small river (called by the Americans a creek) which falls into the Delaware near Wilmington. Taking possession of the high grounds near Chad's Ford, he awaited the attack of the enemy. The fords above were guarded by his right wing, under General Sullivan; and the position on the left was held by General Armstrong, at the head of the Pennsylvanian militia.

An obstinate and prolonged battle, ending disastrously for the colonists, ensued on the 11th of September. At dawn on the morning of that day, the American army was ranged along the eastern side of the Brandywine, while the English forces lay some way off on the opposite bank. Sir William Howe formed his troops into two divisions. One, under the German commander, Knyphausen, was to take the direct road to Chad's Ford; and the other, led by Earl Cornwallis, was to follow the course of the river or creek, to pass round by the forks of that stream where it divided into two branches, and to take the enemy in flank. The Commander-in-Chief accompanied the latter of these bodies, which occupied the left of the line. The action began with an attack on Knyphausen's division by a body of light troops under General Maxwell, who, after a sharp encounter, was forced to retreat behind the Brandywine. A heavy fire of artillery was interchanged across the river, but Knyphausen did not then attempt to pass the ford. His object was to engage the attention of the division immediately opposed to him, while Cornwallis should be making his way to the right flank and rear of the American army. Washington soon suspected this design, but he could do nothing to counteract it till he had received exact intelligence from the patrols who had been sent to watch the roads leading to the upper fords. When at length he was informed that the enemy had been seen marching towards those fords, he ordered Sullivan to push across the river, and do the utmost that was possible, while he himself attacked Knyphausen



VIEW ON THE BRANDYWINE.

in front. The American Commander-in-Chief, as well as Sullivan, was afterwards confused by contradictory intelligence, brought in by scouts who had been posted in various directions, and who seem, in several instances, to have been deceived by appearances which they could not rightly construe. At length, however, all was rendered clear by the noise of firing on the right flank; but Washington's plans were by this time deranged. Cornwallis had made a wide circuit, had marched seventeen miles, and had crossed two branches of the Brandywine above the forks, before he gained the heights in front of Sullivan's division; but he now attacked with great impetuosity, and drove the Americans before him in confusion. Knyphausen at the same time crossed the river, and assaulted the American entrenchments at Chad's Ford. General Wayne, who defended this post, exhibited signal gallantry, but, being greatly overmatched in point of numbers, was compelled to give way. The retreat of Sullivan, which was little better than a disorderly rout, was covered by Greene, who marched to the spot with remarkable celerity, and, occupying a pass near Dilworth, maintained a warm engagement till dusk. By this movement he checked the pursuit; yet the results of the day were serious. Among the wounded was Lafayette, who, while endeavouring to rally the fugitives, was



HOUSE AT PHILADELPHIA IN WHICH THE FIRST CONGRESSES WERE HELD.

struck in the leg, and obliged to retire from active service for a couple of months. Seven or eight pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the forces of the Revolution again fell under the dispiriting shadow of defeat.

The scene of this battle was on the borders of Delaware and Pennsylvania, and, in the course of the ensuing night, the scattered remnants of the American army, which had sought safety by different routes, were re-united at Chester, situated within the latter of those two States, while the exhausted English remained upon the field. The ill-success of the Americans was by many attributed in great part to mistakes made by General Sullivan, and to his want of vigilance in reconnoitring the movements of the enemy in the direction by which Cornwallis approached. Sullivan was certainly a man of very slight military talents; but he does not seem to have been justly blamable for the failure of the 11th of September, and, after an investigation, Congress acquitted him with honour. At the same time, an inquiry was made into the conduct of Deborre, a French general of long service in the army of his own country, who commanded, in Sullivan's division, the brigade which first gave way before the British onslaught. Deborre was so much offended at this inquiry that he resigned his commission, saying that he had done all he could to rally his men, that he was wounded in the attempt, and that, if American troops would run away, it was unjust to censure him for the consequences. This was not a little impertinent, and in some respects unfair too. However ill certain of the regiments behaved, others fought with much valour under circumstances of great disadvantage. But Deborre had made himself very unpopular in the army, and all were glad to get rid of him.

The American failure on this occasion may perhaps be in some degree imputed to a defect in the military genius of Washington which his fellow-countryman, Jefferson, pointed out many years after. His judgment, according to that statesman, "was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion. Hence the common remark of his officers, of the advantage he derived from councils of war, where, hearing all suggestions, he selected whatever was best; and certainly no General ever planned his battles more judiciously. But if deranged during the course of action, if any member of his plan was dislocated by sudden circumstances, he was slow in a readjustment. The consequence was, that he often failed in the field, and rarely against an enemy in station."* There is much in this which explains the defeat at the Brandywine.

On the 12th of September, Washington retreated to Philadelphia, and encamped near Germantown, a few miles beyond the Pennsylvanian capital. Congress determined to do the utmost to retrieve the disaster that had overtaken the national cause, and to this end ordered a concentration of troops in the vicinity of Howe's army. Washington was again invested with extraordinary powers, similar to those which had been conferred on him at the close of the preceding year, but of which the prescribed term had now run out for several weeks. Amongst other things, he was to remove, or secure for the benefit of the owners, all goods and effects which might be serviceable to the enemy—a clause designed to guard against the intentional remissness of the Royalists, who might possibly leave their property unprotected, in the hope that it might fall into the hands of the British, and contribute to the success of the ends they had at heart. The middle provinces still abounded in these Royalists. Washington has himself said that the country he was then occupying was disaffected "to a man." This is doubtless not to be taken literally; yet it was no great exaggeration of the truth. The situation was indeed perilous. Many of the soldiers—at least a thousand—were actually barefooted, and had for some time been marching in that condition. In addressing the President of Congress on the 23rd of September, Washington mentioned this fact as a sufficient reason why he could not execute forced marches, which just then were very desirable; and he made urgent requests for a supply of shoes. Yet the General was still animated by so confident a spirit that, after giving his men a day's rest at Germantown, he recrossed the Schuylkill on the 13th, and advanced towards the left of the British army, with the intention of offering battle. An engagement was on the point of taking place, at a distance from Philadelphia of twenty-three miles, when a heavy descent of rain put a stop to active operations. Washington then withdrew to the Yellow Springs, and some days later retired to the other side of the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford.

Successes came in rapid order to the army of Sir William Howe. On the evening after the Battle of the Brandywine, a party proceeded to Wilmington, seized the person of Mr. M'Kinlay, Governor of the State of Delaware, took a shallop loaded with effects, and carried off the public records of the county. Eight days later—on the 20th of September—the American General Wayne, who, with a detachment of 1,500 men, had posted himself in the woods on the British left, with a view to harassing the adversary, was surprised in the evening by a detachment under General Grey. No precautions had been taken to guard against attack, and the consequence was a considerable loss. The onslaught was made with the bayonet, and was completely successful. Three hundred men were killed or wounded, nearly a hundred were captured, and all the baggage was seized, with but slight loss to the English commander. These disasters forced on Congress the necessity of again leaving Philadelphia. On the 18th of September, the members determined on removing to Lancaster, where they met on the 27th, and on the same day adjourned to York, beyond the Susquehannah, at which place they reassembled on the 30th. The English forces crossed the Schuylkill, at Fatland and Gordon's Ford, on the 22nd and 23rd of September, and on the 26th took possession of Philadelphia, where they were cordially received by the Quakers and other Royalists. They at once proceeded to erect three batteries near the river, to protect the city against any naval attack. Before these batteries could be finished, two frigates, a sloop, and several galleys and gondolas, moved up to Philadelphia, and began a cannonade on the morning of the 27th ; but two of the vessels grounded, and were compelled to strike their colours, so that the attempt ended in failure.

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* Quoted by Mr. Tucker in his Life of Jefferson.

The arrival of General Howe at Philadelphia was followed, at the beginning of October, by the sailing of the fleet under his brother, Lord Howe, from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, that it might be employed in forcing the defences of the latter river. To aid this work, a detachment of troops was stationed on the left bank of the Delaware, in New Jersey. A large part of the army was at Germantown, and the remainder at Philadelphia. This divided state of the Royal forces suggested to Washington the idea of a sudden attack on his opponent, such as might enable him to recover the capital of the State—the metropolis, it might be called, of the insurrection. The British encampment extended across the village of Germantown, at right angles with the main road. Fourteen miles off, the enemy was posted near Skippack Creek, one of the affluents of the river Schuylkill. The Americans began their march on the evening of the 3rd of October, divided into four columns, which were to approach the English by four distinct routes, and simultaneously burst on their right, left, centre, and rear at Germantown. Howe's forces were evidently unprepared for such an attack, which took them completely by surprise. The action began a little after daybreak with a bayonet-charge of great vehemence. The fighting was for a time very hot at the centre and on the American left; but the attempt was destined to be as little successful as others which had preceded it. So thick a fog prevailed at the time—and it soon got thicker from the smoke of the firing—that, at a distance of thirty yards, it was impossible to distinguish one army from the other; and this led to bewilderment and confusion. The failure of the enterprise is described by Washington in a letter to his brother, where he writes :—"After we had driven the enemy a mile or two,—after they were in the utmost confusion, and flying before us in most places,—after we were upon the point, as it appeared to everybody, of grasping a complete victory,—our own troops took flight, and fled with precipitation and disorder. How to account for this, I know not ; unless the fog represented their own friends to them for a reinforcement of the enemy, as we attacked in different quarters at the same time, and were about closing the wings of our army when this happened." Want of ammunition in the right wing, which began the engagement, contributed to the discomfiture of the American design. Each man took with him forty rounds; and, in the course of the two hours and a half during which the fighting continued, these were completely exhausted.

Considerable courage and good conduct had been shown at the commencement of the action, and the English regiments were at first thrown into disorder; but, having recovered themselves with the steadiness of veterans, they inflicted terrible blows on their antagonists. "In a word," says Washington to his brother, "it was a bloody day." The American loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, was, on the General's own admission, as many as a thousand; and, of the missing, he thought it probable that many had taken "advantage of the times," and deserted. Howe reported his loss at seventy-one killed, four hundred and fifty wounded, and fourteen missing. His troops had not prevailed without paying heavily for it, as at times the contest was furious. The 40th Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, was in the first instance driven in; but Musgrave contrived to keep five companies of his regiment together, and, getting into a large stone house in the village, which stood in front of the enemy's main column, detained for a long while nearly half the attacking force. Several assaults on the building were made by the Americans, without success; and the delay contributed in no slight degree to the final triumph of the British. It gave time for the main body to get under arms; and when General Grey had hastened to the assistance of Colonel Musgrave, and the action had become universal, Sullivan's division fell back upon the second line, and the whole American army was mobbed. Yet, defeated though they were, the Americans were not entirely losers by this transaction, which showed that they were equal to bold and daring enterprises in the open field. The effect from a political point of view was also important. When the American commissioners in Paris had their first interview with the Count de Vergennes, to talk over a treaty of alliance, the French Minister complimented them on the favourable prospect of affairs in their country, and on the conduct of the American troops; adding that nothing struck him so much as General Washington's attacking and giving battle to General Howe's army,—that to bring an army raised within a year to this, promised everything.* The Americans, on the whole, were in spirits as to their prospects. They even regarded the taking of Philadelphia by the enemy as a circumstance likely to tend more to the disadvantage than to the advantage of the English, who, to maintain possession of the city, would be obliged to lock up a large proportion of their troops. "It is not General Howe who has taken Philadelphia," said Franklin on hearing the news; "it is Philadelphia that has taken General Howe." His residence in Paris seems to have taught him the art of French epigram.

Foiled in his attempt at Germantown, Washington retreated to White Marsh, a strong position distant fourteen miles west from Philadelphia. The English General and Admiral were now at liberty to pursue without interruption their operations against the forts on the Delaware. The Americans had recently constructed on an island in that stream some works and batteries which they designated Fort Mifflin. Nearly opposite to this island, on the eastern or New Jersey shore, Fort Mercer had been built at a place called Redbank; and a third fort was still being proceeded with at Billingsport, lower down the river on the same side. Several ranges of *chevaux-de-frise* had been sunk in the middle channel; and numerous armed vessels belonging to the Americans were stationed at various posts. On the 21st of October, some Hessians were sent against the fort at Redbank; but the attack was unsuccessful. Nearly two hundred of the assailants were killed, and their commander, Count Donop, was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. When he lay dying in his miserable captivity, he said to a French officer who was attending him, "My career ends early. I shall die a victim to my own ambition, and to the avarice of my sovereign." It is to be hoped that these words found their way to the huckster who sold his subjects' blood, and that he had grace enough to feel remorse.

The attack on the Delaware defences did not progress favourably. Two large ships ran aground on sandbanks created by the artificial obstructions in the river; on the following morning, one of these was set in flames by fire-ships, and blew up with some of the crew, and the other was abandoned and burnt, after ineffectual attempts to get her off. Several weeks passed in preparations for further attacks; batteries were erected by the English on the Pennsylvanian bank, and on Province Island; guns were dragged with difficulty over the swampy soil; and at length Fort Mifflin was turned, and, a heavy fire being opened upon it on the 15th of November, the defenders were compelled to retire. Two days afterwards, the post at Redbank was evacuated also, the garrison retreating before a division sent against them under the command of Lord Cornwallis. On this, the American shipping in the river withdrew up the stream. Some of the vessels escaped the batteries at Philadelphia during the night, and for a time got off; the rest were burnt. The Delaware was now re-opened; but the defence of the river had been so resolute that a considerable part of the season was consumed in removing the obstacles to an advance.

During the progress of these events, the political constitution of the young Republic underwent prolonged discussion. The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union finally resolved themselves into thirteen, which were debated at thirty-nine sittings, and ultimately adopted by Congress on the 15th of November, 1777—the day on which Fort Mifflin was abandoned by its garrison. By these Articles (which had been considerably altered since they were first submitted to Congress), it was agreed that each State should retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which was not by the Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled; that they should enter into a firm league for mutual defence; that the free inhabitants of any of the States should be entitled to the privileges and immunities of free citizens in any other State; that any traitor or great delinquent, fleeing from one State and found in another, should be delivered up to the State having jurisdiction over the offender; that full faith and credit should be given in each of the States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of every other State; that delegates should be annually chosen, in such manner as the Legislature of each State should direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, with power to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead; that no State should be represented in Congress by less than two or more than seven members; that no person should be a delegate for more than three out of six years, nor should any delegate hold a place of emolument under the United States; that each State should maintain its own delegates; that in Congress each State should have only one vote; that freedom of speech should be enjoyed by the members, who should be free from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace; that no State, without the consent of Congress, should receive any Ambassador, or enter into any treaty with any foreign Power; that no person holding office in any of the United States should receive any present, office, or title from any foreign State; that neither Congress nor any of the States should grant any titles of nobility; that no two or more of the States should enter into any confederation whatever without the consent of Congress; and that no State should impose any duties which might interfere with stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States with any King, Prince, or State, in pursuance of any treaties previously proposed by Congress to the Courts of France and Spain. This last clause was intended to propitiate foreign Powers generally, but especially the two Bourbon Monarchies, from whose assistance so much was hoped. The efforts of Franklin, Silas Deane, and the other foreign agents, were about to be crowned with success; and it was necessary to be especially careful as to the relations of the American States with the Governments of Continental Europe.

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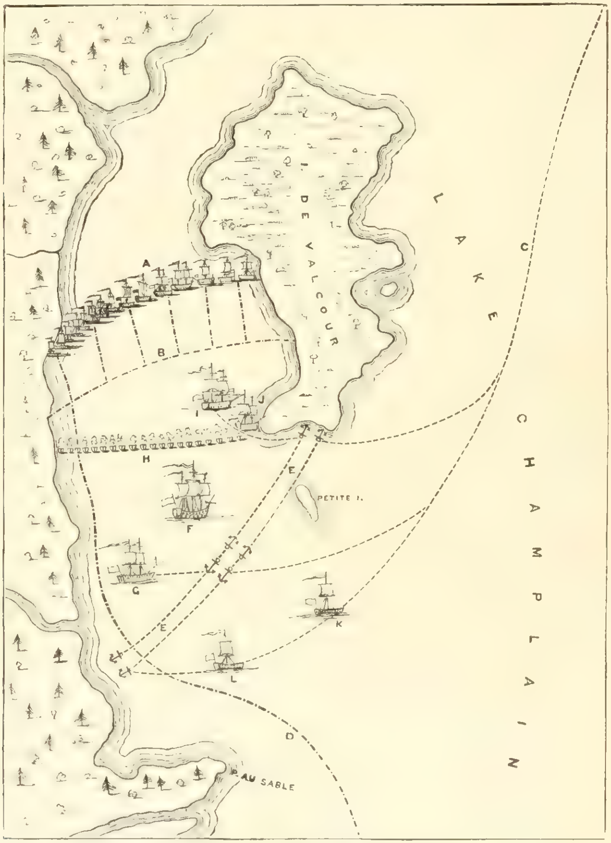
* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 10.

The possibility of any State setting up a distinct existence for itself was guarded against by the proviso that no member of the Union should be suffered to maintain vessels of war or bodies of troops in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States, should be deemed necessary. Each State, however, was to keep up a regular and well-disciplined militia, and to provide, and have constantly ready for use in the public stores, a due number of field-pieces, arms, ammunition, &c. No State was to engage in war without the consent of Congress, unless such State were actually invaded by enemies, or should have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger were so imminent as not to admit of delay till Congress could be consulted; and the expenses of any war that might arise out of the common defence or general welfare were to be defrayed from a common treasury, supplied by the several States according to the value of land in each. Taxes were to be imposed and levied by authority and direction of the several States within the time prescribed by Congress. To that body pertained the sole and exclusive right of deciding on peace and war, of sending and receiving Ambassadors, and of entering into treaties. Congress was likewise to be the last resort, on appeal, in all disputes and differences between two or more of the States, concerning boundaries, jurisdiction, or any other cause. It was to have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by its own authority, or by that of the respective States, fixing the standard of weights and measures, regulating trade, establishing post-offices, appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States (except regimental officers), appointing all officers of the naval forces, commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States, making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations. During any period of recess, affairs were to be managed by a Committee of the States, to consist of one delegate from each State. Congress was to have power to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, to appropriate and apply the same, to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, to build and equip a navy, to fix the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State. The consent of nine States was requisite to any great public measure of common interest. Congress was to have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States; but the adjournment was not to exceed six months. The proceedings of Congress were to be published monthly, excepting such parts as related to treaties, alliances, or military operations which in the judgment of the delegates might require secresy. Whenever Congress was in recess, the Committee of the States, or any nine of them, were to exercise such powers as Congress should think fit to confer. Canada, if willing, was to be admitted to all the advantages of the Union; but no other colony could be admitted, unless such admission should be agreed to by nine States. It was also determined that all bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, or debts contracted by Congress before the Confederation was established, should be charges on the United States; that every State should abide by the determination of Congress on all questions submitted to it by the Confederation; that the several articles should be inviolably observed by every State; and that no alteration in any article should be made, unless agreed to by Congress, and afterwards confirmed by the Legislature of every State.

These were the principal provisions of the Thirteen Articles by which the colonies formed themselves into a Federal Union. The agreement had still to be ratified by the several States; and this ratification, partly obtained in July, 1778, was not fully given until March, 1781. The Federal Legislature, however, had sanctioned the terms on which the Union was to exist, and it was probable that the local bodies would follow in due course. The Constitution thus framed and established bore some resemblance to that of the United Colonies of New England, which formed a species of Federation in the year 1643.* It differed, of course, in several respects, because the Union of 1643 was simply colonial, and did not pretend to establish a sovereign Power, dealing with other Powers on a



PLAN OF THE DEFEAT OF THE AMERICAN FLEET, UNDER BENEDICT ARNOLD, ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, OCT. 11, 1776.

A. American fleet of fifteen vessels
B. American line during the attack
C. Course of the British fleet from St. John
D. Tracks of American ships which escaped to Ticonderoga.
E. Position in which the British fleet anchored during the night
F. Inflexible
G. Schooner Maria
H. Twenty gun boats
I. Schooner Carleton
J. The Royal Savage on shore
K. Thunderer
L. Gondola Loyal Convert

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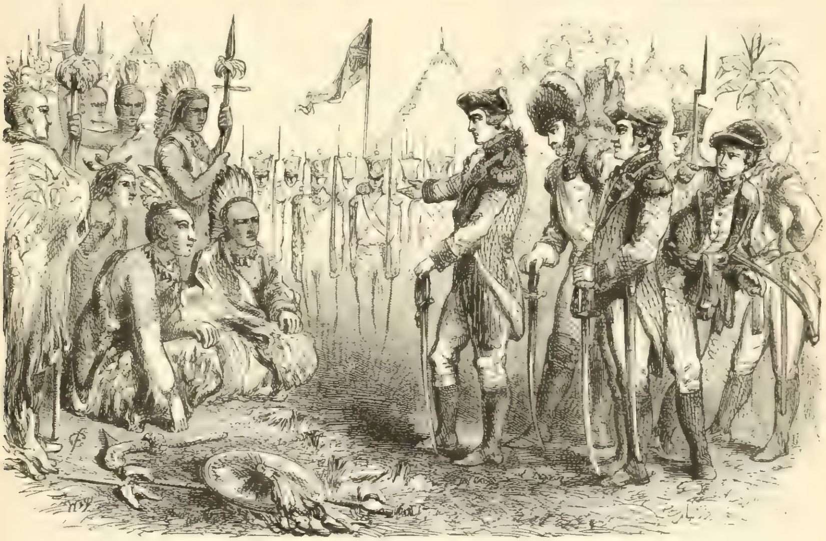
* See Vol. I. of this History, pp. 148-9.

footing of entire independence. But the general principles were the same, and the earlier Federation must be regarded as the prototype of the later. It might, indeed, even be said that the colonial spirit appeared to excess in the first Constitution of the United States. The political forms then created left too much to the individual members of the bond, which were too loosely held together, too little subjected to the pressure of general interests. "The Confederation, from its outset," says an American authority who possesses both a personal and an hereditary claim to respect, "was placed on a wrong basis. It was a league of States, creating a mere outward form of sovereignty, with all effective powers reserved to themselves"†—that is, to the States individually, and not collectively, and to the State Legislatures, rather than to the people directly. This tendency to local rather than general considerations lay at the root of a decision to which John Adams was always strenuously opposed. Congress finally determined that all the States should have an equal vote in the Federal Assembly, whether their area was great or small, whether their population was numerous or scanty. Adams prognosticated, from this decision alone, that the Confederation would not be lasting; and the event justified his prophecy. In ten years' time it was found necessary to frame a new Constitution, by which the members of the House of Representatives were elected directly by the people in proportion to population, and in which various errors of the earlier arrangement were rectified.



GENERAL BURGOYNE ADDRESSING THE INDIANS.

Another question on which particular interests were too greatly favoured had reference to the apportionment of the public charges. These were based exclusively on land and buildings; the Southern States objecting, and successfully objecting, to their slaves being considered as property from the tax-gatherer's point of view. On this subject, the whole of the New England members were against the arrangement which commended itself so powerfully to the South; but they were outvoted. Both questions were decided in obedience to sectional prejudices, and in defiance of reason and justice; and both were revised at a later day, when the experience of some years had made still more apparent the mistakes which ignorance and selfishness had united to commit. The earlier Constitution was also defective in its general working powers. It combined, in one and the same body, legislative, executive, and judicial functions. It admitted of no President independent of Congress itself; it suffered the administration of Federal affairs to remain in the hands of committees appointed by the Assembly; it made no provision for supreme courts of justice; and it left to the Legislatures of each State, instead of granting to the people themselves without any interposition, the election of the delegates to serve in Congress. The opinion of Thomas Jefferson on this makeshift Constitution has been very clearly expressed. Though the arrangement was mainly due to the influence of the Southern members, and Jefferson was a Virginian, he saw the great shortcomings of what had been established. He remarks in his "Autobiography" that, as long as the dangers of the war kept his countrymen together, the spirit of the people acted as a supplement to the formal Confederation, but that, on the restoration of peace, less attention was paid to the calls of Congress. "The fundamental defect of the Confederation," he proceeds, "was that Congress was not authorised to act immediately on the people, and by its own officers. Their power was only requisitory, and these requisitions were addressed to the several Legislatures, to be by them carried into execution, without other coercion than the moral principle of duty. This allowed, in fact, a negative to every Legislature on every measure proposed by Congress; a negative so frequently exercised in practice as to benumb the action of the Federal Government, and to render it insufficient in its general objects, and more especially in pecuniary and foreign concerns. The want, too, of a separation of the legislative, executive, and judiciary functions, worked disadvantageously in practice." In short, as the grandson of John Adams observes, in relating the life of his illustrious ancestor, the States, never having advanced to the recognition of any common system of performing obligations, gradually receded to the fulfilment of none at all. The provincial spirit was strong in them; the national spirit had yet to be created by the agonies of war, and the less concentrated, though hardly less serious, trials of a distracted peace.

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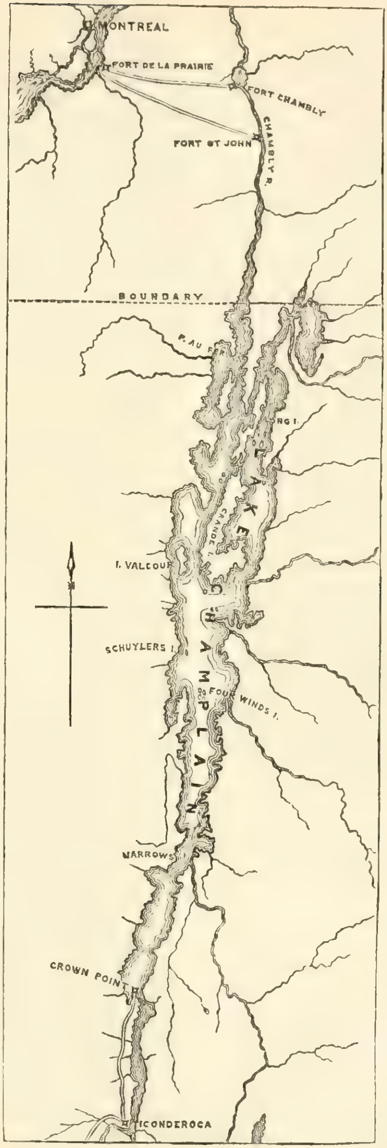
† Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, Charles Francis Adams. Boston, 1856.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Cessation of Active Operations in Pennsylvania—The Division between North and South—John Adams distrustful of Washington—His Plan for dividing the Military Power with General Gates—Insubordination of some of the Commanders—Incessant and Onerous Labours of John Adams—His Opinions during the Progress of the Struggle—The American Garrison at Ticonderoga—Plan of the English Government for invading the Rebellious Colonies from Canada—Burgoyne appointed to the Command of the Expedition—His Proceedings at Crown Point, and March to Ticonderoga—Elaborate Defence of Ticonderoga by the Americans—The Position invested by Burgoyne—Abandonment of Ticonderoga by the Americans—Disastrous Retreat—Difficult March of Burgoyne towards Fort Edward—Want of Provisions—Bad Conduct of the Indians—Burgoyne's Unsuccessful Raid on Bennington—The Command of the Northern American Army transferred to Gates—St. Leger obliged to raise the Siege of Fort Stanwix (otherwise Fort Schuyler)—The Murder of Miss McCrea—Correspondence on the Subject between Generals Gates and Burgoyne—Military Efforts of New England—Perilous Position of Burgoyne—His Advance towards Stillwater—Battle of Behmus's Heights (Sept. 19th)—Approximation of the British and American Positions—Proceedings of the Americans in the Neighbourhood of the Lakes—Alarming Situation of Burgoyne—Severe Trials of the Soldiers—Second Battle of Behmus's Heights (Oct. 7th)—Energy and Courage of Benedict Arnold—Partial Defeat of the English—Burgoyne determines on a Retreat to Saratoga—Weary and Depressing March—The Royal Forces surrounded—Holding of a Council of War—Negotiations for a Capitulation—The Terms finally agreed upon.

AFTER the Battle of Germantown, and the proceedings of the English army and fleet for the reopening of the river Delaware, no military events of importance took place in Pennsylvania or the Jerseys during the remainder of the year 1777. Early in December, Howe, at the head of his entire army, moved towards White Marsh, where Washington was then encamped, and tried to draw his enemy into a general engagement. But the American commander refused to be thus tempted, knowing his weakness in the open field. Howe manœuvred with much skill and pertinacity, but nothing ensued beyond a little skirmishing. Washington was in a position of considerable strength, and would not be seduced from it by any amount of defiance. Both armies had been lately reinforced, and neither could now complain of paucity of numbers. The American forces, however, were greatly inferior to the British in equipments, in discipline, and in the necessaries of life. They were also terribly wanting in the sentiment of unity. Much jealousy continued to exist between North and South; and the troops from the Central States, so far from acting as intermediaries, appear to have done nothing more than introduce a third element of discord and trouble. A year before, John Adams had expressed a doubt whether Washington himself did not contribute to this state of things by always dwelling upon circumstances which told to the discredit of the New England men, while he seldom mentioned anything of the kind with respect to regiments drawn from other parts of the Continent. "Does every man to the southward of Hudson's River," he asked Colonel Knox, "behave like a hero, and every man to the northward of it like a poltroon, or not? The rumours, reports, and letters which come here upon every occasion represent the New England troops as cowards running away perpetually, and the southern troops as standing bravely. I wish I could know whether it is true. I want to know for the government of my own conduct." In a letter to General Greene, Adams observed that the southern colonies were not very military; that they had never known much of war, and that it was not easy to make a people warlike who had never been so. This seemed to imply that all the martial genius of the country was to be found at the North. Yet, on the 26th of September, 1776, he wrote with anguish of the cowardice of New England men before New York. The distinction of North and South should at such a time have been unknown; but it amounted to a distinction of nationalities. Though this feeling had in some degree mitigated by the latter end of 1777, it had far from disappeared.



MAP OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

During the earlier part of the war, Adams was at the head of the military administration. It appears certain that he was in some degree distrustful of Washington. As a New England man, he may have felt a little vexed at the Commander-in-Chief being a Virginian, though it must not be forgotten that he had himself proposed his election to that post; but what influenced him more was a fear that Washington might turn his dictatorial powers to the injury of the commonwealth. He and Samuel Adams had hesitated about conferring such powers on any one; and John Adams is thought to have given more of his confidence to the Englishman, General Gates. Both the Adamses were eager in promoting the formation of a northern army, which should not only divide the forces of the enemy, but should also subtract somewhat from the predominance of Washington; and to the command of this army Gates was appointed. The event, as we shall presently see, justified their forethought from a military point of view. It cannot be doubted that the Generalissimo of the American forces had no enthusiastic supporter in

John Adams; and this added to the troubles of the commander.

Adams had his own troubles in the insubordination of several officers. Greene wrote to him, in the course of 1776, that he (Adams) was playing a desperate game, and he repeated the expression in 1777, though he added that this would make no difference in his resolution to see the game out. In March of the latter year, the Board of War considered it necessary to censure General Schuyler for the tone assumed by him in writing to Congress. A little later, Greene, Knox, and Sullivan simultaneously threatened to resign on hearing a rumour that a French engineer officer had been engaged by Silas Deane in Paris, and was to be set over their heads. There was really no intention on the part of Congress to sanction such an appointment, which would certainly have been unfair and injudicious; but it was determined to reprove the Generals for their attempt to intimidate, and an expectation was expressed that they would make proper acknowledgment of their error. It does not appear that they offered the least apology, and Congress could not venture on removing them. At this period, John Adams was as much the soul of the Government as Washington was the soul of the army. The labours of the great New Englander, in more than one department of the State, were incessant and most onerous. He told his wife that he was "oppressed with public cares," and at times his spirit drooped within him. He admitted to General Greene that his feelings were somewhat less sanguine than they had been. Yet he did not fail to note that there was no general defection of States in consequence of the American defeats; and therefore, he said, he did not yet despair. He wrote to Mrs. Adams from Philadelphia, early in August, 1777 :—"If Howe comes here, I shall run away, I suppose, with the rest. We are too brittle ware, you know, to stand the dashing of balls and bombs." In another letter to his wife, he said:—"If it should be the will of Heaven that our army should be defeated, our artillery lost, our best Generals killed, and Philadelphia fall into Mr. Howe's hands" (by "Mr. Howe" he meant General Sir William Howe), "still, America is not conquered. America would yet be possessed of great resources, and capable of great exertions, as mankind would see. It may, for what I know, be the design of Providence that this should be the case; because it would only lay the foundations ot American independence deeper, and cement them stronger. It would cure Americans of their vicious, luxurious, and effeminate appetites, passions, and habits—a more dangerous army to American liberty than Mr. Howe's."* But all this looked rather like fortitude than hope.

The first positive success—that which, before any other, seemed to presage the final triumph of the Americans—occurred in the north, and, strange to say, it was accomplished under the directions of an Englishman. In November, 1776, the fragments of the army which had attempted the invasion of Canada, and had miserably failed in that design, were stationed at Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain. Very shortly before, they had sustained a severe defeat in those parts. With a view to dispossessing them of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, situated on that inland water, Sir Guy Carleton sent a fleet against the American vessels which had been collected on the lake under the general direction of Benedict Arnold. On the 11th and 13th of October, 1776, a hotly-contested action took place, in which the provincials fought with great courage, but were in the end defeated. The loss on both sides was heavy, and six of the American vessels were abandoned and blown up. Others were taken by the British, who on their side lost three gondolas. In consequence of this action, the Royal troops established themselves at Crown Point, and proceeded to strengthen the fortifications, but afterwards abandoned the station, and retired into Canada. As the terms of service of the Americans expired during the ensuing winter, a large number quitted the ranks, and returned home. The garrisons in the various forts of that region were reduced to mere skeletons, and they were in great dread of an attack by the British as soon as the ice was strong enough to allow the passage of troops over the lakes. On the other hand, the cantonments of the Royal army in the north were so distant from one another—being in fact drawn out from Isle aux Noix and Montreal to Quebec—that, without concentration, the English forces in Canada could not be regarded as very formidable. This concentration it was now determined to give them. An invasion of the rebellious colonies from the loyal province then ruled by Sir Guy Carleton, seemed to the English Government not merely a righteous retribution for the inroad upon Canada, but a good piece of military strategy, with a view to the successful termination of the civil war. The chief command of the army was given to General Burgoyne, much to the annoyance of Carleton, who conceived himself so much aggrieved that he offered to resign his post as Governor. Burgoyne had been in England during the early months of 1777, and had there concerted with the Ministry a plan of the campaign. The army placed at his disposal consisted of more than seven thousand regulars (English and German), together with a great number of Canadians and Indians. The operations of this army were to be aided by the division under Clinton, which had for some time been stationed at New York, but which was now to advance in a northerly direction. Moreover, a naval armament, under Commodore Lutwych, was to accompany the expedition of Burgoyne.

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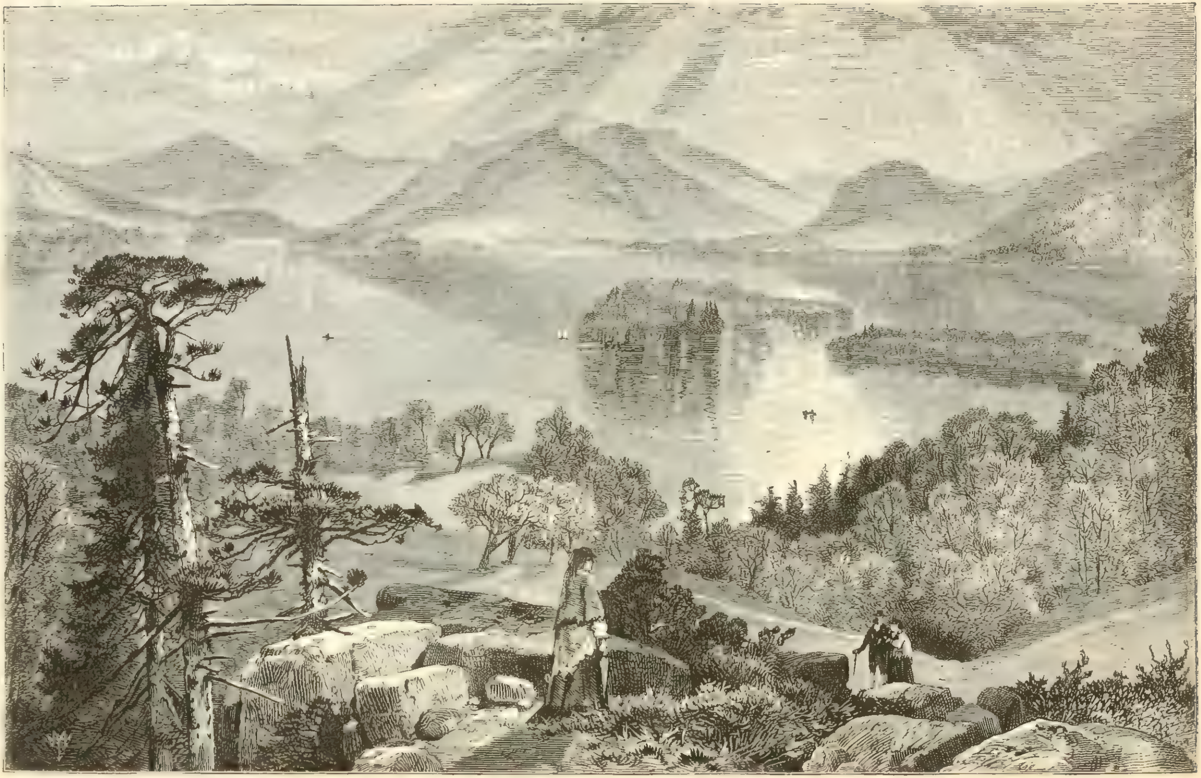
* Life of John Adams, by his Grandson.

It was the 16th of June when Burgoyne, having sent forward a detachment which was to make a diversion towards Lake Oswego and the Mohawk River, quitted St. John's, and sailed up Lake Champlain. A few days later, he landed and encamped at Crown Point, where he met his Indian allies, gave them a war-feast, and, in a grandiloquent speech, sought at once to excite their courage and curb their disposition to ferocity. Burgoyne and Carleton had both doubted the propriety of employing these barbarians; but it was part of the Ministerial scheme that their assistance should be sought. Many incidents of the ensuing campaign showed how deeply criminal, in effect if not in motive, was the use of savage warriors in a contest between two branches of a civilised race. But both sides had been eager to obtain the discreditable alliance, and it can only be said that the English were more energetic than the Americans in carrying out their intentions. Burgoyne also issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the country, in which he threatened vengeance against the people if they opposed the Royal troops, and alluded to the fury of the Indians, who were ready to butcher the friends of independence. The General was very confident as to the results of his campaign, or at least affected to be. In an order of the day addressed to the army, he said :—" The services required of this particular expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress, occasions may occur in which nor difficulty, nor labour, nor life are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." It did more than retreat; it surrendered.

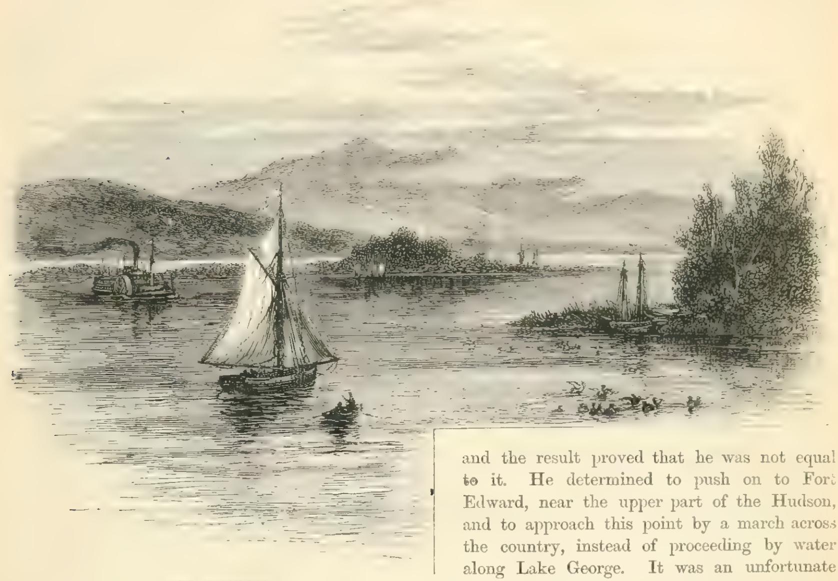
The army started from Crown Point on the 30th of June, and advanced along the channel which connects Lakes Champlain and George, but which by the Americans is generally held to be a portion of the former lake—the English on the western shore, the Germans on the east, and the naval squadron in the centre. Ticonderoga was reached on the 1st of July, and it was then perceived that the original lines of the French had been strengthened by the Americans, who had fortified Mount Independence, a high circular hill situated on the east side of the channel between the lakes, which is there from three to four hundred yards wide. The garrison had here erected a number of very formidable works, and had connected the two sides of the stream by a wooden bridge, supported by two-and-twenty strong pillars, the spaces between which were filled up by floats, fastened to each other, and to the pillars, by chains and rivets. The side of this bridge next to Lake Champlain was defended by a boom formed of large pieces of timber, bolted and bound together by double iron chains. The defenders of the position could in this way pass between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and at the same time the passage of vessels up the strait was prevented. Burgoyne had not expected to find such formidable obstructions to his progress; but it was not long ere he discovered the weak points in the enemy's position. A little to the south of Ticonderoga, a sharp angle of land is formed by the confluence of the waters pouring from Lake George with a stream called at that point the South River, and higher up (that is to say, farther south) Wood Creek. Out of the angle rises a steep and rugged height, denominated Sugar Hill—an elevation which commands both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. This hill had not been overlooked by the Americans; but General St. Clair, the commandant, regarded his forces as insufficient to occupy the ground, and, moreover, believed that the difficulty of the ascent would preclude any endeavour to gain possession of it. He therefore took no precautions against its falling into his adversary's hands. The number of men under St. Clair did not quite reach three thousand; but, although these were inadequate to active operations, the American General felt secure within his entrenchments, and, taking it for granted that Burgoyne would try to carry the fort by assault, conceived that he should have no difficulty in maintaining his position. The English commander, however, adopted a much more cautious method. He proceeded to invest the stronghold of his antagonist, and, on the 5th of July, took possession of Sugar Hill. The besieged did not feel strong enough to interrupt these operations; and when the fort was nearly surrounded, it appeared both to St. Clair and his officers that they had no alternative but to surrender, or to evacuate the whole line of works. Only the route by the South River remained open to them; and even this would be closed ere long. During the night between the 5th and 6th of July, the garrison escaped in a southerly direction towards Skeenesborough.

The retreat was discovered while it was yet in course of execution, owing to the imprudence of



LONG ISLAND, LAKE GEORGE.

some of the Americans, who set fire to a house. Burgoyne instantly determined on pursuit. Commodore Lutwych began to remove the obstructions in the stream, and so energetic was his action that the channel was clear by nine o'clock in the morning. A number of gun-boats which were sent up the South River overtook a body of the fugitives near the Falls of Skeenesborough, and inflicted on their small fleet very serious losses. This particular detachment then continued its retreat to Fort Anne, on Wood Creek. St. Clair, with the major portion of his army, succeeded, by a forced march of thirty miles, in reaching Castletown before the close of the day; but his rear-guard was overtaken near Hubbardtown, on the 7th, and defeated after a sanguinary engagement, in which some of the American troops behaved with signal gallantry, whilst others basely deserted their comrades. Alarmed at his position, St. Clair threw himself into the woods, and, after a harassing march, in which his men suffered much from want of food, joined Schuyler at Fort Edward on the 12th of July. The same position was also reached, shortly afterwards, by the detachment which had for awhile paused at Fort Anne. By these rapid and vigorous movements, Burgoyne had in a few days gained possession of the strong forts on the lakes, destroyed a number of the enemy's vessels, and taken a hundred and twenty-eight pieces of artillery, besides a large quantity of provisions, stores, and materials of war. His success spread the utmost alarm throughout the northern part of the Republican Union, and, in the same degree, raised sanguine hopes in England that the rebellion was about to be crushed.



LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

But Burgoyne had an arduous task before him, and the result proved that he was not equal to it. He determined to push on to Fort Edward, near the upper part of the Hudson, and to approach this point by a march across the country, instead of proceeding by water along Lake George. It was an unfortunate choice. The natural difficulties of the route were considerable, for the land was so broken by streams and swamps that the English army had to construct on their march as many as forty bridges, one of which—a causeway rather than a bridge—was thrown over a morass two miles in length. To these obstructions were added many which the Americans had themselves contrived. Large trees were found to have been felled on both sides of the track, so as to fall across it with their branches mingled; and at every turn some new obstacle was discovered, which could only be surmounted with great loss of time. This had been done by order of General Schuyler, who also directed that the horses and cattle of the district should be driven out of reach of the Royal army. Schuyler, indeed, exhibited praiseworthy energy in preparing for the defence. He solicited reinforcements of regular troops, and called on the militia of New England to join the army. New England furnished a body of irregulars, under the command of General Lincoln; and Congress made every effort to increase the army in that quarter. The harassing nature of Burgoyne's march gave time for these preparations. The Royal army was compelled to halt for some time at Skeenesborough, to obtain a little rest, and to enable the General to re-assemble the scattered divisions of his force, which had been disordered by the rapidity of his movements. It was likewise necessary for him to re-victual, to provide himself with tents, and to bring forward his artillery and baggage.

The weather was very hot; the labours of the army were extremely trying; and the swarms of mosquitoes which had proved such a trouble to the great navigator, Hudson, when he ascended the river that now bears his name, added to the sufferings of the soldiers. They were in the best of spirits, however, because of their late success, and, after a brief rest at Skeenesborough, resumed their march towards Fort Edward, which was reached on the 30th of July. It was found that Schuyler had evacuated the position a few days before, and had fallen back to the vicinity of Stillwater, lower down the Hudson. Another pause at Fort Edward became necessary, for Burgoyne began to find himself very much in want of draught-horses for his guns, of boats for the navigation of the Hudson, of provisions, stores, artillery, and other necessaries, which he could only obtain from Fort George, across nine or ten miles of difficult country, now rendered almost impassable by violent floods of rain. For his provisions he was obliged to reckon chiefly on the stores of salt meat brought from England into the St. Lawrence, and thence conveyed across Lake Champlain. He also found that he was to receive no assistance from the auxiliary expedition which he had sent out, under Colonel St. Leger, to operate against Fort Stanwix (called by the Americans Fort Schuyler), on the Mohawk River. St. Leger, who, after reducing the fort, was to join the Commander-in-Chief, met with so firm a resistance on the part of the garrison that he was unable to make any progress with his design. Another source of trouble was the bad conduct of the Indians. Even as early as the 11th of July, Burgoyne had written to the Colonial Secretary (Lord George Germaine) that the savages were only to be managed by indulging them in all the caprices and humours of spoiled children, yet that, if they were not in some respects restrained, they would commit enormities too horrid to think of, and involve the guilty and the innocent, women and children, in a common fate. As soldiers, these sanguinary barbarians were worthless. They simply encumbered the army by superfluous numbers, and disgraced the cause for which they pretended to fight.

The situation of Burgoyne was embarrassing. His left flank and rear were threatened by General Lincoln, who was endeavouring to cut off his communications with Lake George, and who even contemplated an attempt to recover Ticonderoga. The failure in the supply of provisions grew every day more serious; and at length the English General conceived the idea of procuring what he wanted by a sudden raid. The American forces were at that time receiving live cattle from New England. These were collected at Bennington, twenty-four miles east of the Hudson, and within the borders of Vermont, where large stores of other necessaries had also been deposited. Burgoyne therefore moved down the east side of the Hudson, encamped nearly opposite Saratoga, sent his van across the river by a bridge of rafts, and, in the opposite direction, despatched Colonel Baum, a German officer, to surprise Bennington. Baum found himself opposed by a much larger force than his own. General Stark, the officer in command of the Americans, who consisted in great part of New Hampshire militia, lost no time in taking advantage of his superiority. The German, on seeing how much he was overmatched, sent an express to Burgoyne for reinforcements, and, drawing up his small body of men, fortified his position as well as he could. But on the 14th of August he was threatened by the advance of the militia under Stark, and it was determined by the Americans to make a vigorous attack next day. The 15th proved to be rainy, and the assault was therefore postponed to the 16th. On that day, a prolonged and desperate engagement took place, ending in the complete rout of Baum's small division, and of some reinforcements, under another German officer, sent by Burgoyne to the assistance of the first. Together with a large number of arms, seven hundred prisoners were taken by the Americans; among them, Baum himself, mortally wounded, and not far from death.

It was at this period that the command of the northern American army was taken from General Schuyler, who had acted as a lieutenant of Washington, and placed in the hands of General Gates, who, as we have seen, was set up rather as a counterpoise to the great Virginian than as a subordinate. Schuyler had recently shown much ability in the conduct of military affairs; but he had never been popular with the New Englanders, nor yet with Congress, where the genius of the Adamses prevailed. The heads of the War Office condemned the surrender of Ticonderoga, and the retreat of the American army down the Hudson. A subsequent inquiry proved that St. Clair was not to blame, and he and the other Northern officers were honourably acquitted; but in the meanwhile Schuyler had been superseded by Gates. The latter General arrived at the camp near Stillwater on the 19th of August. Three days after, St. Leger was compelled to raise the siege of Fort Stanwix, retiring with so much precipitation that he left his tents standing, abandoned his artillery, and suffered a great part of his baggage, ammunition, and provisions to fall into the hands of the garrison, a detachment from which pursued his discomfited soldiers. The credit of this American success is due to the fortitude and courage of the defenders, and to the excellent arrangements of Schuyler, who despatched Arnold with a body of regular troops to relieve the fort. A great deal of fighting took place before the walls; but the final retreat of St. Leger, on the 22nd of August, was to a large extent caused by desertions from among the Indians who formed a considerable element in the attacking force.

Shortly after Gates had assumed the command, several communications of an angry character were exchanged between him and Burgoyne. On the 30th of August, the latter wrote to his adversary, complaining of the harsh treatment of loyalists by the insurgents, and hinting at retaliation. Gates replied on the 2nd of September, and enlarged with much vehemence on the atrocities that had been committed by Indian allies of the Royal troops. He dwelt in particular on the case of Miss McCrea, the daughter of a gentleman attached to the Royal cause who resided near Fort Edward. This young lady was engaged to be married to an officer in the British provincial troops, who, the better to secure her safety, as he thought, engaged some Indians, of two different tribes, to escort her from her home to the British camp, where the marriage was to take place. An ancient Greek dramatist could have desired no better instance of the way in which mortals, in their blindness, abet the unseen purposes of Fate. The very means which the young officer had taken to protect his betrothed, proved the occasion and the means of her death. He had promised the person who should bring her safely to him a keg of rum. On the way, two of the Indians quarrelled as to which of them should present the lady to her bridegroom, and so receive the promised reward. At length, one of them, roused to fury, struck Miss McCrea on the head with his tomahawk, and killed her on the spot; being resolved that, if *he* could not obtain the rum, neither should his companion. General Gates, in writing to Burgoyne on the subject, alleged that Miss McCrea "was, with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and then scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents, with their six children, were all treated with the same inhumanity while quietly residing in their once happy dwelling. The miserable fate of Miss McCrea was particularly aggravated by her being dressed to meet her promised husband; but she met her murderers employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women, and children have perished by the hands of the ruffians to whom, it is asserted, you have paid the price of blood." Burgoyne, in responding to this letter, indignantly denied that he had paid a price for scalps. One of his first regulations was that Indians should receive compensation for prisoners, because it would prevent cruelty, and that a strict account should be demanded when scalps were produced. The practice of scalping was strictly prohibited, and the persons of aged men, of women, children, and prisoners, were pronounced sacred, even in assaults.

The case of Miss McCrea was bad enough, without any additions; but Gates appears to have exaggerated the facts, though perhaps more from ignorance than from design. That women and children were taken out of a house together with Miss McCrea, and murdered at the same time, with accompanying mutilations, seems not to have been the truth.* It was also an absurdity, as well as an injustice, to fasten any guilt on Burgoyne in connection with the slaughter of that unhappy young lady, since she and her lover were both adherents of the Royal cause. But the tragical incident, if correctly related, was another proof of the impropriety of employing savages. Burgoyne unquestionably did all he could to restrain the ferocity of the tribes—to such an extent, indeed, as to lose their good-will, and ultimately their services. Yet it is clear that he did not entirely succeed, though he may not have failed to the extent that partisan writers set forth. As regards Miss McCrea, Burgoyne compelled the Indians to deliver up her murderer, and would have hanged him, had not his comrades agreed to terms, conditional on his being pardoned, which the General thought would be more efficacious than an execution in preventing similar enormities.

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* The statement, persistently made by the Indians, that Miss McCrea was accidentally killed by a stray bullet when they were fired upon by their pursuers, is accepted by some modern investigators, and has at any rate two strong points in its favour, viz., that they did succeed in getting her mother, a very large woman, safely into camp, and that it would have been far more to their interest to save her life than to destroy it.

After the failure of his attempt to obtain supplies from Bennington, Burgoyne was obliged to fetch his provisions once more from Fort George, and at last, by great exertions, succeeded in collecting a stock sufficient for thirty days. He was soon unpleasantly convinced that his recent repulse had had a very bad effect on the population generally. The disloyal were encouraged; the loyal disheartened. The latter had begun to enlist in the English service; but they now hesitated and held back. The revolutionists were of course all the more inclined to take up arms. From day to day, the patriotic levies grew in number and waxed in spirit. The New England men enlisted in large bodies; many not waiting for any authoritative summons. In a few weeks Burgoyne had in his front a force of thirteen thousand irregulars—admirable marksmen with the rifle, if they were nothing else. An officer in Burgoyne's army has recorded that in many poor habitations the people of Massachusetts parted with one of their blankets, where they had but two, for the use of the soldiers. In New England, the feeling was almost, if not quite, unanimous. The masses were prepared to suffer anything, rather than submit.

The forces of General Burgoyne were now further weakened by his being compelled to supply a garrison for Ticonderoga, which fort he had previously expected would be manned by troops supplied by Sir Guy Carleton. He therefore determined on recalling from Saratoga the vanguard he had sent across the Hudson under the orders of General Fraser. Heavy rains had carried away the bridge of rafts by which they gained the town, and Fraser's men had much ado to repass the river in such boats and canoes as they could find. Having collected his forces, Burgoyne formed a project of advancing to the town of Albany, which was not more than fifty miles from Fort Edward, and considerably less from the point where he then was. At Albany he hoped to obtain adequate supplies, and in this case he could probably have awaited in safety the promised co-operation from New York. It was also believed that in that neighbourhood a number of loyal subjects would have been found, who would have done everything in their power to establish and strengthen the army. The execution of the design was delayed nearly a month by the collection of provisions from Fort George; and the interval acted to the advantage of the Americans, by enabling them to bring together, and in some degree to organise, their forces. We have the testimony of the English General himself as to the energy of the insurgents at this period. In a private letter written to Lord George Germaine on the 20th of August—during the time of waiting—he observed that wherever the King's forces appeared to be moving, militia, to the number of three or four thousand, would assemble in four-and-twenty hours, bringing with them their subsistence; and, the alarm over, they returned to their farms. The Hampshire Grants—a country unpeopled, and almost unknown, during the previous war—now abounded, according to Burgoyne, in the most active and rebellious race in America; and these men hung like a gathering storm upon his left. The utmost industry had been exhibited by the people in driving cattle and removing corn; and of the messengers sent out by the English commander, in the endeavour to open communications with Sir William Howe, two were known to have been hanged, while the fate of the others remained a mystery. The Royal army had certainly reason to feel apprehensive of the result.

On the 13th and 14th of September, Burgoyne crossed to the west side of the Hudson, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga, twenty miles below Fort Edward, and thirty-seven above Albany. Gates was at Stillwater, and not more than twelve miles now intervened between the two armies. The bridges between them, however, were broken down, and the roads were so bad that the British, encumbered by their train of artillery and numerous waggons, could only move with extreme slowness. Thick woods burdened the country, and, by their melancholy shadows, now deepened by advancing autumn, added to the depression of the troops. Frequent skirmishing took place, but the advance of the British was not checked. On the evening of the 17th, Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army, which was drawn up in front of Stillwater along a range of low hills called Bemus's Heights. This encampment had been planned by the Polish patriot, Kosciusko, of whom Washington had spoken as "a gentleman of science and merit." On the 19th of September, Burgoyne placed himself at the head of the right wing, and marched against his foes, who, not waiting to be attacked, moved forward also, as soon as they perceived the approach of the British, which was for some time hidden by the intervening forest. Gates, who was well served by a number of active scouts, detached Colonel Morgan, the dashing ranger already distinguished for his courage before Quebec and at other places, to observe the motions of the opposing forces.

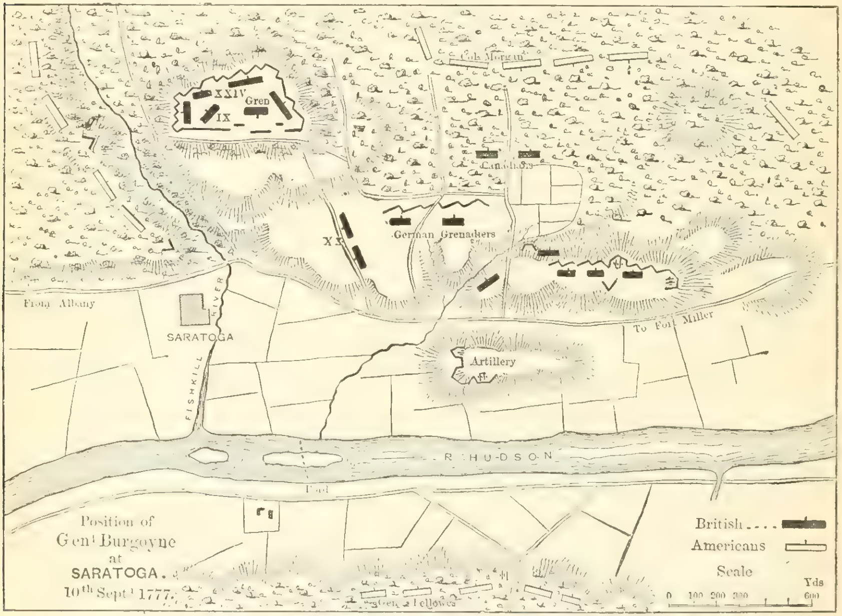
Morgan encountered the vanguard of the advancing column, and drove it back; but the men were soon rallied, and, in their turn, compelled the Americans to give way. The engagement shortly afterwards became general. The Republicans first attempted to turn the right flank of the British line, but, being foiled in this, attacked the left of Burgoyne's right wing. Reinforcements were hurried up on both sides, and, in the course of the afternoon, General Arnold, with nine Continental regiments and Morgan's riflemen, was closely engaged with the Royal troops. Most of Burgoyne's artillerymen were killed at their guns, and the carnage generally was terrible. The battle continued until sunset, when the Americans retreated to their lines, and the English remained masters of the field. During the action, Burgoyne had exposed himself with almost reckless courage, and it is surprising that he should have escaped unhurt. Several of the Americans climbed trees in the rear of their countrymen, and, whenever the volleys ceased for a few minutes, and the air cleared of smoke, took aim at the English officers, of whom, in one regiment, more than two-thirds were killed or wounded. The loss on both sides had been severe, and neither had gained any decisive advantage.

On the whole, however, the Americans were in the better position, though they had left the ground in possession of their antagonists. It was apparent to Burgoyne, from what he had himself observed, and from information supplied by prisoners and deserters, that his adversary had the superiority in point of numbers. He therefore felt it unwise for the present to make a fresh attack, though on the morning of the 20th he took up ground nearer to the American lines. Shrinking from the inhumanity of abandoning his wounded, he refrained from any attempt to cut his way to Albany. He was now almost within cannon-shot of the enemy, and a pause ensued, during which both combatants fortified their camps. The Americans were greatly inspirited by hearing that General Lincoln had assembled a formidable body of New England militia, and, by a skilful disposition of them in the neighbourhood of the lakes, had cut off Burgoyne's retreat towards Canada. Before the end of September, a portion of this force, amounting to two thousand men, arrived in Gates's camp, and added still further to his strength; and at the same time several of the British outposts near Ticonderoga were taken by the New Englanders, together with many gunboats and other vessels, which were afterwards destroyed. An attack on Ticonderoga itself, and another on Diamond Island, where Burgoyne had deposited all the stores he had collected at the south end of Lake George, were repulsed; but altogether the Americans had greatly improved their prospects by these operations. The most sanguine anticipations were formed throughout the United States; and they were not disappointed.

Burgoyne had little to comfort him in the straits to which he was now reduced. He endeavoured to open communications with Howe and Clinton, but without success. From Clinton, however, on the morning of the 21st of September, he received a letter in cipher, intimating that the New York highlands would be attacked about that time. In a narrative of his expedition which he afterwards published, Burgoyne stated that he was in hourly expectation of that measure having the effect of dislodging Gates from his position, or of obliging him to detach a large portion of his force. He reckoned upon either of these events opening his way to Albany, and accordingly waited in his fortified camp for that which never came. Food was running so alarmingly short that it was found necessary to put the troops on diminished rations—a deprivation which they bore with exemplary goodwill. During that trying period, neither officers nor soldiers ever slept but in their clothes. The two armies were so near one another that not a night passed without frequent attacks on the advanced piquets. One night, the soldiers were kept under arms for several hours, in consequence of a great noise, as of the howling of dogs, which it was thought the enemy had set up to cover some meditated attack. On the following night the noise was much greater, and a detachment of Canadians and Anglo-American provincials was sent out to reconnoitre, when it was found to have arisen from large droves of wolves seeking after the dead bodies. "They were similar to a pack of hounds," said an officer, writing to his friends of the events of this time; "for, one setting up a cry, they all joined, and, when one approached a corpse, their noise was hideous till they had scratched it up."

No news of the expected co-operation having arrived, and the situation becoming every day more desperate, Burgoyne, on the 7th of October, determined to make a movement to the enemy's left with a portion of his force, hoping to discover a favourable point for forcing a passage through the opposing lines. He also wished to divert the attention of the American forces while another part of his army was sent on a foraging expedition. This led to the second battle of Bemus's Heights. The English troops were met on their way by a large detachment from Gates's army, and a furious combat burst forth. Gates, as on the 19th of Sep tember, remained behind in his encampment, that he might superintend the general operations of the day. Benedict Arnold was there also; restrained from any share in the fighting by order of the Commander-in-chief, between whom and himself a quarrel had arisen some days before. In consequence of this quarrel, Arnold was deprived of his command; but his martial ardour could not be long controlled. As, on the morning of the 7th, he heard the firing grow louder and louder, he fretted with impatience, and at length, mounting his horse, rode off to the field of battle. Gates sent an aide-de-camp after him, to bring him back. Arnold, finding himself followed, set spurs to his steed, and, by dint of hard riding, managed to outstrip his pursuer. Mingling with the combatants, he rode from regiment to regiment, searching out the hottest parts of the action, and issuing orders which, unauthorised though they were, met with a ready obedience, and contributed largely to the success of the day. A writer of the time has recorded that Arnold was "next to military-mad;" that, in the heat of the engagement, he seemed so beside himself as scarcely to know what he did; that he struck several officers with his sword, without any apparent reason; and that when called to account next day by these officers, he declared that he remembered nothing at all about it.* The British at length retreated, but in good order, though compelled to leave behind them six pieces of artillery. The fight had been fierce and murderous, and among the mortally wounded was General Fraser, who was shot down by an American rifleman, stationed high up among the branches of a tree.

Arnold was resolved to push his advantage still farther. He gave directions that the British lines should be stormed, and, under cover of a raking fire of grapeshot and musketry, the Americans flung themselves against the entire length of their opponent's works. Charging at the head of the assailants, Arnold again distinguished himself by his fiery courage and resolution, but was ultimately wounded in the same leg which had been injured at Quebec. General Lincoln also was seriously hurt. The Americans had by this time forced their way into the left of the English encampment, but were ultimately driven out by its defenders,



PLAN OF BURGOYNE'S POSITION ON THE HUDSON.

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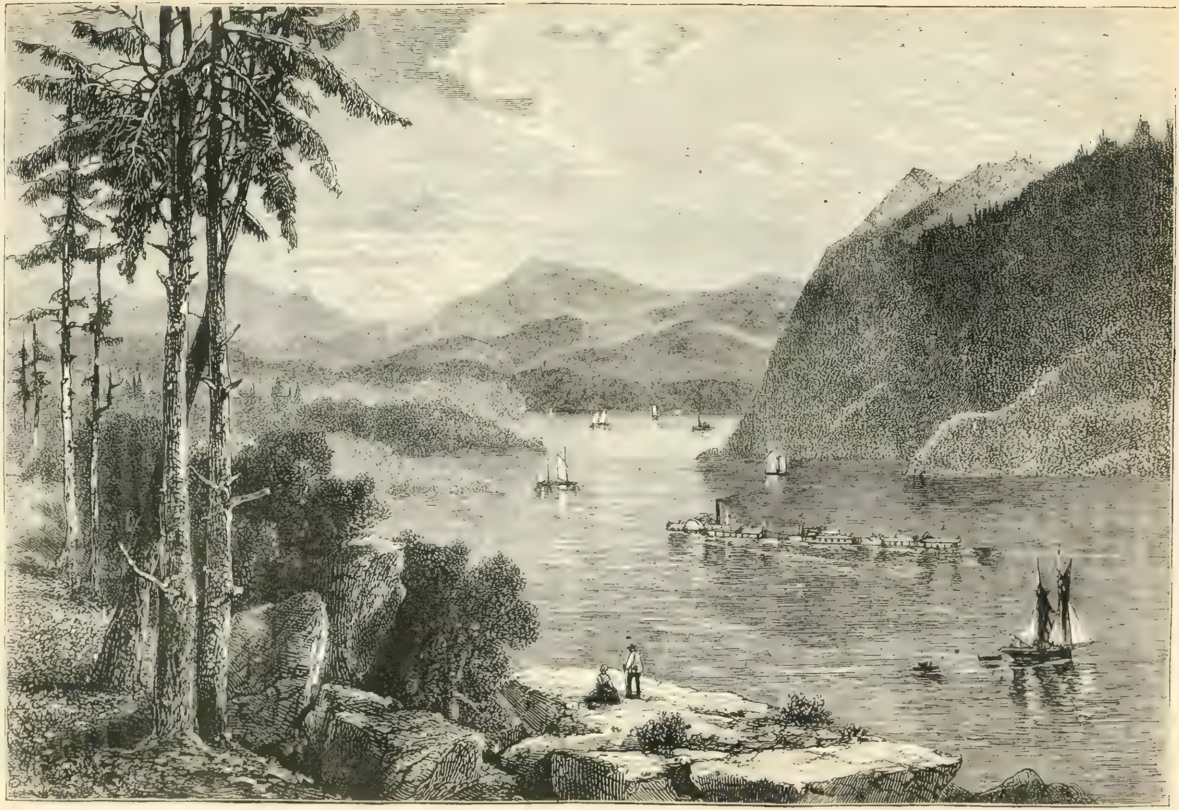
* Gordon's History of the War of Independence, Vol. II., p. 563.



THE HUDSON HIGHLANDS.

acting under the immediate orders of Burgoyne. The right, composed of Germans, commanded by Colonel Brehman, who was killed, was outflanked by the attacking party of Colonel Brooks, who stormed the works, drove back the Germans, and at the close of the day retained possession of the ground which he had won. Though only partial, the success of the Americans had been great. They had gained a position on the English right and rear; they had disabled many of their adversaries; they had made more than two hundred prisoners, including several officers of distinction; and they had taken nine brass guns, all the baggage and camp equipage of the German brigade that had been defeated, and a large supply of ammunition, which they greatly needed. The state of affairs was so threatening for the Royal troops that in the course of the night they quitted their encampment, and took up a fresh position on some neighbouring hills, with their right extending up the river. This change of front relieved Burgoyne from immediate peril, but brought him no nearer victory. It was the first occasion during the war on which, without the advantage of protecting works, without any ambuscade or surprise, in the open field, and by the operations of a regular pitched battle, the colonists had proved themselves more than a match for veterans.

In their new position the English remained throughout the 8th, offering battle to the enemy, who however declined to accept it, but made every arrangement for getting still more in the rear of Burgoyne's divisions. The English General, on discovering this movement, saw that he had no alternative but a retreat to Saratoga. Such was the sorry result of an expedition which had been prefaced by the lofty announcement that "this army must not retreat." Burgoyne was a man of brilliant courage and of good acquirements as an officer; but one of his besetting sins was a love of rhodomontade. There was something more French than English in his tendency to grandiloquence; and he paid the penalty in a consequent aggravation of his failures. His troops were in motion by nine o'clock on the evening of the 8th. The sick and wounded he was compelled to leave behind in hospital, commending them by letter to the kindly consideration of General Gates, which in the event was not found wanting. The distance to be traversed was barely ten miles; but the march was of a most laborious and painful character. Burgoyne was determined not to relinquish his artillery; yet to convey it was a matter of extreme difficulty. Very few of his draught-horses remained, and the roads were heavy with rain, which now fell persistently. The guns were slowly dragged across the intervening country, and the progress of the army was retarded by this solicitude, and by the necessity of protecting the boats upon the Hudson which contained their scanty stores of provisions. The forces did not reach Saratoga until the following night. "Such was their state of fatigue," wrote Burgoyne at a subsequent date, "that the men, for the most part, had not strength or inclination to cut wood and make fires, but rather sought sleep in their wet clothes, upon the wet ground, under the continuing rain." It was the main body of the army which arrived on the 9th. Some of the troops, and the whole of the artillery, were so much delayed that they did not pass the fords of the Fishkill until the early morning of the 10th.

No real advantage had been gained by the removal. A division of the American forces, marching with greater rapidity than the weary English, had already got beyond Saratoga, and had occupied the fords and other strong positions leading to Fort Edward. Another had crossed the Hudson, from the opposite shore of which so brisk a cannonade was maintained that it was found impossible to keep the provision-boats upon the river. The stores of food were therefore landed on the western side, and Burgoyne looked about him to see what new dispositions he could make. The prospect was depressing and terrible. On the hills round Saratoga, the enemy was posted in force, so as to command the roads in many directions. For a time it occurred to the English commander that his regiments might, by casting aside all their impediments, escape by night to Fort Edward, with a few days' food upon their backs. To prepare the way for this movement, he sent forward a company of artificers, escorted by troops, to repair the roads and bridges, but was soon compelled to recall them, owing to the appearance of a large body of the Americans, ranged so as to indicate an intention of attacking the Royal army. Another scheme that suggested itself to Burgoyne was to take advantage of the great reduction of the enemy's forces towards Bemus's Heights, to retrace his ground, and to make a push for Albany. But, upon mature consideration, it appeared only too obvious that such a manœuvre could not be accomplished. The army from which so much had been hoped was caught in a trap, and the necessity of surrender became clearer with every hour.

On the 13th of October, Burgoyne called a council of war, to which were summoned not only all the general officers, but the field officers as well, and even the captains commanding corps. The

Americans (whose numbers were probably more than double those of the English) were by this time in still greater strength than at first. They were on the ford of Saratoga; they had taken positions on both banks of the Hudson; they were between the British army and Fort Edward; they had thrown up entrenchments, provided with artillery, on the high grounds between that fort and Fort George. On three parts of a circle they were strongly posted; the fourth part, though open, offered but slight chances of escape, since the enemy would at once have closed in and pursued, had any movement taken place. The situation of the Royal army was so absolutely commanded by the American cannon that no spot could be found for holding the council of war which was not exposed to the fire of artillery and small arms. Burgoyne's force was now reduced to less than six thousand men, of whom not many more than half were British;* nearly all his Indians had deserted him; and of provisions no more remained than would suffice for a week or eight days. Addressing his officers, the General declared that nothing would induce him to propose terms to the enemy unless he had the full concurrence of his companions-in-arms, and that he was ready to take the lead in any measure that might be thought necessary for vindicating the honour of the British arms.

The council was unanimous for treating, provided that honourable terms could be obtained. Negotiations were accordingly entered into with General Gates, and on the 14th of October Major Kingston delivered to him a message, which ran:—"After having fought you twice, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has waited some days in his present position, determined to try a third conflict against any force you could bring against him. He is apprised of the superiority of your numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies, and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified by established principles and precedents of state and war, to spare the lives of brave men upon honourable terms." A cessation of arms was accordingly agreed to, and Gates sent in a list of proposals, the first of which stated that "General Burgoyne's army being exceedingly reduced by repeated defeats, by desertion, sickness, &c., their provisions exhausted, their military horses, tents, and baggage taken or destroyed, their retreat cut off, and their camp invested, they can only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war." Burgoyne replied that his army, however reduced, would never admit that their retreat was cut off while they had arms in their hands. Another of Gates's proposals (embodied in the sixth article) set forth that, on the terms being agreed to, the British troops might be drawn up in their encampments, where they would be ordered to ground their arms, and might thereupon be marched to the river-side, to be passed over on their way to Bennington. Burgoyne answered:—"This article is inadmissible in any extremity. Sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." Again, further on, he wrote:—"If General Gates does not mean to recede from the sixth article, the treaty ends at once. The army will, to a man, proceed to any act of desperation, rather than submit to that article." Gates, seeing the folly of driving his adversary to despair, and knowing that Burgoyne would assuredly fulfil his threat if exasperated, qualified the severity of his original terms. On his own side, Burgoyne submitted a series of conditions, which were ultimately accepted; and the preliminaries were at an end.

The terms were—That the army should march out of the camp, with all the honours of war, to an appointed place at the river-side, where, at the word of command from their own officers, their arms were to be piled; that a free passage to Great Britain should be granted them, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the existing contest; that the port of Boston should admit the transports for that purpose, at any time desired by General Howe; that, meanwhile, during their march to Massachusetts, or their stay in quarters, provisions should be supplied for their use; that, on the march, the officers should not be separated from their men, and, in quarters, should be lodged according to rank; that roll-calling, and other duties of regularity, should not be hindered; that the officers should be admitted on parole, and allowed to wear their side-arms; that no baggage should be searched or molested, General Burgoyne pledging his honour that it contained no public stores; that all persons, of whatever country, appertaining to or following the camp, should be fully comprehended in these terms; and that the Canadians should be sent back to Canada, bound, by the same condition as the British, not to serve again in North America during the war.*

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* There is much discrepancy in the several accounts as to the number of Burgoyne's forces just before the surrender; but the above estimate is based on the General's own return at the time. (See Gordon's History of the War of Independence, Vol. II., pp. 577–8.) Of regular soldiers, however, Burgoyne had only 3,500; the rest were Canadians, boatmen, artificers, and other camp-followers.

The agreement of which these were the principal heads, was, by the express stipulation of Burgoyne, entitled a Convention, not a Capitulation. A precedent for this verbal concession to the feelings of the conquered was found in an unfortunate event in the military career of the Duke of Cumberland. Gates made no objection; and that which was really a surrender was draped in a vague expression, which softened the harshness of the actual facts. The Americans had made their first truly great success; and Burgoyne—a man of gallant spirit, of intellectual acquirements, and of kindly and honourable character—was beaten by a defective commissariat, by delay in co-operating movements on which he had been led to calculate, and by a too great rashness in the pursuit of designs which, after a certain date, had become impracticable, and which should then have been relinquished.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Expedition of Sir Henry Clinton against Forts Clinton and Montgomery—Taking of those Strongholds by Storm—Further Successes of General Clinton—Effect of these Successes on the Mind of Burgoyne—Signing of the Treaty of Saratoga, and Surrender of the British Army—The March out of the Defeated Troops—Noble Conduct of General Gates and of the American Soldiers—Generosity of Schuyler—Treatment of General Burgoyne in England—His Defence of Himself, and Testimonies to his Conduct—Washington and Gates—Ill-usage of the English Prisoners in Massachusetts—Violation of the Convention by Congress—Conway's Cabal against Washington—Meeting of the British Parliament in November, 1777—References to America in the King's Speech—Chatham's Opposition to the Address—Effect in England of the News of Burgoyne's Surrender—General Determination to Prosecute the War with Vigour—Resolution of the French Government to Recognise the Independence of the United States—Chatham and Rockingham—Letter of Gates to the Earl of Thanet—Position of the English People towards America—The Conciliatory Proposals of Lord North.

THE articles of the Convention between Generals Burgoyne and Gates were settled on the 16th of October, and they were to be mutually signed and exchanged at nine o'clock on the following morning. On the night of the 16th, however, the English commander received a piece of intelligence which created some doubt in his mind as to whether he should sign the formal treaty on the 17th. He was informed of the commencement of those operations by Sir Henry Clinton on which he had so long been calculating. The proceedings of that General had been delayed by the necessity of awaiting reinforcements from England, and the reinforcements were very slow in coming. Howe, between whom and Clinton there was some coldness, had left his subordinate at New York with but a small force, and had at the same time strictly cautioned him against endangering his possession of the city where he was then stationed. At length, at the end of September, Clinton was joined by seventeen hundred fresh troops from England, and, at the head of three thousand men, ascended the Hudson, with a view, in the first instance, to reducing Forts Clinton and Montgomery, recently built close to one another on the western bank of the river, the passage of which they obstructed. The former of these forts was designated, not after Sir Henry Clinton, but from an American General of the same name; for, strange to say, a Howe and a Clinton were to be found on both sides. The American troops in that direction were commanded by General Putnam, who, apprehending that his adversary meant to attack Fort Independence, four or five miles below the twin forts, and then to march towards Albany, retired to the heights in his rear, and neglected to strengthen the garrisons of the more important positions. Forts Clinton and Montgomery were planted on high ground, difficult of access, about fifty miles to the north of New York; and the natural strength of the situation was increased by the elaborate obstructions which had been drawn across the river. Sir Henry Clinton landed at Verplank's Point, a little below Peekskill, on the 5th of October, while the accompanying naval squadron, under Commodore Hotham, moved higher up the river. Having left a detachment behind him, to guard the position that had been assumed, Clinton proceeded in boats to Stony Point, marched across the mountains to the forts he had in view, and took them both by storm on the 6th. The river was then opened by the English vessels; the American galleys were fired by their crews; and Forts Independence and Constitution were abandoned by the defenders. Soon afterwards, the batteries at Esopus Creek were reduced, and the small town of Esopus was burnt to ashes. Continuing their ascent up the river, the English had arrived within forty miles of Albany, when Clinton, hearing of the Convention of Saratoga, judged it advisable to return.

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* Stedman's History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War (London, 1794); Gordon's History; Impartial History of the War; Earl Stanhope's History of England; &c.

Burgoyne was subsequently of opinion that, if these successes had been gained a few days earlier, and if he could have received tidings of them any time between the two actions on Bemus's Heights, he would have been able to force his way to Albany, and would thus have succeeded in the general object of his campaign. However this may have been,—and the point is one of those speculative questions of military science which may be argued in many ways,—it is undeniable that both Putnam and Gates were alarmed at the progress which Clinton was making. The latter was now threatened in his rear, and the former wrote to him, during his retreat, that he was unable to do anything to arrest the march of the enemy, and that he would advise him to prepare for the worst.

On receipt of this intelligence, Gates felt uneasy, and did his utmost to hurry on the signing of the treaty. Burgoyne, on the other hand, was dubious about signing it at all. Having, together with the intelligence of Clinton's advance, received a report that a considerable force had already on that account been detached from the American army, he sent a message to Gates, asking if the report were true, as such a fact would be "subversive of the principles on which the treaty originated,—namely, a great superiority of numbers in General Gates's army." The American General answered by pledging his honour that no detachment whatever had been made during the negotiation of the treaty. It is pretty certain that Burgoyne would have been better pleased had his antagonist replied in the contrary sense; for he greatly desired to make a renewed attempt to break through. On the morning of the 16th, he convened his council of war for the last time, and placed before them a question of the greatest moment.

"Is the treaty in its present situation," he asked, "binding on this army, and is the General's honour engaged for the signing of it?" A majority of the council declared that in their opinion the public faith was already pledged. Burgoyne himself held the contrary view very strongly, but deferred to the greater number, adding, however, on the minutes of the council:—"The Lieutenant-General's opinion being clear that he is not bound by what has passed, he would not execute the treaty upon the sole consideration of the point of honour, notwithstanding the respectable majority against him." What really determined his thoughts was a consideration of the actual circumstances under which he was placed. The news of Clinton's triumphs was only hearsay, and might possibly be erroneous. The soldiers were by this time accustomed to the idea of a Convention, intimations of which had gone forth amongst them; and any struggle for their extrication would have a desperate, and perhaps a fatal, character. The matter was therefore considered as settled, and Burgoyne made up his mind to sign the melancholy document.

With the morning of October 17th, the feeling of anxiety on the part of Gates increased. He got everything in readiness for attacking the Royal army, should the negotiations break down at the last moment; and, the time for signing having arrived, he sent Colonel Greaton on horseback to Burgoyne, with a message requiring the General to append his name at once. He allowed this officer no more than ten minutes in which to go and come, and, standing with his watch in his hand, awaited his return. Greaton was back in time, with the treaty signed.* All hostile demonstrations then ceased, and the Americans marched into their lines, where they were kept until the British troops had marched out, and deposited their arms at the place appointed by the treaty. This was a spot near the river, where the old ford was situated. At the same place they received from American commissaries their supplies of fresh provisions (of which they stood much in need), and sadly began their march to Massachusetts. Nothing could be more admirable than the conduct of General Gates, who would not permit his men to witness the piling of the British arms. In a letter written a few days later to the Earl of Thanet, in London, he referred to himself as one who gloried in the name of an Englishman; and, in writing to his wife, he spoke admiringly of one of his prisoners—Major Acland—as "an Englishman to all intents and purposes." He was therefore not likely to gloat over the humiliation of the English troops, out of any defect of national sentiment. But, in addition to this, he was an eminently humane man, whose instincts, on matters touching the feelings and the rights of the unfortunate, were generally on the side of kindness and consideration. Let it here be recorded that a few years before his death, in 1806, the conqueror of Saratoga emancipated all his slaves, and provided for such as were unable to support themselves.

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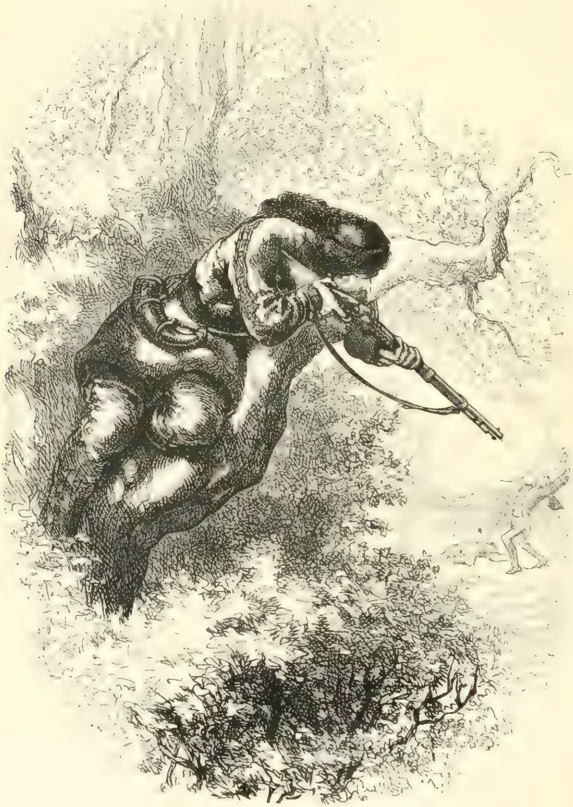
* Gordon's History, Vol. II., pp. 573-4.

The high and chivalrous spirit of General Gates was fully shared by his troops. They felt that they were one in blood with the soldiers whom they had defeated, and that any exhibition of triumph would have been not only ungenerous, but self-stultifying. An English officer who was present on the occasion has recorded that when he and his comrades, after piling their arms, passed the American regiments, they saw not one gesture, heard not one word, of disrespect. There was not even a taunting look: all was mute astonishment and pity.* Gates received Burgoyne with much cordiality. "I am very happy to see you," he said: words which were certainly well-intentioned, though Burgoyne seems for the moment to have understood them differently. "I believe it," he rejoined, with an epigrammatic turn which had something of sharpness; "the fortune of war is entirely yours." Such, at least, is the account given by a French writer. The reply has a rather suspicious flavour of Gallicism; yet Burgoyne, as a writer of comedy, may have found it come naturally. The first feeling of awkwardness soon passed away, and General Schuyler, by the kindness and delicacy of his behaviour, aided the efforts of Gates to set the captive at his ease. To Schuyler more than ordinary praise must be given. He had, in a pecuniary sense, suffered very seriously by the proceedings of Burgoyne, who, on his retreat to



AMERICAN MARKSMAN UP A TREE.

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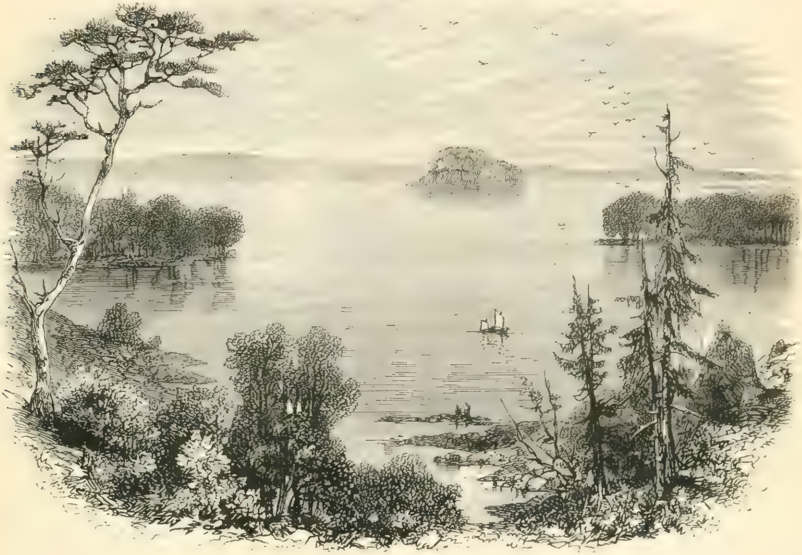
* Lieutenant Anburey's Travels in North America, quoted by Earl Stanhope in his History.

Saratoga, had thought it needful, for the security of his position, to burn certain houses, saw-mills, and store rooms belonging to Schuyler, by which he had sustained a loss of nearly £10,000. That officer, though not now holding any command, was one of the first persons who greeted Burgoyne after the Convention had been signed; and the latter expressed his regret at what had happened, and the reasons which occasioned it. Schuyler desired him to think no more of the act, saying that it was quite justified by the principles and rules of war, and that he should himself have done similarly under the like circumstances. Subsequently, Schuyler sent an aide-de-camp to conduct the English commander to Albany, in order to procure him better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. He was in fact taken to the residence of Mrs. Schuyler and her family, where he remained during the whole of his stay at Albany, experiencing a hospitality as delicate as it was cordial.*



SARATOGA LAKE.

From Albany, on the 20th of October, Burgoyne addressed to Lord George Germaine, the Secretary for the Colonial Department, a despatch announcing the great disaster by which he had been overtaken. He transmitted this despatch to England by his aide-de-camp, Lord Petersham (afterwards the third Earl of Harrington), and its contents necessarily produced a startling effect both on the Ministry and the nation. Great expectations had been entertained as to the results of the northern expedition, and its first successes had increased those anticipations in no small degree. The feeling of anger was consequently all the greater when the mournful truth became known; and General Burgoyne was visited with unmeasured censure. On his return to England in the following year, the King refused to see him, and he was denied a court-martial. Debarred from the ordinary forms of justice in military affairs, he joined the ranks of the Opposition in Parliament, and made himself formidable. The Ministry endeavoured to exclude him from the House, on the ground that, as a prisoner of war, he had no right either to speak or to vote; but the Speaker, on being appealed to, decided in his favour. In 1779, when a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the conduct of Lord and General Sir William Howe (an inquiry leading to no result), Burgoyne was allowed to produce evidence in exculpation of his own conduct. On this occasion, several of his officers spoke very highly as to his courage, judgment, and abilities; and, in particular, the Earl of Balcarras, commander of the British Light Infantry under General Fraser, who was killed at the second battle of Bemus's Heights, affirmed that in every situation of danger and difficulty General Burgoyne possessed himself, and enjoyed the confidence, the respect, and the esteem of the army. He had never heard one officer or common soldier complain of him for his return to England; but he had heard the whole army express a wish that he should be the man to inform his Majesty of their conduct, and point out in the closet the men who had most particularly distinguished themselves in the expedition. "Although," added the Earl, "his return in personal disgrace, and without the usual distribution of preferment to the principal officers, could be of no avail to them in their captivity, yet, in so far as he had, through the whole expedition, shared fatigue, danger, and calamity in common with them, they looked upon him as their friend, and they would have received him with the sincerest pleasure." Such, indeed, was the general testimony of the witnesses examined.

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* These facts were gratefully recorded by Burgoyne himself in a speech in the House of Commons, May 26th, 1778.

That Burgoyne committed no errors of judgment during the whole of his campaign, is doubtless more than will be alleged by any. He appears to have pushed his advance too far, and, in the hope of reaching Albany, to have involved himself in a perplexing and savage wilderness, when a prudent regard for his communications with Canada would have counselled a retreat. The expedition should probably have been abandoned after the defeat of the attempt on Bennington, for it was then that the failure in the commissariat became alarming. But, if we consider all the circumstances by which Burgoyne was surrounded, and refrain from judging too much by subsequent knowledge, we shall see that a great deal is to be said in excuse for this unfortunate commander. So much was expected from the expedition that the General was naturally loth to relinquish it while there seemed any probability of snatching a triumph from the very jaws of difficulty and danger. It should be recollected that the plans which Burgoyne was bound down to follow had been minutely prescribed for him by the Ministry, and that in many respects they contributed to the disaster that ensued, having, it is said, been based on inaccurate maps and doubtful reports, yet being at the same time so strict that, according to Fox, the General did not think himself at liberty even to call a council of war upon the subject of retreating.* Moreover, Burgoyne reckoned, and was entitled to reckon, on the co-operation of Clinton; and had Clinton been a little earlier, the result might have been different. Burgoyne, in fact, was out-numbered; he was encountered by an enemy much stronger than he had any reason to foresee; he was involved in a country that, from its many woods, rivers, and marshes, was most embarrassing; his supplies were exhausted in the progress of vain endeavours to extricate himself; and in the end he was forced to capitulate when his men were brought within no distant prospect of famine. The Convention of Saratoga is one of the saddest events in the military history of England; but it was in no respect disgraceful.

The great success of the Americans in the north, achieved under the direction of a General who was practically independent of Washington, seems to justify the policy of John Adams and his coadjutors in appointing that almost separate command. But it is a painful fact that this policy, excellent as it may have been in itself, was made the occasion of a good deal of factious feeling towards the chief American soldier of that day. Washington ought to have been kept well-informed as to the proceedings of Gates, and to have received from that officer himself early intelligence of his movements, especially of the signal triumph which he had obtained over Burgoyne at Saratoga. Yet Gates addressed all his despatches to Congress, and not until seventeen days after the signature of the Convention did he even allude to the great event in any letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the American armies. The allusion was then purely incidental, and contained in a communication on a different subject. Gates made no doubt that his Excellency had long ago received from Congress all the good news from the neighbourhood of the lakes. Congress had in fact transmitted no such news, and Washington had abundant reason to consider himself very disrespectfully treated. With great mildness, however, he wrote to Gates, while congratulating him on his victory:—"At the same time, I cannot but regret that a matter of such magnitude, and so interesting to our general operations, should have reached me by report only, or through the channel of letters not bearing that authenticity which the importance of it required, and which it would have received by a line under your signature, stating the simple fact."† The desire, on the part of some leading men in Congress, to reduce the importance of Washington, and to raise up a rival to his power and influence, is but too evident. It proceeded, doubtless, from an honest fear of military dictatorship; but it was carried to very objectionable lengths.

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* Charles James Fox to the Duke of Grafton, Dec. 16th, 1777.

† Letter of Oct. 30th, 1777.

The unfortunate captives of Saratoga continued their march to Massachusetts. Arriving there, they found that the kind treatment they had hitherto experienced was at an end. So strong was the feeling in Boston against all loyal Americans that the wife and daughter of Captain Fenton, of that city, were seized by some women of the lower orders, during the absence of the captain in England, stripped of their clothes, tarred and feathered, and carried as a show about the town. If such was the treatment of women, and of fellow-countrywomen, English soldiers might fairly expect still worse. They certainly received it. Some were actually stabbed by a Colonel Henley, who, at the instance of Burgoyne, was brought to trial before a court-martial for these offences. The Judge-Advocate, in summing up, acknowledged, as if it were a great concession to justice, and a sacrifice of merely patriotic feeling, that Colonel Henley had acted in the affair "with a degree of warmth which his best friends could not defend." But the prisoner was acquitted, and for a few days was reinstated in his command. The English officers complained that they were overcrowded, and denied proper quarters; and on Burgoyne forwarding a remonstrance on the subject to Gates, and observing that by such treatment the public faith was broken, Congress declared that this indicated an intention on the part of Burgoyne to raise a pretext for violating the treaty, and going with all his troops to reinforce the army under Howe. Burgoyne denied that he had any such intention, and pledged himself that his officers would join with him in signing any instrument that might be thought necessary for confirming the Convention; but Congress maintained its first view, and raised other objections of a more or less captious nature. It was especially contended that, as certain cartouche-boxes and other military accoutrements had been retained by the captives, the treaty had been broken in respect of that article which stipulated that all arms should be given up. The ruling authorities founded on these cavils a refusal —for the time at least—to allow the embarkation of the English troops from Boston, in accordance with the terms of the Convention. This refusal was deliberately repeated after the receipt of a letter from Burgoyne insisting on a due execution of the treaty; and at the same time another pretence was raised. It was resolved that the embarkation should be "suspended" until a proper ratification of the Convention should have been notified by the Court of Great Britain to Congress. This ratification—in itself a great triumph for the Americans, since it implied a partial acknowledgment by England of the independence of the United States—was granted in the course of 1778, when British Commissioners were in America; but Congress quarrelled with the mode of ratification, and the unfortunate prisoners were still detained, in violation of a solemn engagement by which their freedom had been promised. It was only by means of exchanges, and after a long delay, that the captives were released.

This is a very disagreeable feature in the history of the American Revolution; but not more so than another which belongs to the same period. Towards the close of 1777, a cabal for the removal of Washington from the supreme command was discovered by the object of this secret intrigue. It was headed by an Irishman, named Conway, who had been from his youth in the French service, and boasted of having had thirty years' experience of military affairs. By Congress he had been appointed to the rank of Brigadier; but he did not bear a good character, and Washington regarded him with so much distrust that he remonstrated against a design of promoting him. Whether in revenge, or in the prosecution of ambitious ideas tending to his own advancement, Conway lost no opportunity of decrying Washington, and of suggesting that all the American failures were due to his want of skill, knowledge, and enterprise. The only officers implicated in the plot were Conway himself, Gates, and Mifflin; but a party in Congress favoured the ungenerous attempt. Shortly after the capitulation of Burgoyne at Saratoga, a new Board of War, with very large powers, was instituted; and Gates was placed at the head of this Board, with Mifflin for one of his coadjutors. An expedition to Canada was speedily planned by Gates and approved by Congress, without any intimation of the project to Washington. The first he heard of it was through Lafayette, who was appointed to the command of the expedition, but who refused to be thus bought over to a betrayal of his friend. One of the finest characteristics of Lafayette was his devotion to Washington, whose great qualities he recognised immediately, and held in reverence to the end of his life. He lost no time in showing the letter to the General, and in assuring him that he should decline the appointment. Washington persuaded him to alter his determination, and he started for Albany, where he was to join the army designed for this exploit; but the expedition never got beyond the bare conception, and was soon given up altogether. Lafayette returned to the Commander-in-Chief; but in the meanwhile he had seen still more of the workings of that cabal by which it was hoped to displace Washington. Fortunately for the latter, he had a good friend in Henry Laurens, who had now succeeded John Hancock as President of Congress, and who kept the General informed as to what was going on. Had Washington been removed, or irritated into a voluntary resignation, it is probable that the supporters of Gates would have endeavoured to put that officer in his place; though several members of Congress appear rather to have fixed their regards on Lee, the other Englishman who had thrown in his lot with the revolution. But the conspiracy, which extended some way into the year 1778, was doomed to complete discomfiture; and, a few months later, Conway, while supposing himself at the point of death, in consequence of a wound which he had received in a duel, wrote to Washington, expressing a high admiration of the virtue and greatness of his character.

The surrender of Burgoyne's army rendered impossible the further retention by the English of the forts on the lakes. The works at Ticonderoga and its dependencies were therefore destroyed; the heavy artillery was thrown into the water; and the regiments holding those posts retreated to Isle aux Noix and St. John's. Such was the disheartening state of affairs when the British Parliament met on the 20th of November, 1777. The disaster at Saratoga was not then known in England; but both the Ministry and the country generally were aware that Burgoyne was in a position of great difficulty and danger. In the Speech from the Throne, the King referred to the necessity of continuing the war, and spoke, in terms of rather forced hopefulness, of the colonies returning to their allegiance as soon as the remembrance of their former happiness, and a sense of their present misery, had sufficiently worked on them. The reference to foreign Powers revealed great distrust; and it was intimated that, as the armaments of France and Spain were being augmented, it was right that those of England also should be enlarged. Additional interest was given to the prospects of the session by the announcement that Lord Chatham, whose health was thought to be fully restored, would appear in his place, oppose the Address, and advise the recalling of the troops from America, and the sending over of liberal terms of accommodation. Motions to this effect were in fact proposed in both Houses—in the Commons by the Marquis of Granby, and in the Lords by Chatham. The amendments to the Address were of course defeated by large majorities; but the speech of Chatham produced a prodigious effect. He painted the military prospects of the country in the darkest colours, and referred, in language which was afterwards held to partake of a sort of prophetical sagacity, to "the sufferings, and perhaps total loss, of the northern force." He denounced in unmeasured terms the means that had been adopted for carrying on the war, and especially the employment of Germans and wild Indians; and then proceeded to consider the question of independence. This he was not prepared to grant. He again contended, as he had done on many previous occasions, that the supremacy of the mother country must be unflinchingly asserted. Here, however, was the weak point in Chatham's speech; for, if the independence of the colonies was to be prevented, it could only be by force of arms, to which the speaker was all the while vehemently objecting. His assertion that the Americans were even then eager to return to their allegiance, and were only waiting for sufficiently generous terms to throw themselves into the arms of the old country, was idle or disingenuous. Either Chatham had very bad information, or he glossed over facts in order to save himself from the charge of inconsistency.

Commenting on the Government plans of subjugation, he exclaimed:—"My Lords, you cannot conquer America. You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that sells or sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign Power; but your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so, from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies. To overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms; never—never—never!" * England, he said, was in a perfectly defenceless state. "What," he asked, "can we oppose to the combined force of our enemies? Scarcely twenty ships of the line, fully or sufficiently manned, that any Admiral's reputation would permit him to take the command of. The river of Lisbon in the possession of our enemies! The seas swept by the American privateers; our Channel trade torn to

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* This was an anticipation of the famous "Jamais—jamais—jamais!" of M. Rouher, with reference to the French occupation of Rome, in December, 1867.

pieces by them! In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home and calamity abroad,—unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed,—where is the man with the forehead to promise or hope for success in such a situation, or from perseverance in the measures that have driven us to it? Who has the forehead to do so? Where is that man? I should be glad to see his face!"

In reply to Chatham's statements with regard to the weak defences of the country, the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Sandwich) averred that the English navy was more than a match for that of the whole House of Bourbon. Lord Suffolk, the Northern Secretary, defended the employment of savages, and, after urging (what was certainly true) that, had they not been used *by* the English, they would have been used *against* them, he advanced the very questionable argument that, even apart from such considerations, they were justified in taking advantage of every means for the suppression of rebellion that God and Nature had put into their hands. This elicited from Lord Chatham a passionate and glowing retort, in which he said:—"My Lords, I did not intend to encroach again upon your attention; but I cannot repress my indignation—I feel myself impelled by every duty. We are called upon, as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions standing near the Throne, polluting the ear of Majesty. 'That God and Nature have put into our hands!' I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and Nature; but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife; to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my Lords, eating—the mangled victims of his barbarous battles!" Chatham's eloquence on this subject may have suggested a caricature of the time, entitled "The Allies—*par Nobile Fratrum*," and representing an Indian and King George III. gnawing the two ends of a human bone. The employment of Indian tribes in this internecine war was unquestionably a grave error, leading to some terrible and revolting facts; but the colonists also were well disposed to accept the aid of the tomahawk. Some months later, Congress made overtures to several parties of Indians, and Washington said he thought they might be useful as scouts and light troops, mixed with white men.*

The earliest rumour of Burgoyne's surrender reached London on the night of December 2nd. It was at first nothing more than a rumour, derived from statements of deserters, which had been transmitted to Ticonderoga, and from Ticonderoga to Quebec. On the 15th, a duplicate of Burgoyne's despatch from Albany arrived by way of Canada; and Lord Petersham, with the original draft, followed shortly after. Ministers, a little before the receipt of this melancholy news, had begun to talk of conciliation and concession; but they were now placed in a very embarrassing position. The Christmas recess came opportunely to their relief, and they were glad to postpone the re-assembling of Parliament until the 20th of January. The King was terribly affected at the intelligence from Saratoga, and the nation was agitated to its depths by the unwonted humiliation of its arms. Nevertheless, the prevalent feeling was undoubtedly one of resolute determination to retrieve, if possible, the disgrace of Burgoyne's surrender. The King had no cause to complain of want of loyalty, nor the Government of want of support. Private subscriptions were set on foot for raising fresh regiments, and fifteen thousand men were provided by voluntary efforts. At the same time, the Opposition opened a subscription for the American captives in English prisons, who were said to be suffering great privations; and, to the credit of the nation, this benevolent work was well seconded by the people at large, even apart from any sympathy with the colonial cause.

Not less grave was the effect of Saratoga on the councils of France. The disposition of that Power, long entertained, and to some extent furtively acted upon, towards an alliance with the Republic of the West, was naturally increased by so marked a proof of the ability of the colonists to maintain the independence they had asserted. France was eager to avenge the humiliation which England had inflicted on her in Canada—not by the reconquest of that dominion, of which indeed there seemed no hope, but by the destruction of English rule in provinces of English growth. To this end, the able but not very scrupulous Ministers of Louis XVI. had been working for some years, and they at length saw their opportunity for throwing off the mask. They became less reserved in their communications with the American agents, and, towards the close of the year, gave them a public reception. It was now officially announced to those gentlemen that the King of France was prepared to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to undertake that if this recognition, as was probable, should involve him in a war with England, he would not ask or expect any compensation whatever for the expense or damage he might sustain on that account, but would only stipulate that the States so recognised should not give up their independence in any future treaty, nor, under any circumstances, return to their subjection to the British Crown. The preliminaries of a treaty to this effect were settled on the 16th of December; but the treaty itself was not concluded until several weeks later.

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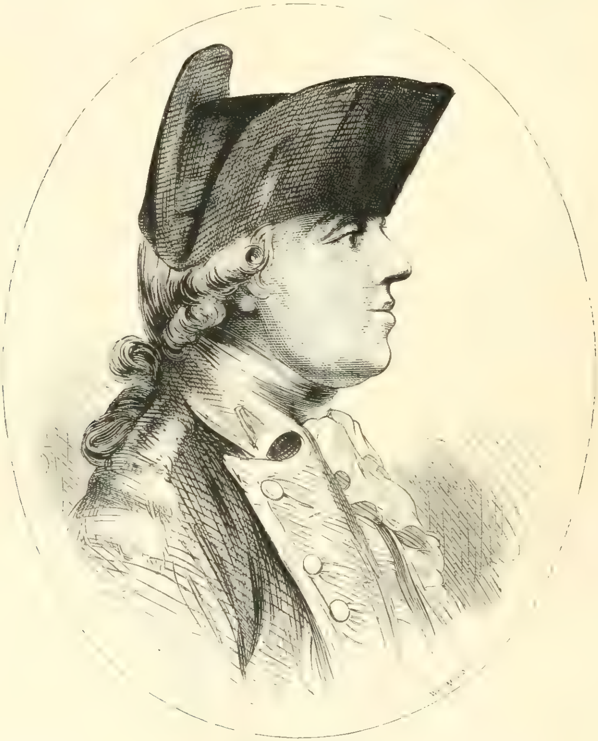
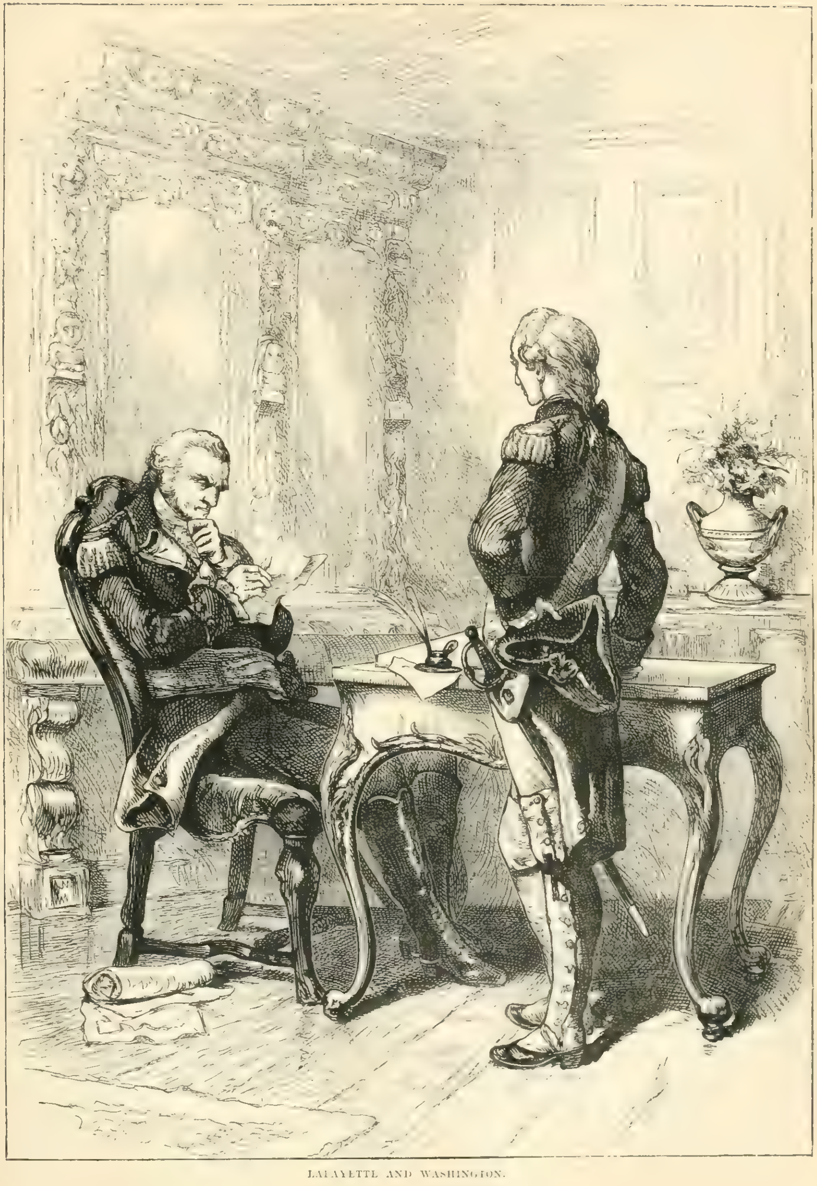
* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 56.



GENERAL BURGOYNE.

Some hints of the negotiations preceding this treaty reached England in a very short time, and by the end of January, 1778, George III. and Lord North were agreed that every letter from Paris made more clear the probability of a speedy war with France. The King characterised the French as an "insidious nation;" and certainly, in this matter of the American war, the conduct of the French Ministers had been insidious indeed. When Parliament reassembled on the 20th of January, Government had once more to withstand the fiery attacks of the Opposition. Several vigorous assaults were led by Fox, Burke, and others; but they were defeated by large majorities, and seem to have found as little support out of doors as in. The efforts of the Opposition were impaired by a division in their ranks on the very important question whether or not the independence of the colonies should be recognised. Chatham, notwithstanding the warmth of his sympathy with the Americans, and the fervour with which he denounced the Parliamentary injustice which had led to rebellion, still declared that nothing should induce him to admit the separation of the dependencies from the mother country. The Marquis of Rockingham, on the other hand, believed that the malcontents could be neither conciliated nor conquered, and that therefore it would be wiser to let them depart. This opinion appears to have been the one most generally accepted by the Opposition;



LAFAYETTE AND WASHINGTON.

but the views of Chatham, to which he pertinaciously adhered, created some hesitation in the ranks. Pownall, the former Governor of Massachusetts, who had now for some years sat in the House of Commons, lost no opportunity of asserting that, until the English Government was prepared to treat with the United States as an independent, sovereign Power, it was a matter of indifference what plans of conciliation might be proposed, since peace would not follow from them. But to some Englishmen even of this party the relinquishment of so grand a colonial empire seemed too great a sacrifice to be demanded or entertained. Such was undoubtedly the opinion of the majority, both in Parliament and the country; yet the idea of independence was becoming familiar to the public mind, and the adherents of that view daily increased in number. Shortly after the affair of Saratoga, General Gates wrote a remarkable letter to his friend, the Earl of Thanet—that in which, as already related, he spoke of his pride in being an Englishman. The object of his letter was to urge the encouragement of affectionate feelings towards England on the part of Americans, by at once abandoning a hopeless contest. "Spurn not the blessing which yet remains," he wrote. "Instantly withdraw your fleets and armies. Cultivate the friendship and commerce of America. Thus, and thus only, can England hope to be great and happy. Seek it in a commercial alliance. Seek it ere it be too late, for there only must you expect to find it." The letter was shown to Lord Chatham; but it did not in the slightest degree modify the opinion he had formed.

At the comparatively passionless distance of a century, it is not difficult to see that it would have been better to relinquish the struggle after the Convention of Saratoga. But if we place ourselves in the position of the men of that day, it will require no great effort of imagination to realise the bitterness of such a resolution. We judge too much, as we are apt to do in all these cases, by the light of subsequent events; and, knowing that at length we were compelled to acknowledge in 1783 what we might have acknowledged in 1778, hastily conclude that the reasons were not merely as strong, but as apparent, at the earlier as at the later date. But in 1778 it was not certain that success was impossible; and surely it was natural in a high-spirited nation, not wholly in the wrong, though grievously to blame at the outset of the quarrel, to disdain submission beneath a heavy blow. This may be pride; but it is a kind of pride in which great nations have never yet been wanting, nor ever will be until men shall have attained that degree of moral perfection in which they will prefer goodness to power. It was because Lord Chatham was known to entertain this sentiment of Imperial dominion very strongly, and yet to be inclined towards a conciliatory policy, that he was now generally looked to as the man best fitted to assume the direction of affairs, especially in the probable event of a renewed war with France. The matter began to be talked over in political circles, and Chatham was sounded by some of his friends as to his willingness to accept office, if the King should send for him. Even Lord North himself hoped for such an arrangement, and informed his Royal master that it was his earnest wish to retire from a post the difficulties of which beset him sorely. He was resolved, however, first of all, to carry through the conciliatory proposals of which he had given notice.

The King was very eager that these proposals should be submitted to Parliament before the intention of France to support the Americans should be openly declared. It was on the 17th of February that Lord North disclosed his ideas on the subject to the House of Commons. After a speech of considerable length, in which he reviewed and defended his policy with respect to the colonies during the time he had held office, he asked leave to introduce two Bills tending to the settlement of the troubles in America. The first was entitled "A Bill for removing all Doubts and Apprehensions concerning Taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the Colonies." This Act expressly repealed the obnoxious tea-duty, and declared that in future the King and Parliament of Great Britain would not impose any duty, tax, or assessment whatever in the colonies, except only such as it might be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of such duties to be always paid and applied to and for the use of the colony in which they should be levied. Thus—but too late—was the mischievous and despotic fiscal policy of Grenville abrogated and renounced. The object of the second Bill was to enable his Majesty to appoint five Commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat with the insurgent colonies. These Commissioners would be authorised to confer with Congress as if it were a legal body, and competent by its acts and negotiations to bind all the colonies. They would be empowered to treat with the Conventions, Provincial Assemblies, or Colonial Congresses, and with individuals in their actual civil capacities or military commands; and they were to have the power of suspending hostilities, intermitting the operation of laws, granting pardons, rewards, and immunities, restoring charters and constitutions, and nominating Governors, judges, magistrates, &c., till the King's pleasure should be known. Instructions were to be given to the Commissioners to negotiate for some reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the Empire when reunited. Such contribution, however, was not to be insisted on as a *sine quâ non*; but, should the Americans refuse it, they were not to complain if in future they received no support from the British Government. The Commissioners, in short, were to accept—subject to Parliamentary sanction—almost any terms of reconciliation not amounting to absolute independence.

The effect of these proposals on the House was at once startling and chilling. It had not been supposed that Lord North would concede so much to the demands of the insurgent colonies—would so amply confess, in effect if not in terms, that his own and previous Ministries had sinned, and that the Americans were justified in the war which they were waging. For the concessions of Lord North amounted to all this, or were tantamount to what was even worse—namely, to a confession that England was impotent to assert her rights, and must perforce submit to treason, rebellion, and spoliation. No wonder the House looked grave, dejected, and thunderstruck. No wonder that some among the usual supporters of Government protested against what they regarded as a humiliation. No wonder the Opposition declared that with such a complete change of policy the Government ought to resign. The measures, however, were passed through both Houses without any actual resistance, together with a third, repealing, expressly and by name, the Massachusetts Charter Act. On the 11th of March, the King, seated on the throne, gave to all three Bills the Royal assent; and from that date the struggle entered on a new but not more prosperous stage.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Announcement by the French Ambassador in London of the Conclusion of a Treaty between France and the United States—Lord North advises the King to send for Lord Chatham—Enmity of the King to the latter Nobleman—Debates in Parliament—Terms of the French Treaty—Popular Demand for Lord Chatham as Prime Minister—A Disputable Point—Renewed Illness of Chatham—His Last Appearance in the House of Lords, and Death on the 11th of May—The Command of the British Forces in America transferred from Sir William Howe to Sir Henry Clinton—Threatened Resignation of Lord George Germaine, the Colonial Secretary—Sufferings of Washington's Troops in their Winter Encampment at Valley Forge—Neglect of the Army by Congress—Entertainment given by the English Officers to Sir William Howe previous to his resigning the Command—Arrival of the British Commissioners in America—Discouraging Reception of those Gentlemen—Futile Correspondence—Lord North's Conciliatory Proposals rejected—Charge brought by Congress against Mr. Johnstone, one of the Commissioners—Irreconcilable Spirit of American Party Leaders.

Two days after the Royal assent had been given to the Conciliatory Bills—viz., on the 13th of March—the French Ambassador in London delivered to the Southern Secretary, Lord Weymouth, a note formally announcing the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and commerce between France and the United States. The American colonies were here spoken of as "in full possession of independence," and words were added expressing the persuasion of the King of France that the Court of St. James's would find in this communication new proofs of his Majesty's constant and sincere disposition for peace. It is impossible not to discern a touch of irony in these civil phrases; but absolute effrontery must have dictated what followed. The French monarch professed to feel assured that his Britannic Majesty would take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between French subjects and the United States from being interrupted. For some weeks, the negotiation of a treaty with Franklin, Deane, and Lee had been well known to the English Cabinet; but at length it was authoritatively intimated. The mask was removed, and France appeared openly as the ally and patron of the revolted colonies of England.

This important fact threw on Lord North the necessity of very gravely considering his position as First Minister of the Crown. He felt his inability to cope with the incessant attacks of the Opposition, which would now derive additional force from the serious turn events had taken. Perhaps also he shrank from the terrible responsibilities of the coming time, and desired to cast them on other and broader shoulders. At any rate, he wrote to the King on the 14th of March, offering his resignation, and advising his Majesty to send immediately for Lord Chatham. The great Earl—the great Commoner, he used to be called in the old days of the war in Canada—was not a favourite of George III. He belonged to the Whig aristocratical faction, and George was a Tory, bent on concentrating a good deal of power in his own hands, and on curbing the predominance of the oligarchy. While he was yet Prince of Wales, the King had formed a high opinion of the elder Pitt, and was even disposed to like him, as far as the rather cold nature and somewhat exaggerated independence of the statesman would permit of such a feeling. But a closer acquaintance only served to develop the wide divergence of their characters and aims; and Chatham, since he had been again in opposition, had flung forth so many and such bitter invectives against the Court, that the dislike of the King increased with tenfold vehemence. Accordingly, in replying to Lord North on the 15th of March, he alluded with great asperity to the party whom he termed "Lord Chatham and his crew," and declared that he would on no account send for the Earl with a view to his becoming Prime Minister, but was ready to welcome him and his friends with open arms, if they were willing to be placed in office as the allies and auxiliaries of Lord North and the existing Government.* In a note of the following day, his Majesty characterised Chatham as "that perfidious man"—a view not calculated to promote harmonious working with the person so described; but in fact the matter came to nothing, and Chatham was then within a few weeks of his death.

The first effect of the French communication to the Court of St. James's was seen in the withdrawal from Paris of the British Ambassador, Lord Stormont. This was followed by the departure of the Marquis de Noailles from London. In both Houses of Parliament a Royal Message was read, communicating the French note, and assuring them that his Majesty was firmly determined to maintain and assert the honour of his Crown. Addresses to the King were moved in the Upper and Lower Chambers, and carried by large majorities, after warm and angry debates, in which the Opposition called on the Government to resign, and give place to Lord Chatham, the only man capable of encountering the united power of France and Spain, and of reconciling the colonies to the mother country. In the House of Commons, however, Governor Pownall, as he continued to be called, reiterated his former conviction that nothing but an unreserved acknowledgment of the independence of the United States would conciliate the Americans. If that acknowledgment were made, the colonists, he said, might enter into a federal treaty with the mother country—a treaty offensive, defensive, and commercial. This view found some supporters; but by far the greater number saw in any such concession, at the very moment when France was giving utterance to an implied threat, nothing but ignominy and disgrace. The temper of the nation was at boiling-point, and the advice of Opposition members did but add to its heat.

The treaty between France and the United States, which was signed at Paris on the 6th of February, provided that if Great Britain, in consequence of the alliance, should commence hostilities against France, the two countries should assist each other; that the independence of the United States should be effectually maintained, such being the essential and direct end of the alliance; that the two contracting parties should, each on its own part, and in the manner it might judge most proper, make all the efforts in its power against the common enemy, in order to attain the end proposed; that in case either of the contracting parties should commence a particular enterprise in which the concurrence of the other might be desired, such concurrence should be granted, as far as circumstances might permit; that if any part of North America still professing allegiance to the crown of Great Britain should be reduced by the colonies, it should belong to the United States; that the King of France renounced for ever any claim to the Bermudas, or to those parts of the continent of North America which were ceded to Great Britain at the peace of 1763; that if France should conquer any of the British West India islands, they should be deemed her property; that neither of the contracting parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other; that they would not lay down their arms until the independence of the United States was formally or tacitly assured at the termination of the war; that there should be no after-claims for compensation, on one side or the other, whatever the event of the contest; that the King of France and the United States should invite or admit other Powers, who might have received injuries from England, to make common cause with them, and accede to the alliance; and that the two parties should guarantee mutually, from that time and for ever, against all other Powers, the possession of each other's territories in America, including whatever might be obtained from Great Britain by conquest during such war as might ensue.

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* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 57. The letter itself is printed in the Appendix to Vol. VI., pp. xxxvi.–vii.

It is impossible to conceive anything more steeped in hostility to England than this treaty; and it can excite no surprise that, when its terms came to be known in the country against which they were aimed, a feeling of the most fiery indignation was aroused. The bare idea of conceding independence to the colonies under such circumstances was not to be borne. If such a proposition might by possibility have been entertained a few weeks earlier, no such thing was now conceivable. The descendants of Englishmen had made common cause with the hereditary foes of England, and had entered into a conspiracy for the spoliation and ruin of the British Empire. Such was the almost universal feeling of that day; and, granting a similar set of circumstances to arise once more, it would undoubtedly be the feeling of this day too. That a war with France was imminent, could not for a moment be questioned; and in this extremity the popular demand for Lord Chatham as the head of the State became every day more urgent. It was not a very wise demand. People forgot that the Lord Chatham of 1778 was a very different person from the William Pitt of twenty years earlier; that he was now old and infirm, weary and out of heart. His powers, physical and mental, had been decaying for some time, and, although he was still equal to a brilliant and effective speech, it is certain that, even had his life been spared, he could not have supported the incessant labours and anxieties of the Premiership at such a crisis, but that he would have broken down again as he broke down during his Administration of 1766–8. Still, most people concurred in regarding him as the fittest man for the emergency, and informal negotiations were carried on with the Earl in his retirement at Hayes, in Kent. Lord North communicated with him on his own account; several members of the Rockingham party also sent to him the expression of their earnest wishes. It is worthy of note that General Gates, in the letter to Lord Thanet before cited, spoke of Chatham as "the great State physician" whose skill alone could cure the maladies of England and America. Lord Mansfield, who had been in rivalry with the statesman, now declared to Lord Holderness, with tears in his eyes, that, unless the King sent for the Earl of Chatham, the country would assuredly founder. The Earl himself, directly it became obvious that another war with France was about to commence, had permitted his eldest son, Lord Pitt, to re-enter the army, from which he had withdrawn him on the outbreak of the civil war in America; and the same patriotic devotion made him willing, notwithstanding the enfeebled state of his health, to assume the cares of government. But he would only take office as chief of the Administration—a demand which his previous services, and the high reputation he had acquired, gave him every right to make. The King, however, in whom firmness was generally carried to the extent of obstinacy, held to his resolve not to send for the Earl; and Lord North remained in power.

English historical writers have debated whether Lord Chatham, supposing him to have then taken office, and to have lived for a few years longer, could have succeeded in restoring the goodwill of the Americans, and in re-establishing the connection of the colonies with the old country. It has been urged in support of the affirmative view that Chatham was universally regarded in English America with love and veneration; that proposals which would have been rejected if made by any other public man would have found acceptance as coming from him; that the Congress had recently fallen very much in popular estimation, and was in many quarters held in actual disgust, on account of its factious spirit, its vindictive persecution of political opponents, and its cabals against Washington; that America was growing impatient of the burdens of the war, of the losses incurred by trade, and of the rapid depreciation of the paper money; that many, even among the patriots, were beginning to think peace desirable at some sacrifice; that the New Englanders, at any rate, could not like fighting side by side with Papists; and that the very fact of a treaty having been concluded with France might, with judicious management, have been made to rekindle the old filial sentiment towards England.* On a review of all the circumstances, however, there seems little probability that even Chatham, at that date, could have brought back the colonies to their forsworn allegiance. A few years earlier, he might perhaps have done so; but the political leaders of America were by this time too much accustomed to the idea of independence to relinquish it voluntarily. After the great success of Saratoga, and the flattering triumph of a treaty with France, it is most unlikely that the prize which had been striven for during several years, and which now appeared almost within grasp, would have been abandoned, even at the solicitation of an old friend and patron. Short of absolute independence, which he was pledged never to grant, one does not see how Lord Chatham could have offered more than Lord North was now offering; and Lord North's Commissioners, as we shall presently see, were able to effect nothing. There were undoubtedly persons in America very desirous of a compromise; but they were the least influential of the politicians of that day.

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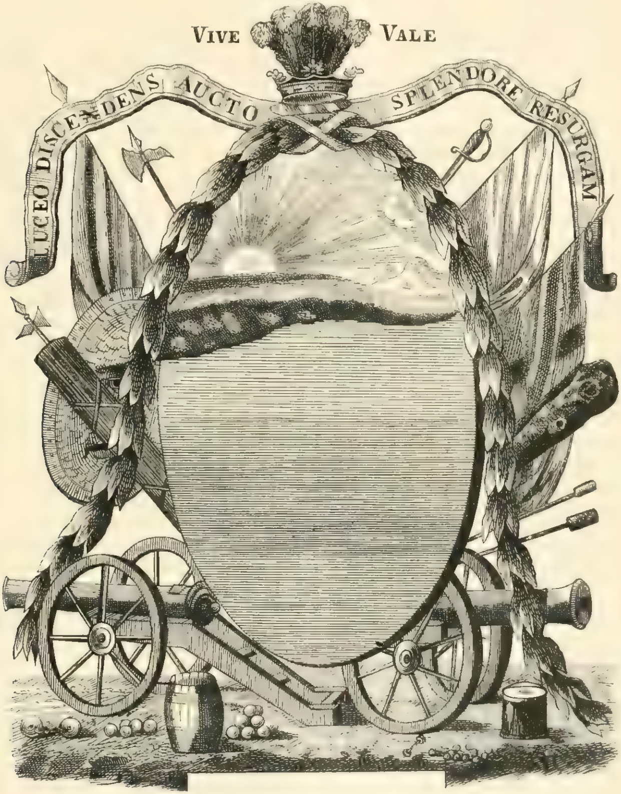
* History of England, by the late Earl Stanhope; who quotes, on the contrary side, Croker and Macaulay.

Providence, however, had so ordered that the attempt was not to be made by Chatham. Had that statesman continued to live, the reiterated demands of the nation might have finally overcome the vehement antipathies of the King, and have carried him to the summit of power; but the career of the famous Earl was now hastening to its close. He was again ill with an attack of his old enemy, gout, when he heard that the Duke of Richmond was, on the 7th of April, to move an address to the King, entreating his Majesty to withdraw his fleets and armies from the revolted provinces of America, and to make peace with them on such terms as might secure their good-will. Against such a motion Chatham was determined to speak, although, as he was only beginning to recover, his family and friends warned him against the danger of so much physical fatigue and mental agitation. On the appointed day he appeared in his place, pale, feeble, and ghostlike, partly swathed in flannel, and supported on one side by his illustrious son (as he was afterwards to become), and on the other by Lord Mahon. The speech which he delivered on that memorable occasion indicated in many ways the broken and disturbed condition of his mind; yet it glowed in parts with the old fire, and was as energetic as ever in the expression of a distinctly national policy, as opposed to the ambition of France. The Duke of Richmond replied in a somewhat irritating speech, of which the main argument was, that, as it was no longer possible to have the Americans as subjects, it was good policy to try to obtain them as allies. When he had finished, Chatham rose again, in some excitement, to make a few remarks in response; but the effort was too much. He pressed his hand to his heart, staggered, and fell back. He had been seized with a fit—of what nature is not precisely known, but one from which he never recovered. On the 11th of May he expired at Hayes, in the seventieth year of his age.

Among the troubles of the Ministry, in connection with American affairs, was the threatened resignation of Lord George Germaine, the Colonial Secretary, whose irritable and imperious temper had brought him into frequent collision with the chief officers of the army employed in the colonies. He had provoked Sir Guy Carleton into so sharp an expression of annoyance and anger that that high-spirited soldier had, as a consequence of his insubordination, been removed from the Government of Canada. Sir William Howe, at the same period, was highly incensed at being left without the reinforcements which had been promised him, and which were necessary to the success of his measures. He therefore, early in the winter, requested permission to resign his command. The request was granted, and Howe was succeeded by his colleague, Sir Henry Clinton. It was on the 4th of February that Lord George Germaine wrote to Howe, informing him of the change; and a few weeks later the Colonial Secretary himself threatened to resign, because the King had conferred on Sir Guy Carleton a sinecure post, and had thus, in the estimation of Lord George, insulted him by rewarding his adversary. Lord George was a man difficult to work with; but he had official abilities and Parliamentary influence, and, having been charged with the conduct of American affairs for more than two years, he had acquired a mastery of them, which would have made his resignation at such a juncture peculiarly embarrassing.

During the progress of these events in England, the Commander-in-Chief of the American armies was remaining in a state of enforced idleness, awaiting the season when active operations could be resumed, and when his regiments should be in a better condition to encounter the English troops. Towards the close of 1777, he had fixed his winter quarters at Valley Forge, in Pennsylvania, a strong position among the woods and hills on the banks of the Schuylkill, within about twenty miles of Philadelphia, where the British under Howe were then posted. This camp he caused to be well fortified, and the soldiers were housed in huts built for the purpose with logs of wood, and ranged, wherever practicable, in parallel lines, so that the whole had the appearance of a town, with its streets and ways. Troops from the same State inhabited the same street or quarter; for the feeling of sectional jealousy was still so great that it was found necessary to keep men of different origin apart from one another. On the land side were entrenchments; and a bridge across the Schuylkill afforded communication with the open country to the north. The army remained here for nearly the first half of 1778, and during the winter months the sufferings of the soldiers were extreme. There was a serious want of blankets and of shirts; the lack of shoes and stockings was still so great that, before the troops went into the encampment, the snow over which they marched was reddened by the blood of their bare feet. Nearly three thousand are stated to have been in this condition, and otherwise insufficiently clad. The Quartermaster-General's and Commissary-General's departments had been removed from the control of Washington; and he complained to the President of Congress that no man had ever had his measures more impeded than he had had by every department of the army. The failure of provisions was so serious that on one occasion a dangerous mutiny broke out, which was not repressed without difficulty; and the General was compelled to make a compulsory requisition, which of course created universal alarm. Washington, indeed, appears to have been shamefully neglected; but at length, after many representations, he induced Congress to appoint a committee to proceed to Valley Forge, and examine for themselves into the terrible deprivations which the men were suffering. Inconsiderate critics severely condemned the inactivity of the army, clamoured for a winter campaign, and protested that the troops should not have gone into camp at all. The committee appointed by Congress saw how well founded were the General's complaints; yet succours arrived but slowly. On the 20th of March, Washington wrote to one of his officers that by death and desertion he had lost a good many men since he had been at Valley Forge, and had encountered every species of hardship that cold, wet, hunger, and want of clothes, were capable of producing. The soldiers had two or three times been days together without provisions, and once six days without meat. Of the unfortunate horses, many died from sheer want. It was a perpetual marvel to Washington that the whole army did not dis-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FAC-SIMILE OF THE TICKET FOR THE MISCHIANZA.

perse. Between two and three hundred officers had in fact resigned their commissions in the course of a few months, and many others were with difficulty dissuaded from following the example. When it is added that at this very period Washington knew of those conspiracies against him which were favoured in certain circles at the seat of Government, the reader must needs admire the strength and constancy of his patriotism in not flinging up his commission in anger and despair.

This miserable state of things was in part relieved, about the middle of April, by the arrival at Valley Forge of intelligence that General Gates was about to be removed from the Board of War, and sent to resume his former command at the north. At the same time, Washington received the first draft of Lord North's Conciliatory Bills, which he at once forwarded to the President of Congress, with remarks to the effect that they might exercise an unfortunate influence in disinclining the people to the further prosecution of hostilities, and to the cause of independence. Early in May, the Commander-in-Chief heard of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States; and his joy was expressed in the warmest terms in a general order appointing a day of thanksgiving. The army cried "Long live the King of France!"—little thinking that the alliance on which he was then entering would prove to be one of the many causes which precipitated his violent death; and salutes were fired in honour of the great event. All this while, the English forces were comfortably housed in Philadelphia, troubled with nothing but tedium, which they endeavoured to relieve with gambling and discreditable amours. The soldiers generally, and many of the officers in particular, earned a bad name by the looseness of their lives; but Sir William Howe was much respected for his kindly nature and agreeable manners. On the 18th of May, just before his departure for England, twenty-two of his field-officers combined to entertain him at a festival to which they gave the Italian name of *Mischianza*,—a medley. It took the form of a tournament, and greatly astonished the sober Pennsylvanians, who knew nothing of the gorgeous pageantries of mediæval Europe. All the old observances were strictly followed. Knights and squires splendidly dressed, richly-caparisoned horses, heralds with trumpets and banners, mottoes and emblems, all were there; and ladies in Turkish habits, wearing in their turbans the articles which they intended to bestow on their knights, sat apart in pavilions, to adjudge the prizes. The lists were formally opened, and the knights fought for the honour of their damsels. A grand entertainment followed the games, and Philadelphia, in spite of its gravity, rang with wonder at the splendid show.

Howe's successor, Sir Henry Clinton, was a man of greater enterprise than the General whom he followed in the command, and equally respectable for his high and blameless character. He assumed the chief direction of the army at a difficult time. England was about to be involved in a war with France, and the negotiations with a view to a compromise with the revolted colonies would be certain for awhile to fetter his hands. Only a few days after Howe had left, Clinton received instructions from the Government that he was to retire from Philadelphia, and concentrate his forces at New York. These instructions had been given in consequence of the impending French war, and were based on the recommendation of Lord (formerly Sir Jeffery) Amherst. On arriving in America, the Commissioners were greatly annoyed at finding that this change in the military situation, of which they had received not the slightest intimation before leaving England, was already in process of execution; and they despatched a secret letter to Lord George Germaine, complaining of the concealment. The Commissioners (in addition to Lord Howe and his brother, if they were still in America when the others arrived, or Sir Henry Clinton in the absence of Sir William Howe) were Lord Carlisle, Mr. William Eden, and Mr. George Johnstone. The first of these was a man of fashion, not remarkable for business capacity or knowledge of affairs; the brother of the second had been Governor of Maryland; and the third had filled the same post in Florida, and was now a great opponent of Lord North. The Secretary to the Commission was Dr. Ferguson, a well-known Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh.

Nothing could be more disheartening than the reception of the Commissioners by the Americans. They were frowned upon from the first, and given to understand that their mission was vain. Joseph Reed, Washington's Adjutant-General, observed, in reply to a private note from Mr. Johnstone:—"I shall only say that, after the unparalleled injuries and insults this country has received from the men who now direct the affairs of Britain, a negotiation under their auspices has much to struggle with." Washington refused a passport to enable the secretary to proceed to Congress. Congress itself declined even to hold any conference with the representatives of the British Government, unless, as a preliminary, they should either withdraw the fleets and armies, or else, in express words, acknowledge the independence of the United States. Some correspondence, however, went on during the summer months. The Commissioners addressed the President of Congress personally, begging of him to consider what they had to offer. They placed before him a most tempting set of terms, but might as well have demanded of him unconditional submission. They promised that no military forces should be maintained in North America without the consent of the General Congress, or of particular Assemblies. They were willing that measures should be taken to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation. They proposed that the States should be represented in Parliament; that England should send deputies to the several American Assemblies; and that each State should be allowed to settle its revenue, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and of internal government. In vain. Congress soon cut short even the faintest pretence of negotiation by resolving that no further reply should be returned.

A charge was then brought against Mr. Johnstone that he had attempted to corrupt and bribe some members of the Legislative Body. This gentleman had been a great friend of the original claims of the Americans, and, since his arrival, had entered into correspondence with some persons of position; but it does not appear that he had positively offered bribes, though some of his expressions were imprudent. It is clear, however, that he acted simply on his own account, and without the knowledge of his colleagues. Mr. Johnstone, on the charge being made, withdrew from the Commission, and notified the fact to Congress, whose conduct he severely condemned. But the leaders of the political world had resolved to stifle all discussion, and were glad of any pretext which would enable them to do so with a virtuous flourish. They were the more desirous of getting rid of the Commissioners, because those gentlemen had for some time been pressing very hard for the release of the prisoners of Saratoga. Congress was determined not to fulfil the terms of the Convention, and found it no easy matter to defend or excuse such a course. To a communication on the subject, written by Sir Henry Clinton on the 19th of September, and expressed in terms of injudicious, though assuredly not unprovoked, warmth, the Federal secretary replied that "Congress gave no answer to insolent letters;" and it was now no longer possible to hope for any conciliatory disposition on the part of men who were manifestly bent on perpetuating a quarrel which they might have composed.

As a final act, the Commissioners addressed to Congress, to the members of the General Assemblies, and to the people of the several provinces, a manifesto and proclamation, in which they gave a history of their negotiation, and threw on the ruling body the blame of their failure. They also declared that they were still ready to treat with deputies from all or any of the colonies, at any time within the space of forty days from the date of their proclamation (the 3rd of October); promised pardon to all who, within the prescribed time, should cease to oppose the British Government, and return to their allegiance; and denounced vengeance against those who persisted in rebellion against their lawful sovereign. In a passage which was certainly very reprehensible, and in painful contrast with the rest of the document, they observed that the hopes of a reunion had previously checked the extremes of war, but that in future the contest would be changed; that if the British colonies were to become an accession to France, the laws of self-preservation would direct Great Britain to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy. Fox, and other members of the Opposition, severely condemned these phrases, which they construed as menacing a war of desolation; but Lord North, in a debate which occurred on the 4th of December, denied that Ministers intended to give the least encouragement to any new kind of war. Whatever the meaning of the Commissioners, their proclamation had no effect. A copy of the document was sent, by a flag of truce, to each of the thirteen revolted provinces; but no offers of submission nor applications for pardon were made. It is possible, however, that this was partly due to the fact that Congress had recommended the several States to seize or detain in prison, as violators of the law of nations, all persons who, under pretence of a flag of truce, should be found distributing the manifesto and proclamation; and that they also enacted that exemplary punishment should be inflicted on those individuals who might attempt to execute the severities threatened by the British representatives. Towards the end of the year, the Commissioners returned to England.

The feeling by which Congress was animated in refusing these attempts at a compromise, and in adopting in every way the most irritating conduct and language, had been expressed a little earlier in a report of the committee appointed to consider the Conciliatory Bills of Lord North. The aim of those Bills, it was here declared, was to create divisions in the States; and they were characterised as the sequel of that insidious plan which, from the days of the Stamp Act downwards, had involved the country in contention and bloodshed. "As in other cases, so in this," continued the report, "although circumstances may at times force them [the British Government] to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will, as heretofore, upon the first favourable occasion, again display that lust of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty Empire of Britain." The members of the committee further reported it as their opinion that any men, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with Commissioners under the Crown of Great Britain, should be treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States. It was in consequence of this report that the British representatives were met with so much coldness and so many studied affronts. Congress was ruled by committees, and the country, it might almost be said, was tyrannised over by Congress. Washington, in a private letter written on the 21st of April, had admitted that the Americans, for the most part, were weary of the war; and Lafayette had confessed to Washington that he feared the Commissioners more than ten thousand men. In revolutionary seasons, affairs are generally moulded and managed by a few leaders of special vigour, capacity, and ambition. It was so in America at the period with which we are now concerned. The people were not consulted, and it is difficult—perhaps we should rather say it is impossible—to determine with certainty what would have been their choice, had the question of reunion with England, on liberal conditions, been placed before them. As it was, the war went on, and was prosecuted to a successful issue; but it is not conclusive that peace was declined by the majority of American citizens.

CHAPTER XI.

State of the American Army in the Winter of 1778—Jealousy of Congress with respect to the Military Power—Relative Strength of the American and English Forces—Motives of the British Government for Relinquishing Philadelphia—Retreat of the British through the Jerseys—Pursuit by the Americans—The Battle of Monmouth Court House—Court-Martial on General Lee, and Suspension of that Officer—His Character and Disposition—Arrival in America of a French Fleet, commanded by Count d'Estaing—Naval Operations—Disagreements between the Americans and their French Allies—Failure of the Americans to re-take Rhode Island—Sullivan's Reproaches of d'Estaing—Letter of Washington to Lafayette—Movements of Clinton's Army—Taking of Savannah, and Reduction of Georgia, by the British—Indian Warfare—The Tragedy in Wyoming—Massacres committed by Colonel John Butler and his Indian Auxiliaries—Retaliatory Measures taken by the Americans—Expedition of Colonel G. R. Clarke, of Virginia, against the British Settlements on the Mississippi—Capture of Kaskaskia and St. Vincent.

WHEN the time had arrived for opening the campaign of 1778, Washington was in a less favourable position towards his adversary than he had been at the close of the previous year. His troops were in a great degree worn out by the severities of the winter, and the terrible deprivations which they had been compelled to undergo. Several of the soldiers, especially among those who were not native-born Americans, had availed themselves of any opportunities of escape which occurred, and had deserted to the English forces at Philadelphia, carrying their arms with them. Many loyalists had joined the British commander, and his army was thus increased, while that of the American General was considerably diminished. The Royal troops were well fed and cared for, while the Americans were starving. Washington was obliged to pay for what he purchased in a rapidly-depreciating paper currency, whereas the English at Philadelphia gave hard cash for whatever they consumed. It is true that several American detachments and patrols were posted in the vicinity of the city on almost every side, and that the furnishing of supplies to the British was regarded as an offence for which the punishment was severe. In this way, provisions from the country were often intercepted; yet, on the whole, the King's soldiers got what they wanted, when the soldiers of the Republic were obliged to go without. The American army, moreover, had not improved in discipline during the long and dreary repose of winter. The pay, both of officers and men, was very inadequate, and there was little to compensate for the hardships of the military life. Washington continued to urge the necessity of further reforms; and at length, though very reluctantly, some improvements were sanctioned. An efficient Commissary-General was appointed; other departments were re-organised; and it was agreed that the officers should receive half-pay for seven years after the termination of the war, and that a gratuity of eighty dollars should be given to every non-commissioned officer and soldier who should continue in the service to the end of the struggle. The jealousy of the army at all times manifested by Congress, and especially at the period to which we are now referring, gave the greatest pain to Washington, who saw how impossible it was to secure the independence of the country unless by a vigorous exercise of military skill. Many of the leading politicians of the day feared the establishment of a large standing army, of a privileged class, and of a pension-list; and, so thinking, they fettered the hands of their Commander-in-Chief in every way they could, even while he was engaged in a deadly struggle with one of the chief Powers of Europe. It was their policy, he observed in the bitterness of his heart, to be prejudiced against their soldiers, not merely in time of peace, but in time of war, though they were citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens, and in most cases property totally unconnected with their military pay.

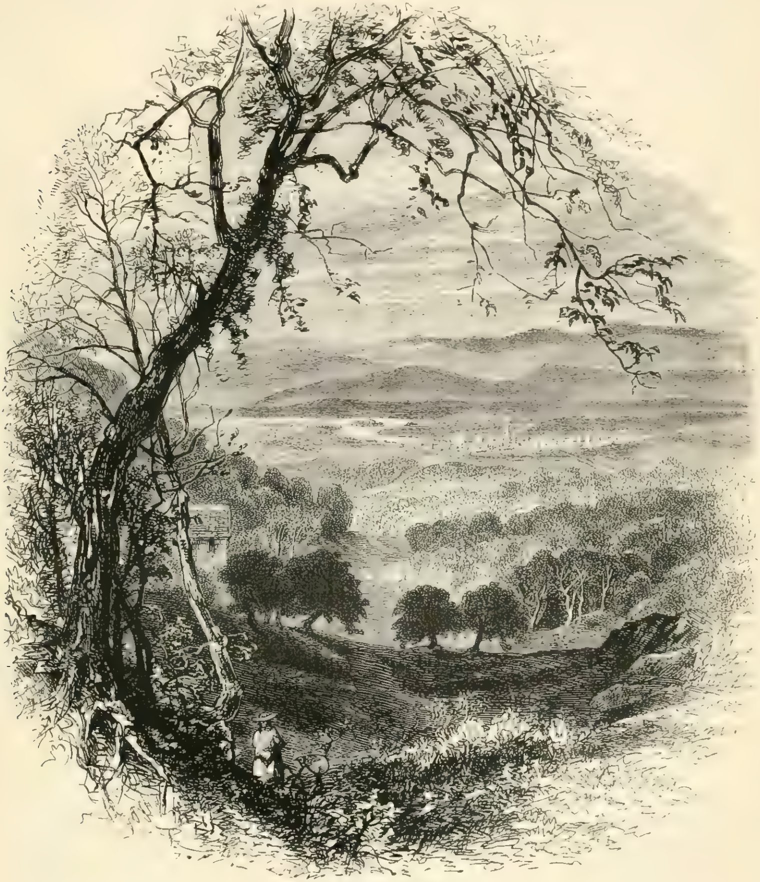
While the committee appointed by Congress were at Valley Forge (where they remained during three of the winter months), it was agreed that the army should consist of forty thousand men, besides Artillery and Horse. On the 8th of May, it was found that the forces, including the detachments on the Hudson and in other directions, did not exceed fifteen thousand. The number at Washington's head-quarters was a little under twelve thousand. On the other hand, the British troops in Philadelphia and New York amounted to nearly thirty thousand, of whom almost two-thirds were in the former city. In addition to these, there were three thousand seven hundred in Rhode Island; so that the superiority of the English at this time was very great. Though it was not then known to the Americans, nor believed by them, that the enemy was in such force, it was considered much too hazardous an enterprise to attempt the recovery of Philadelphia. An advanced guard of the American army, consisting of more than two thousand picked men, with six pieces of artillery, under the command of Lafayette, had been very nearly cut off by the British on Barren Hill, to the east of the Schuylkill, and was saved only by the dexterity and skill of the young Marquis. This occurred on the 21st of May, and was the last movement of importance ordered by Sir William Howe. Such being the strength of the British, and such the weakness of the Americans, great must have been the delight of the latter when, from the information of spies, it appeared probable that the Royal forces were about to evacuate the capital of Pennsylvania. The motives for that step resulted from the recognition by France of the independence of the United States. The British Government had determined to make a descent on some of the French West India islands; and, in aid of this scheme, Sir Henry Clinton was to detach five thousand men from his army, to send three thousand more to Florida, and to withdraw the remainder to New York. It was feared, also, that a French fleet would shortly appear at the mouth of the Delaware, blockade the English shipping, and jeopardise the army, should it remain in Philadelphia. On these accounts it was resolved to withdraw to a locality less exposed to the chances of the altered condition of affairs.

Finding it impossible, owing to a deficiency of transports, to send the whole of his army to New York by water, Clinton shipped a portion (together with the loyalists who feared to remain) on board such vessels as were in the river, and conducted the rest through the Jerseys. The movement was executed with great ability, but was attended by much risk. The Americans were so close upon the British that the vanguard of the former marched into Philadelphia on the same day—the 18th of June—on which the rear-guard of the latter marched out. Washington had also sent several detachments to take up positions on the road which Clinton would probably pursue, and to hang upon his flanks and rear. The retreating army, with its artillery, waggons, and horses, extended in a line nearly twelve miles long; and, as all the bridges over the rivers and marshes had been broken down by the Americans, it was necessary to stop repeatedly in order to repair them. At Allentown, Clinton found it advisable to change his route, Washington being almost in his front. He had hoped to gain the Raritan, and to embark his troops at New Brunswick or South Amboy for New York; but he now turned to the right, and took the road leading to Monmouth and Sandy Hook. Washington at the same time sent forward Generals Lee and Lafayette, at the head of a strong force, to assail the English army on the first favourable opportunity, while he himself, at a distance of six or seven miles, held his main body in readiness to support the others, if need were.

On the 28th of June, Clinton, who had just changed the disposition of his line, placing his baggage-train in the front and his best troops in the rear, was encamped in a strong position near Monmouth Court House, with woods and marshlands about him. The design of attacking the English on their route, though highly favoured by Washington, had been opposed by many of his officers, and especially by Lee, the second in command, who, however, after first declining to lead the advanced detachments, ultimately requested and obtained that position. Orders were sent to him, on the morning of the 28th, to move forward and commence the attack; and Washington himself pushed on with all speed to join him. The English had by this time begun to resume their march; but the hostile demonstration of Lee and Lafayette forced them to prepare for battle. Lafayette, with the eagerness of youth, had always desired to bring on an attack, and he now wished to execute a movement which appeared imprudent to Lee, who, with the pride of an Englishman addressing an ancient enemy, told the French Marquis that he did not know what British soldiers were. After a little manœuvring, Lee drew off his troops, but managed so badly that he was in point of fact carrying them towards the rear division of the enemy, when Washington—to whom Lafayette had sent a message urgently requesting his presence at the scene of action—arrived upon the ground. Severely reproving Lee for his conduct, he ordered the troops to be formed and brought into action. Lee obeyed, and a battle ensued, which resulted in the British, who had begun to pursue the retreating division, being compelled to retire within their camp, where it would have been madness to attempt to follow them. Both sides had lost a good many men, and several of these died of sunstroke in the intense heat of that midsummer day. The Americans lay on their arms during the ensuing night, and Washington proposed to renew the combat on the following morning. But at dawn it was discovered that Clinton had got off during the brief hours of darkness, and it was considered unadvisable to seek another engagement. Thus, although the battle was not decisive on either side, it terminated more to the advantage of the English than of the Americans, since the former had fought only to secure their retreat, which they did so effectually that their adversaries dared not venture again to molest them. Proceeding to Sandy Hook, the English commander found Lord Howe's fleet ready to convey his troops to New York, where they arrived on the 5th of July. Washington marched to the Hudson, crossed at King's Ferry, and took up a position near his old camp at White Plains.

The day after the action at Monmouth Court House, some very angry letters passed between Lee and Washington, the former accusing his chief of having insulted him on the field of battle, and the latter reiterating his complaints as to his subordinate's conduct in withdrawing the troops. Finally, Lee demanded a court-martial, and he was accordingly put under arrest, on charges of disobedience of orders, misbehaviour before the enemy, and disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief. The court-martial sat from time to time for three weeks while the army was on its march, and finally declared that General Lee was guilty of the three offences with which he was charged. He was therefore sentenced to be suspended for a year from all command in the army of the United States; and the sentence was approved by Congress. On hearing of this approval, Lee, pointing to a dog, exclaimed, "Oh that I were that animal, that I might not call man my brother!" He never again joined the army, but expired at Philadelphia in October, 1782, at not much more than fifty years of age. Among the singular characters produced by the American revolutionary war, it would be impossible to find one more remarkable than his. He was indeed a strange and anomalous compound of good and bad. Embittered by many disappointments, he was often most offensive in his manners; yet he knew the art of making himself beloved by the officers and men whom he commanded. It is said of him that he was a steadfast friend and a vindictive enemy; and indeed all the qualities of his nature seem to have had a certain wilful intensity, which sometimes charmed, and sometimes disgusted. His acrid wit and railing tongue might have recalled the Thersites, the Apemantus, or the Timon, of Shakespeare. His love of dogs, several of which always accompanied him, gave point and antithesis to his hatred of mankind. With abilities of more than common order, he had strengthened, though not perhaps widened, his intellect by a study of the classics; and he had a large amount of general knowledge, as well as a particular acquaintance with all the most valuable treatises on the art of war, both ancient and modern. If acquirements and experience alone could indicate the true leader of men, Lee would have been the chief soldier of the young Republic. He had even a certain amount of genius; but it was genius of an erratic and desultory kind. Washington, a less brilliant man—a man of no very great experience in the practice of war previous to the outbreak of the Revolution—a man with an amount of book-knowledge small indeed in comparison with Lee's—was, nevertheless, the rightful head of the American armies, by virtue of a far stronger and higher character. Lee is thought to have coveted the chief place for himself, and jealousy of Washington had probably something to do with his wayward and irritable conduct. Yet in this final incident he seems to have been harshly treated. He had approached the British by some narrow passes through a morass, and suddenly found himself confronted, not by the rear-guard, as he had supposed in his ignorance of Clinton's altered dispositions, but by the best part of the army. Though not skilfully conducted, his retreat was judicious in itself; for, had he been beaten in an encounter, as he probably would have been, he might have found retreat impracticable.

On the very same day when the English army arrived at New York, the Count d'Estaing appeared with a French fleet on the coast of Virginia; for, after the Ambassadors of France and England had quitted the Courts to which they were respectively accredited, the state of war was mutually understood to exist. The French fleet consisted of twelve sail of the line and six frigates. It was equipped at Toulon, or nearly so, before the declaration of France to the English Government that she had determined to recognise the independence of the United States. On board the flag-ship was M. Gérard, charged as Minister to the new Power; and it now became only too evident to the British authorities in America that they had an additional enemy to encounter. D'Estaing had hoped to surprise the English fleet in the Delaware; but he arrived too late. Following his enemy to the



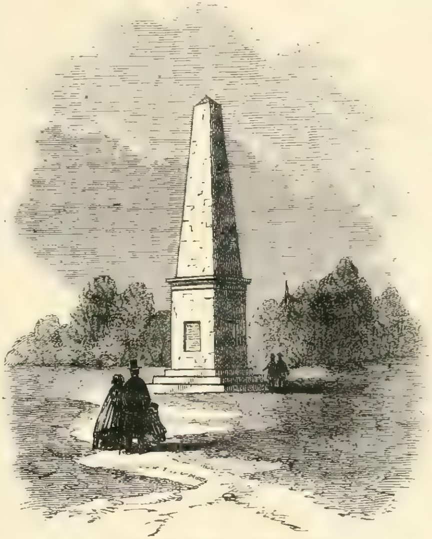
THE VALE OF WYOMING.

vicinity of New York, and pausing off Sandy Hook, he thought of forcing the harbour, but was dissuaded by the advice of some pilots. He then steered for Rhode Island, and sailed up the river Newport, in order to concert with the Americans an attack on the British in that quarter. It was not long, however, ere he found himself pursued by Lord Howe, though the naval force under that gallant commander was inferior in strength to the squadron of d'Estaing. A violent storm separated the two fleets when they were on the point of engaging; and some scattered actions with single ships took place shortly afterwards, without any results of importance. The Americans had sent a detachment of ten thousand men, under General Sullivan, to co-operate with four thousand French troops in an attack on the British forces in Rhode Island; but d'Estaing now declared that his fleet was so much damaged by the tempest that he must put into Boston harbour to refit. Sullivan, Greene, and some other American officers, protested against this course in language of considerable bitterness; but the French commander persisted, and the Americans were thus forced to give up their enterprise against Rhode Island, after having besieged the English commander, Sir Robert Pigot, in his fortified camp near the town of Newport. The commencement of the Franco-American alliance was not auspicious; and, in consequence of this disappointment, the feeling of the Americans towards the French became so bitter that riots took place in the streets of Boston between the sailors of the two nationalities.

Abandoned by d'Estaing, and weakened by numerous desertions, Sullivan, on the 26th of August, determined to raise the siege, and retreat to the north end of Rhode Island. During the night of the 28th he silently escaped; but on the following morning the British started in pursuit, and overtook the fugitives in a strongly fortified position. A sharp contest followed, without any positive advantage, and on the evening of the 30th Sullivan again withdrew, and, embarking his army, with all its artillery, baggage, and stores, on board several boats, got across the intervening water to the continent, before Pigot had even suspected his intention to abandon the post. He had extricated himself from an awkward position, and only just in time; for Sir Henry Clinton was on his route, with four thousand men, to the assistance of his subordinate, and arrived on the very day after the Americans had left the island. Clinton had been detained four days in the Sound by contrary winds, but for which he would probably have been enabled to inflict a crushing defeat on the army that had thus contrived to elude its pursuers. None the less was it a sore disappointment to the Americans to be compelled to give up their expedition against Rhode Island, from which much had been hoped; and Sullivan vented his anger and annoyance in a general order containing some expressions which gave great offence to d'Estaing, but which their author subsequently endeavoured to explain away. The rupture threatened to be so serious that Washington and Congress did their utmost to soften the effect of Sullivan's blunt language. In a letter to Lafayette, the Commander-in-Chief observed:—

"I feel myself hurt at every illiberal and unthinking reflection which may have been cast upon the Count d'Estaing, or the conduct of the fleet under his command. Let me entreat you, my dear Marquis, to take no exception at unmeaning expressions, uttered perhaps without consideration, and in the first transport of disappointed hope. Everybody, sir, who reasons, will acknowledge the advantages which we have derived from the French fleet, and the zeal of the commander of it; but in a free and Republican government you cannot restrain the voice of the multitude. Every man will speak as he thinks, or, more properly, without thinking, and consequently will judge of effects without attending to the causes. The censures which have been levelled at the officers of the French fleet would more than probably have fallen in a much higher degree upon a fleet of our own, if we had one in the same situation. It is the nature of man to be displeased with everything that disappoints a favourite hope or flattering project; and it is the folly of too many of them to condemn without investigating circumstances. Let me beseech you, therefore, my good sir, to afford a healing hand to the wound that unintentionally has been made."

Clinton's army had been a good deal weakened by numerous desertions during the march from Philadelphia, and after its arrival at New York; but it was still formidable, and was handled with energy and resolution. Several expeditions were sent out in various directions during the months of September and October, after the return of Sir Henry Clinton from Rhode Island. A large part of Pulaski's foreign legion was cut to pieces in Little Egg Harbour, on the coast of New Jersey, a noted rendezvous of privateers; and on the coasts of Massachusetts, as well as in other places, many American ships were taken or destroyed, many storehouses were burnt, and sheep and oxen were seized for the use of the army. At Old Tappan, in the State of New York, a body of American cavalry, sent out by Washington to observe the movements of the British, who were moving up both sides of the river Hudson, was routed, and a large number of the men were slain. The chief English commander in most of these expeditions was General Grey, afterwards Earl Grey, and father of the great statesman who carried the first Reform Bill. The desperate courage and energy of this officer were well known to the Americans, who gave him the designation of "the No-flint General," from his common practice of ordering his men to take the flints out of their muskets, and trust to their bayonets alone.* But these enterprises were only of secondary importance. Clinton was now bent on carrying the war into the Southern States, which as yet had felt but slightly the effects of the rupture between Great Britain and her colonies. His views on the subject were approved by the Home Government, and he despatched a body of three thousand five hundred men by sea to Georgia. The command of this army was conferred on General Prevost; but the greater part of its work was performed, under the able direction of Colonel Campbell, before the arrival of the superior officer. Savannah, the principal town of the State, was defended by the American General, Robert Howe, but without success. The city was speedily mastered; Augusta also was taken, and the whole province was reduced. It abounded in loyalists, who now took the oath of allegiance to the King in great numbers, and were enrolled into rifle-companies. A detachment of five thousand men was also sent from New York by General Clinton, in obedience to instructions from England, with a view to making an attack on St. Lucia, one of the French West India islands. Seven hundred troops were despatched to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, and three hundred to the Bermudas; so that Clinton's forces at New York were weakened to a very serious degree, as the General pointed out in a despatch of the 8th of October.


MONUMENT ERECTED AT WYOMING.

The proceedings of savage warriors chequered from time to time the more regular operations of civilised armies (if, indeed, any armies deserve that appellation), and always disastrously. In the early days of the struggle, Stuart, the British agent for negotiating with the Indians, induced the Creeks and Cherokees, by promises of rewards and assistance, to interrupt their friendly relations with Virginia and the Carolinas. Stuart, however, was unable to fulfil his engagements, and the Creeks were paralysed for want of proper support, after they had begun to move. Having implored pardon from the colonists, and obtained it, they refused a subsequent offer of alliance from the Cherokees; but the latter resolved to act on their own account when the expedition of Clinton and Parker against South Carolina, in 1776, gave them sufficient courage to wield the hatchet. Horrible ravages were committed by these barbarians on the Virginian and Carolinian frontiers; but, after the repulse of the British from Sullivan's Island, they were attacked by the combined forces of the provinces affected, and, being defeated in various engagements, were ultimately compelled to evacuate the territory, and take refuge in Florida. The English authorities, however, still continued to intrigue with the natives. Having more money than the Americans, who were equally willing to accept such aid, they were more successful than their rivals; so that the western frontiers, from the borders of Canada to the southern States, were at different periods devastated by the murderous inroads of these painted savages.

In 1778, the young settlement of Wyoming was the scene of a tragedy, which has since been made the subject of one of the most popular and pathetic poems of Campbell. Wyoming is situated on the Susquehannah, and at that period was in a very primitive condition. It was claimed both by Connecticut and Pennsylvania, but, though within the bounds of the latter, had been settled by emigrants from the former State, who had purchased their lands from the Indians. The colony contained upwards of a thousand families; but, unfortunately, they were not united in their political sympathies. The majority were in favour of the national cause, while a certain number supported the rule of England. The latter considered themselves harshly used, and, withdrawing from the settlement, sought refuge among the savages, or went to the British posts on the frontiers of Canada. They were under the general direction of Colonel John Butler, cousin of Zebulon Butler, who commanded the militia of Wyoming; and John Butler entered into intimate relations with the Indians, that he might promote the ends of his party. The remaining emigrants at Wyoming, suspecting danger, erected forts about their dwellings, and otherwise prepared for defence; but the Indians, after the manner of their race, protested that they meant no harm. On the 1st of July, however, a hostile force, consisting of three hundred red men, under their own chiefs, and upwards of a thousand Royalists, painted like savages, and commanded by John Butler, got possession of two of the forts. Zebulon Butler, with an armed force, and a number of women and children, retired into the principal fort, and, in answer to a summons to surrender, proposed a conference. A place at some distance from the fort was agreed on, and, at the head of four hundred men, Zebulon Butler proceeded thither, but found none of the opposite party. At the foot of a mountain, still farther off, he saw a flag displayed, and moved towards it; but it retired as he advanced. This should have made him suspect treachery; but with unquestioning good faith he still went on until he found himself surrounded by armed foes, who fired into the party of Republicans. The latter fought for some time with signal courage, but at length retreated to their place of refuge, leaving behind, either dead or wounded, by far the greater number of those who had sallied forth. Next day, the victors invested Fort Kingston; and, on Colonel Dennison, the commandant at that place, sending out a flag of truce to inquire what terms would be granted to the garrison on surrendering, John Butler savagely replied, "The hatchet!" In sheer desperation, Dennison fought till most of his men were either killed or wounded, when he surrendered at discretion. John Butler selected a few prisoners for preservation; shut up the rest, with the women and children, in the houses and barracks; and, setting fire to the buildings, literally burnt them alive. Others, in the remaining fort, were similarly treated; the country round was desolated with sword and flame; and three thousand persons, in a state of miserable destitution, fled for their lives through the surrounding woods.

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* Earl Stanhope's History of England, chap. 58.

The chief of the savages on this detestable expedition was a half-caste named Joseph Brandt, who had acquired a great name as a partisan leader. As some slight mitigation of the horrible crime committed by him and his associate, John Butler, it should not be forgotten that, for some time previous to their removal, the loyalists had been treated with great rigour by the opposite party, and made to suffer severely for their opinions both in pocket and person. Another massacre, under the direction of the same John Butler, took place at the small settlement of Cherry Valley, in the State of New York, on the 11th and 12th of November, but the Americans were by this time roused to action in their own defence. They sent several expeditions against remote Indian towns and outlying British settlements, and repaid in kind the injuries they had received. The most remarkable of these enterprises was that conducted by Colonel George Rogers Clarke, of Virginia. This energetic soldier took with him some of the western militia of his State, and, by a very protracted and wearisome march, penetrated to the British settlements on the Mississippi, and took the town of Kaskaskia, a dependency of Canada. Notwithstanding his success, his position was one of great peril; for he was a long way from assistance, and surrounded by many hostile tribes. Winter was approaching, with all the cruel severities of those regions; but Clarke, resolving not to turn back until he had fully accomplished his purpose, attacked the Indians in their villages with so much skill and vehemence as to strike terror far and wide.

While he was at Kaskaskia, Clarke seized on the written instructions which had been sent to the Governor from Quebec and Detroit with reference to the conduct of the war on those frontiers. It appeared from these papers that Colonel Hamilton, Governor of the latter of those cities, was engaged in many plans of Indian warfare; and in the month of December this officer advanced to St. Vincent, on the Wabash, in order to act against Clarke, and along the whole western line of Virginia. Colonel Clarke did the best he could to fortify himself at Kaskaskia; but, hearing shortly afterwards that Hamilton had sent off all his Indians on one of their devastating expeditions, and was himself posted at St. Vincent, with no stronger guard than about eighty soldiers, having three field-pieces and some swivels, he determined to attack him. He could himself muster about a hundred and thirty men—a small number, but superior to the force at Hamilton's disposal. He began his operations in February, 1779, when he sent up the Wabash a small galley, mounting two four-pounders and four swivels, manned with a company of soldiers, with orders to take up a station a few miles below St. Vincent, and to allow nothing to pass. With the rest of his little band he marched across the country between Kaskaskia and St. Vincent, forcing his toilsome way through woods and marshes, and often, when passing the drowned lands of the Wabash, being compelled to wade up to the breast in water. At length, after an interval of sixteen days, Clarke appeared before the object of his attack, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants, who at once submitted. Hamilton at first defended himself in the fort, but on the following day gave up himself and his garrison prisoners of war. He was considered by the Council of Virginia so great a criminal, owing to the atrocities of the Indians which he had incited and encouraged, that they threw him and some of his agents into prison, loaded with irons.

Clarke is entitled to the highest credit for the valour and judgment with which he conducted this expedition. It was a service to the country of no slight importance, for it destroyed the whole of Colonel Hamilton's projects, and discouraged the predatory raids of the Indians. The temptation to employ the savages was doubtless great; and it was a temptation which neither side had the courage and moral grandeur entirely to forego. But it was probably the English who first thought of these base allies as sources of power in the conduct of the war; and it was certainly they who chiefly made advances to the heroes of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. The whole narrative forms a discreditable passage of history, over which humanity shudders, and which she would willingly forget.

CHAPTER XLI.

Washington at Fredericksburg—His Troops put into Winter Quarters—Disposition of the Army—Admiral Byron's unsuccessful Attempts to engage d'Estaing—Washington on the Defective Composition of Congress—Abuses in the Federal Government—Recall of Silas Deane from Paris, and Despatch of John Adams as his Successor—Charges against Deane—His Quarrel with Congress—Thomas Paine and M. Gérard—Resignation of Henry Laurens—Vices of the American People—Lafayette in France—Project of Congress for the Subjugation of Canada—Washington opposed to it—The Plan abandoned—D'Estaing's Proclamation to the Canadians—Doubts as to its Objects and Intention—Agitated State of England—Paul Jones; his Origin and Career—Exploits by him on the Coasts of England and Scotland—His Capture of Two English Frigates—The American Campaign of 1779—Disordered State of Affairs in the Southern States—General Lincoln proceeds to the South—Prevost and Lincoln on the Savannah—Attempt to influence the Loyalists on the Western Frontiers—Disastrous March—Defeat of the American Colonel Ashe at Briar Creek—Vigorous Efforts of South Carolina to recover Georgia for the Union—March of General Lincoln—Prevost invades South Carolina, and Lincoln Georgia—Unsuccessful Attempt of Prevost to take Charleston—Retreat of the British to St. John's—Engagement at Stono Ferry—Further Retreat of the British, and Close of the Campaign.

Under an apprehension with regard to the Eastern States, consequent on the operations of General Grey along the coasts of New England, Washington had, in September, 1778, shifted his camp from White Plains to Fredericksburg, situated thirty miles from West Point, near the borders of Connecticut; had detached Generals Gates and M'Dougall to Danbury, in that State, that they might be in readiness to move as circumstances should require; and had sent General Putnam to West Point, to watch the passes in the highlands bordering on the Hudson. When it was ascertained that the enemy had no designs in those localities, the divisions were recalled, and Washington prepared to put his troops into winter quarters. He disposed of them in various directions at widely-separated points, but in such a way that a line of cantonments was formed around New York from Long Island Sound to Delaware, and that each division was capable of reinforcing others in case of an attack on any one point.* At the same time, General Lincoln was sent by order of Congress to take command of the Southern department. The greater number of Washington's troops were posted on the west side of the Hudson; but the east side also was carefully guarded. The soldiers were lodged in huts, as in the preceding winter; but the sufferings of that dreadful time were not now

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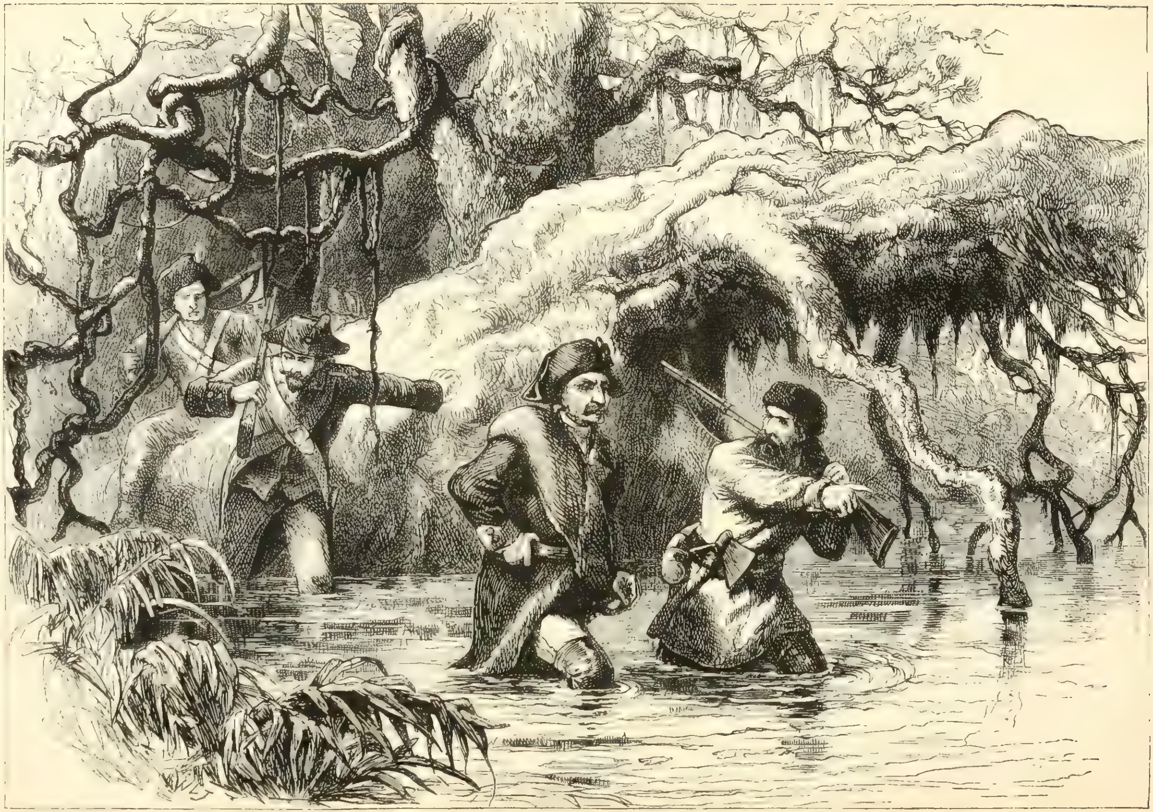
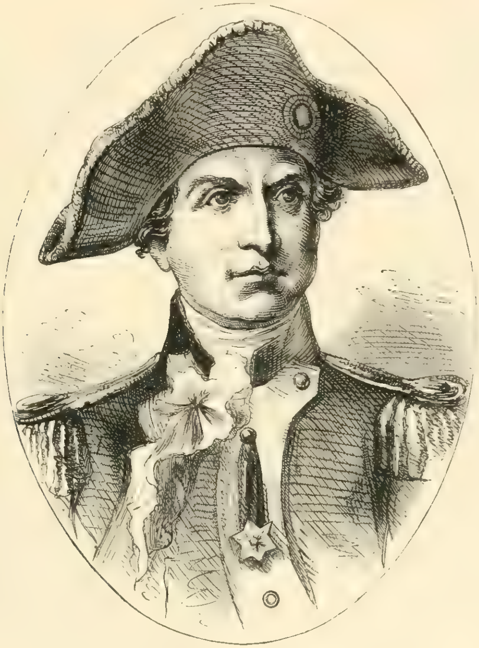
* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 11.



CLARKE AND HIS SOLDIERS CROSSING THE WABASH.

repeated. The organisation of the army had improved; the prospects of the country were much more hopeful than they had been a year before; the United States had been recognised by France, and that Power had sent a fleet to co-operate with the struggling nationality, and keep the English ships in check. In this respect, indeed, the Americans were now better off than their rivals. The fleet under Lord Howe was not very strong, nor in good condition. A reinforcement had been despatched from England under Admiral Byron; but the weather in the Atlantic was so boisterous during the summer months that the vessels were delayed, and finally dispersed. It was not until the 18th of October that Byron, having once more brought his ships together at New York, was ready to put to sea in search of d'Estaing. Nor did his misfortunes cease then. In the Bay of Boston he was again overtaken by a violent storm, which disabled his ships, and compelled him to go to Rhode Island to refit; and, during his absence, d'Estaing set sail on the 3rd of November, and escaped to the West Indies. In some respects, the fortunes of the Americans, towards the end of 1778, were looking brighter than those of the mother country.


PAUL JONES.

During the comparative repose of winter, Washington had leisure to give a little more attention to political subjects, which always interested him, even when he was least able, by reason of his military occupations, to consider them deeply. He had for some time observed that the great national leaders—the men most renowned for character and abilities—were absenting themselves from Congress, which had in consequence become greatly reduced in numbers and impaired in reputation. It had sometimes happened, during the year then approaching its close, that scarcely five-and-twenty delegates were present for the despatch of business; thirty was considered a good average attendance; and several of the States were frequently unrepresented altogether. This condition seemed to Washington not a little alarming; and, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, dated December 30th, 1778, he set forth his views at some length. "It appears," he remarked, "as clear to me as ever the sun did in its meridian brightness, that America never stood in more eminent need of the wise, patriotic, and spirited exertions of her sons than at this period; . . . . that the States, separately, are too much engaged in their own concerns, and have too many of their ablest men withdrawn from the general council, for the good of the common weal." He went on to give it as his opinion that each State should not only choose its ablest men for sitting in Congress, but should compel their attendance there, with instructions to go into a thorough investigation of the causes that had produced so many bad effects in the army and in the country. "Without this," he added, "it does not in my judgment require the spirit of divination to foretell the consequences of the present administration; nor to how little purpose the States individually are framing constitutions, providing laws, and filling offices with the abilities of their ablest men. These, if the great whole is mismanaged, must sink in the general wreck, which will carry with it the remorse of thinking that we are lost by our own folly and negligence, or by the desire, perhaps, of living in ease and tranquillity during the expected accomplishment of so great a revolution, in the effecting of which the greatest abilities, and the most honest men our American world affords, ought to be employed. It is much to be feared that the States, in their separate capacities, have very inadequate ideas of the present danger. Many persons removed far distant from the scene of action, and seeing and hearing such publications only as flatter their wishes, conceive that the contest is at an end, and that to regulate the government and police of their own State is all that remains to be done; but it is devoutly to be wished that a sad reverse of this may not fall upon them like a thunder-clap, that is little expected."

There was a general impression, according to Washington, that the States were badly represented in Congress, and that the great affairs of the nation were consequently ill-conducted, for want of abilities or application in the members, or through the discordant jealousies of party. The eyes of Europe, he observed, were on them; and he was persuaded that many political spies were watching the course of things, with intent to disclose their weaknesses and wants. This, in the opinion of the writer, was the more to be regretted, as they were then far advanced in the dispute, and, as many persons believed, drawing towards a happy termination. Congress at that time, as appears from other contemporary records, shone but little in debate. The speeches were desultory and conversational. Of oratorical power there was scarcely any; of personal quarrels and vituperative altercations, there were not a few. Lafayette, who had returned for awhile to France, wrote to Washington in the course of the following year, earnestly imploring him to prevent the gentlemen in Congress from disputing so loudly together, as nothing so much hurt the interests and reputation of America. A nation was in the course of being made; and these were the pangs and convulsions which attended its gestation. As yet, loyalty to the State was much greater than loyalty to the Union; indeed, it is curious to observe how warmly the former sentiment was cherished, in some quarters, down to the period of the late civil war. The United States arose out of a somewhat arbitrary or accidental combination of a number of distinct communities, each having a character of its own that was almost national; and the desire of many was to preserve this character from absorption in the higher life of a Federal Republic. Hence the preference for serving in the local Parliaments, rather than in the great collective Council, wherein Virginia and Massachusetts, New York and the Carolinas, Pennsylvania and Maryland, were lost in the mightier commonwealth.

The party divisions and imbecility of Congress were seen in the difficulties attending the removal of Silas Deane from his post as American agent at Paris. Deane was a man of indifferent character, and he had given offence to Congress by appointing a number of Frenchmen and other foreigners to positions of rank in the American army, without any authority for doing so. Lafayette was one of the officers thus appointed, and Congress demurred a good deal about sanctioning the rank which had been conferred on him. In some cases they actually refused to ratify the nominations of their representative, and in the autumn and early winter of 1777 the conduct of Deane was the subject of frequent discussion. Members, however, could not make up their minds openly to censure the man whom several of them secretly condemned, but, at length, after some motions of a severe character had been set aside, appointed John Adams to succeed him, at the same time resolving to direct the offending person "to embrace the first opportunity of returning to America, and upon his arrival to repair with all possible despatch to Congress." According to this, no precise time for the return of Deane was fixed, and no expression of displeasure was conveyed. But that his integrity was strongly doubted by some is shown by a phrase occurring in a letter from James Lovell, a member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, earnestly requesting

Adams to accept the commission which Congress had resolved on offering. "We want," said Lovell, "one man of inflexible integrity on the embassy." Franklin's great age inspired alarm, and some of the other agents besides Deane were regarded with suspicion. Count de Vergennes—unjustly, as it would appear—distrusted the fidelity of Arthur Lee to such an extent that he demanded the exclusion of that gentleman from intelligence communicated to his colleagues. Adams accepted the post, sailed from America on the 13th of February, 1778, and arrived at Paris on the 8th of April following. His stay was not very prolonged, and we may here anticipate a little by stating that, having advised the separation of the diplomatic from the commercial and pecuniary transactions of the Republic, and Franklin being in consequence made sole Minister at the French Court, Adams found himself without any definite duties, and returned to his native land in the summer of 1779.

But, between the departure of John Adams and his return, Congress had again been troubled by the alleged misconduct of Deane. On the arrival of that gentleman in America, in the course of 1778, he asked to be heard in his defence; but he was not able to remove the bad impression produced by the testimony of others. Nevertheless, Congress hesitated as to what should be done. Deane was required to produce his papers, and replied—certainly with plausibility, if not with sufficient reason—that, having been simply superseded, without any intimation of a charge against him, he had not thought it necessary to bring his papers, and had therefore left them behind. Exasperated by what he considered, or professed to consider, the cruel treatment of Congress (though Congress really shrank from taking any positive steps in the matter), Silas Deane published in a newspaper an appeal to the people of the United States, in which he accused the Federal Legislature of injustice, and insinuated serious charges against his former colleagues in France, Arthur and William Lee. This production was answered by Thomas Paine (then in the employ of Congress), but with so much indiscretion that he divulged the fact of France having, while still professing friendship for England, sent over large sums of money to America in aid of the rebellion. M. Gérard, at that time the French Minister at Philadelphia, protested against the statement with much warmth; and Congress felt obliged to declare that they had not authorised Paine's assertions, that they highly disapproved of them, and that they entirely disbelieved the allegation that the King of France had prefaced his alliance by the sending of supplies. It is of course impossible to credit this disavowal; but it was rendered necessary by imperative reasons of State. The whole controversy exhibited the deplorable weakness of the Legislature; and it led, among other results, to the resignation, on the 9th of December, 1778, of the President of Congress, Henry Laurens, after he had held office for rather more than a year. Conceiving that the majority of the Assembly had not sufficiently resented Silas Deane's appeal to the country, he declined any longer to preside over their deliberations.

We are accustomed to think of the Americans of the revolutionary epoch as of a set of simple-natured, plain-living, heroic beings, not yet tainted by the corruptions of a too luxurious civilisation. Doubtless this was true of many of them; but there were numerous exceptions. The colonies had for several years enjoyed a large and opulent trade; riches had accumulated in many centres; and the usual effects of wealth were seen in America as well as in Europe. Puritan writers of even a hundred years earlier had lamented the growing voluptuousness of New England society;* and another century had now taken away still more from the rugged sternness of primitive times. We have seen that John Adams imputed vicious and effeminate habits to the Americans of his day. Washington spoke with even greater distinctness on this subject. In the letter to Mr. Harrison already cited, he observed that, although their money was sinking fifty per cent. a day in Philadelphia (where he was then staying), an assembly, a concert, a dinner, or a supper, that would cost three or four hundred pounds, would take men away, not only from business, but from the very thoughts of it; and he confessed that he felt more distress at the existing state of things, on account of these tendencies, than he had done at any one time since the commencement of the dispute. "If," he wrote, with a bitterness which nothing but facts is likely to have drawn from his equable nature, "if I were to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of men from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say, that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of them; that speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches, seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and of almost every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day; whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequence is the want of everything, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, and from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect."

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* See Vol. I., p. 300, of this History.

Washington's presence in Philadelphia in the closing days of 1778 was due to his desire to discuss personally with the members of Congress a project which found great favour with most of them, but which did not at all recommend itself to the more judicious mind of the Commander-in-Chief. The small band of legislators had in fact conceived the idea of a renewed expedition against Canada. It appeared to them that while the British forces were so much scattered,—some even being entirely removed from the continent in the prosecution of hostilities against the French West India islands,—such an enterprise might be attended with better results than on the previous occasion. The plan was formed in concert with the Marquis de Lafayette, and one of the objects of that nobleman's visit to his own country was to obtain from the Court of Versailles, if he could effect as much, the co-operation of a French fleet and army. The reception of Lafayette in Paris was most flattering. The youth against whom, less than two years before, a *lettre de cachet* had been issued, and who had been pursued by Royal vessels in the vain hope of intercepting him, was now, under the altered aspects of French policy with reference to America, a species of hero whom every one delighted to honour. He was consulted by all the Ministers and embraced by all the ladies, and seems to have thought more of the latter testimony than of the former. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in persuading the French Government that it was any part of their policy to aid the United States in acquiring Canada. France was willing to do much in helping the Federation to establish its independence; but she was not disposed to shed her blood in conquering for that Federation a territory which had once been her own.

While Lafayette was absent, the members of Congress continued to think over their scheme; and, when fully matured, it was sent to Washington, with a request for his opinion. He replied by declaring that the plan was impracticable; that it would require more men and money than could be furnished; and that it would involve Congress in engagements to their ally which it would be impossible to fulfil. He saw no hope of such an enterprise succeeding; and, if it succeeded, it might be the source of many dangers. Supposing France to subjugate Canada, she would probably, as it seemed to Washington, be desirous of retaining it. Her possession of that province would give her a dominant position on the continent of America, would enable her to engross the whole trade of Newfoundland, and would afford facilities for aweing and controlling the young Republic. France, argued the General, had for some time past been the most powerful monarchy in Europe by land; by herself, she was able to dispute with England the empire of the sea; in conjunction with Spain, she would be superior. Such a Power, possessed of New Orleans to the right of the Republic, and of Canada to the left, with the support of numerous tribes of Indians (whom she had always known how to conciliate) in the rear from one extremity to the other, would be in a position to give law to the United States. Washington thought he could read in the countenances of some French people more than the disinterested zeal of allies. He did not doubt the good faith of France in the alliance she had formed; but he pointed to the universal experience of mankind as supporting the maxim that no nation is to be trusted further than it is bound by self-interest. If France should engage in the scheme, even with the purest intentions, there was great danger that, in pursuing it, she would alter her views, incited thereto by circumstances, and perhaps urged on by the solicitations of the Canadians. "To waive every other consideration," said Washington in conclusion, "I do not like to add to the number of our national obligations. I would wish as much as possible to avoid giving a foreign Power new claims of merit for services performed to the United States, and would ask no assistance that is not indispensable."* It can hardly be questioned that the judgment of the Commander-in-Chief was wise, and that his reasonings were sound and statesmanlike. The authors of the scheme, however, were reluctant to give it up. They modified and contracted the original plan, without making it any the more acceptable to their far-sighted critic. On the 24th of December, Washington arrived at Philadelphia, that he might explain his views more at large than he could do in a letter; and, in the end, the project was abandoned altogether.

That France was unwilling to conquer Canada for the benefit of the United States is certain, and indeed so natural that it scarcely stands in need of proof. Whether she was equally indifferent to repossessing it herself is not so clear. Before sailing to the West Indies, d'Estaing had issued a proclamation to the people of Canada, which, however much the construction may have been denied, looks like a covert incentive to those provincials to return to their old allegiance. If such was really its intention, and if the proclamation was issued with the knowledge of the French Court (which, however, has been contradicted), a flagrant violation of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States was committed, or at least contemplated. By the fifth article of that treaty, it was provided that any territory conquered by the United States in the northern parts of America should be confederated with, or dependent upon, those States; and by the sixth article the King of France renounced the possession of any part of the continent of North America which, before the Peace of 1763, or in virtue of that Peace, was acknowledged as belonging to Great Britain. In his proclamation to the Canadians, d'Estaing said:—"I will not attempt to convince a whole people,—for a whole people, when they acquire the right to think and act, know their own interest,—that to connect themselves with the United States is to secure their own happiness; but I will declare, as I now formally do, in the name of his Majesty, who has given me authority and instructions to that effect, that all his former subjects in North America, who will no longer recognise the supremacy of England, may rely on his protection and support." Adopting a metaphor which could hardly have been agreeable to his Anglo-American allies, d'Estaing said to the Canadians:—"To bear the arms of parricides against your mother country, must be the completion of misfortunes." Although these sentences contain no direct and unequivocal invitation to the Canadians to place themselves again under French rule, it is difficult not to see in them a suggestion to that effect, or to avoid suspecting that they formed one of those instances of "more than disinterested zeal" which awoke the jealous distrust of Washington.* Whatever the real object of the proclamation, however, it must be admitted that, as events turned out, France made no attempt to recover the North American province which she had lost.

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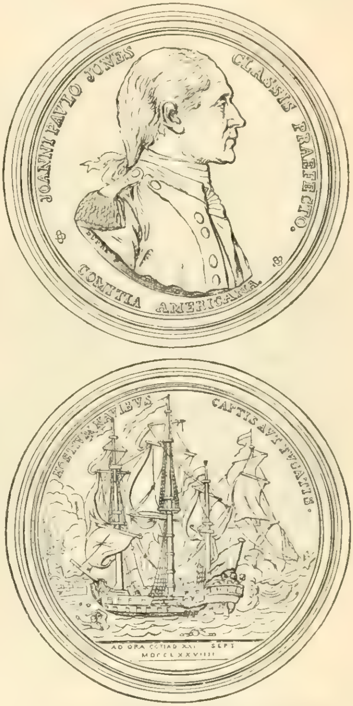
* Letter to the President of Congress, Nov. 14th, 1778.

Affairs in England were in a very agitated and unsatisfactory state during the progress of these events in America. It was not long ere Spain, after a specious offer of conciliatory mediation between Great Britain and France, openly joined the ranks of England's enemies. The country was excited by preparations for war on a vast scale, and rent in pieces by opposing parties, by conflicting principles, and by personal quarrels which even found their way into the navy, and lowered its character and efficiency. It was at this time that the British coasts were first ravaged by an American seaman, whose name has since become famous, and whose career forms part of the romance of naval warfare. Paul Jones was a Scotchman, the son of a market-gardener named Paul. He was born in 1747 in the vicinity of the Solway Frith, and, being accustomed to the sight of shipping from his childhood, acquired in this way a passion for the sea. While yet a boy, he became a sailor in the merchant service, and went to America. An elder brother was married and settled in Virginia, and he soon felt so great an attachment to the New World as to make it his adopted country. When the insurrectionary war broke out, he took his stand with the patriots; and, on its being determined by Congress to fit up a naval force, Jones, then a



MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF PAUL JONES.

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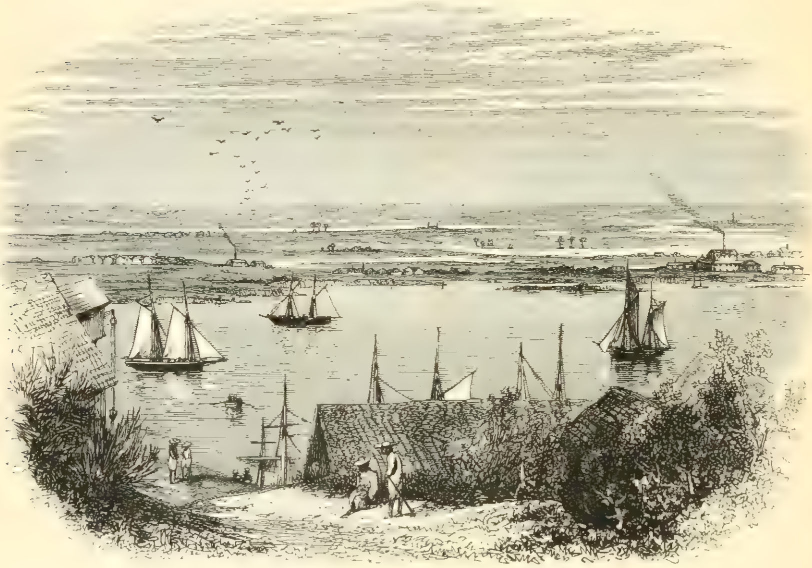
* The writer of a very able criticism on the "History of England" of Earl Stanhope (then Lord Mahon), which appeared in the *North American Review* for July, 1852, repudiates this idea of the proclamation, but for reasons which do not seem conclusive.

vigorous young man of twenty-eight, was appointed first lieutenant of the *Alfred*, on board which ship he hoisted with his own hands, for the first time it had ever been displayed in a national ship, the flag of independent America. He was soon advanced to the rank of Captain, and in 1778 sailed for Europe, to revenge on the shores of his native country the injuries which British ships had inflicted on the coasts of the United States. After staying for awhile in the Solway Frith, close to the spot where he was born, he rowed with thirty-one volunteers in two boats to the coast of Cumberland, and in the harbour of Whitehaven set fire to three vessels, and spiked a large number of cannon in the guard-room of the fort. In the course of four weeks—at the end of which time he sailed for Brest—this daring seaman had destroyed many valuable ships, thrown the coasts of Scotland and Ireland into a fever of alarm, occasioned the Irish volunteers to be embodied, and compelled the English Government to expend a considerable sum of money in fortifying the harbours.*

In the following year, Jones returned to the British seas, at the head of a small squadron, and with the rank of Commodore. Sailing first to the Frith of Forth, he threatened Edinburgh and Leith, to their great alarm. Afterwards, off Scarborough, he fell in with the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, escorted by the frigates *Scarborough* and *Serapis*. Both these vessels he took, after an obstinate and sanguinary engagement, fought on the 23rd of September, 1779. The Commodore carried his prizes into the ports of Holland, and was complimented with a message from the King of France, who, through his Ambassador at the Hague, expressed his high personal esteem for the Americanised Scotch adventurer. By this exploit, Paul Jones was enabled to effect the release of the American prisoners in England, who were exchanged for the officers and seamen taken with the two frigates. The naval battles of this able and courageous sailor formed the commencement of a series of desperate achievements in which the United States gathered great renown.



VIEW FROM SAVANNAH, LOOKING OVER RICE-FIELDS.

The American campaign of 1779 has been described as a very languid one. It is chiefly distinguished as having taken place rather in the

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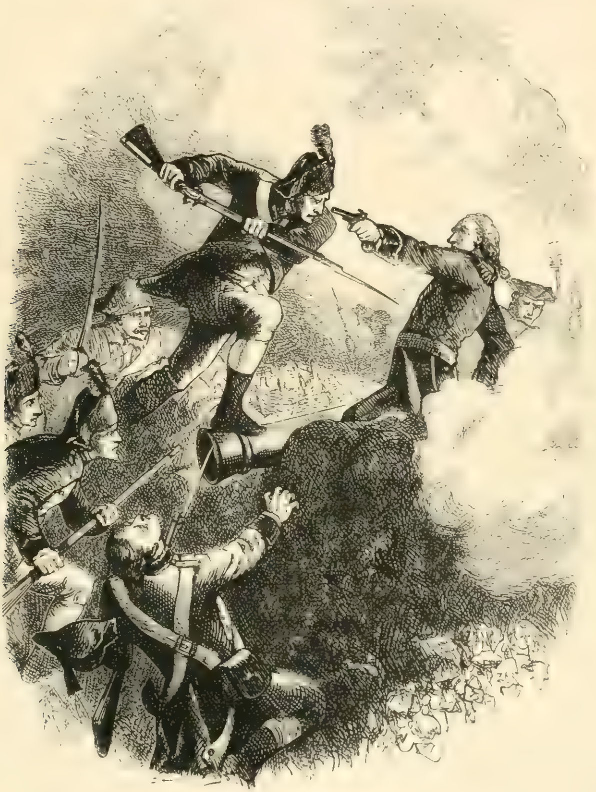
* American Naval Biography, by John Frost LL.D. Philadelphia, 1844.

Southern than in the Northern States, though the latter also felt the scourge of war in more than one locality. After the defeat of Howe in Georgia, much was hoped from the greater experience of General Lincoln, who was appointed to the command in that quarter. Towards the end of 1778, Lincoln proceeded to Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, where he found affairs in great disorder. Congress had established no military chest for the Southern Department, so that the troops were dependent on the several State Governments for supplies, and were thus separated to an injurious degree from Federal control. This was the case even with the Continental regiments; and the militia, though taken into Continental pay, considered themselves subject only to the military code of the province to which they belonged. Lincoln immediately addressed himself to the reform of these abuses. In a little while, North Carolina sent two thousand men to Charleston; but they were not provided with arms, and Congress had no magazines in that part of the Union. It was some time ere these could be furnished by South Carolina; but at length the forces of General Lincoln were equipped, and they set forth towards Georgia. On their march they met with the scattered remains of the defeated army which had been commanded by Howe. Lincoln established his head-quarters at Purysburg on the 3rd of January, 1779, at which time he had under his command between three and



THE ASSAULT ON STONY POINT.

four thousand men. Several of these, however, were raw troops, while the opposing forces of General Prevost were not only rather more numerous, but were greatly superior in discipline.

The design of the English commander was to cross the Savannah from Georgia into South Carolina. That river, running east and west, separates the one State from the other; but, although its channel is not wide, it is a stream difficult for an army to encounter, because of the broad belt of marsh-land on each side, extending a hundred miles towards the source, and presenting the utmost perplexities to a large body of men. The bordering country is often inundated to a width of nearly four miles, and the vast, swampy expanse cannot be passed except on a few narrow causeways, fit only for a small number of persons at a time. But the same obstacle which withheld Prevost from attacking Lincoln, prevented Lincoln from marching against Prevost. The antagonists were separated by the river, and the river was not to be crossed. Under these circumstances, General Prevost sent a detachment to take the island of Port Royal; but the attempt was defeated by General Moultrie, the defender of Sullivan's Island. The operations of the British were thus brought to a pause, during which attempts were made to work upon the colonists themselves. In that part of America, many loyalists were to be found among the population. These especially abounded in the western counties of the three southern provinces—in those wild lands where men were little influenced by the new theories of political right and democratic government which had for some generations been elaborated in the intellectual circles of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other leading towns in the older parts of the Union. On hearing of the successes of the British in Georgia, the frontier loyalists were emboldened to move in defence of their principles. Emissaries were despatched to their settlements, to invite them to join the King's standard at Augusta, in Georgia, and about seven hundred embodied themselves, and proceeded towards that town from the back parts of South Carolina. Only three hundred, however, reached the British camp. They had supported themselves on the march by plunder, and had in consequence excited so much detestation that they found enemies wherever they came. Attacked by the militia, they were defeated with great slaughter; some were afterwards executed as traitors, and others punished with less severity. The western loyalists were for a time effectually checked.

The British post at Augusta was abandoned in February, and the detachment under Colonel Campbell removed to Hudson's Ferry, twenty-four miles from Ebenezer, where the main body was then stationed. The American army had by this time been reinforced, and Lincoln, considering that he was now strong enough to assume the offensive, detached General Ashe to take post opposite Augusta. It was hoped in this way to contract the area of the enemy's operations, and to intercept all communication with the Indians, and with the settlers in the west. Finding Augusta evacuated, Ashe crossed the river, marched down the southern bank, and posted himself near the point where Briar Creek falls into the Savannah, and forms an acute angle with the larger stream. Thus situated, he had the marshes on his left, while his front was protected by Briar Creek. The position was one not difficult to defend, yet Ashe found himself unable to defend it. General Prevost distracted the attention of his opponent by making a pretence ot crossing the river, while with nine hundred picked men he passed Briar Creek, fifteen miles above the American station, and suddenly burst upon the enemy's rear. Unfortunately for General Ashe, the greater number of his troops consisted of militia, most of whom threw down their arms without firing a shot, and rushed into the marsh, or into the river, where many of them were drowned. The rest, after a vain struggle, in which for a little while they fought with much courage, were compelled to submit. So complete was the discomfiture of the militia that many returned to their homes, and Ashe's division was almost entirely dispersed, thus depriving Lincoln of a fourth part of his army. The communications of the English General with the Indians and the back settlements were now fully restored, and the quiet possession of Georgia seemed so certain that Prevost issued a proclamation establishing civil government in the province, appointing executive and judicial officers, and declaring that the laws existing at the close of 1775 were in force, and would so continue until they should be altered by the Legislature which was afterwards to be assembled.

The danger, however, was not at an end. The South Carolinians were determined to persevere in their attempt to recover Georgia for the Union. John Rutledge was elected Governor, and to him and his Council were given almost dictatorial powers. A reinforcement of militia, to the extent of one thousand, was sent to General Lincoln, who on the 23rd of April marched up the Savannah with the main body of his army, and, although the river was much flooded, and the water out over the marshes, prepared to cross to the southern shore. Prevost considered that the best way of encountering this threatened invasion was by sending a detachment of his own army into South Carolina. On the 29th of April, therefore, he passed the river near Purysburg, at the head of two thousand five hundred troops, and a considerable number of Indians. Moultrie, who had been left at Black Swamp with eight hundred militia and two hundred regulars, retired before him, breaking down the bridges in his rear. Numbers of men deserted; nothing was done to defend the passes; the State militia did not take up arms; and the position of South Carolina seemed desperate. Moultrie sent an express to Lincoln, then nearly opposite Augusta; but the latter would not permit himself to be turned aside from his enterprise, and, having sent a small reinforcement to Moultrie, he crossed the Savannah, and marched eastward along the southern bank towards the town of the same name. In the meanwhile, Prevost pursued his way into South Carolina, and, meeting with little opposition from the Republicans, and much encouragement from the loyalists, changed his original design of a mere incursion, with a view to drawing off Lincoln from Georgia, into a regular invasion of the neighbouring State, in the hope of taking Charleston, which was wholly undefended towards the land. After halting for two or three days, to mature his plans, he pushed on towards the capital. The troops greatly misconducted themselves on the march. Houses were ransacked of money and personal effects, and that which could not be carried away was wantonly destroyed. Moultrie could do nothing to prevent the advance of the invading troops, beyond breaking down the bridges. He sent express after express to Lincoln, but received no further reinforcements.

The delay in Prevost's march gave the people of Charleston time to throw up extemporary fortifications on the land side, and to concentrate troops in the city. When Moultrie had arrived there, the position was far from weak. General Prevost reached the ferry of the river Ashley, close to the city, on the 10th of May. On the following morning he passed that stream, and, marching along the narrow peninsula, between the Ashley and the Cooper, on which Charleston is built, came within reach of the guns on the fortifications. A summons to surrender was sent in on the 12th, and Rutledge entered into negotiations, with a view to gaining more time. It was proposed that South Carolina should be rendered neutral during the war, and that its ultimate fate should be determined by the treaty of peace; but Prevost replied that the garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war. This was refused, and the Carolinians expected an immediate attack. But Prevost had discovered that the place was too strong to be assailed by the small force which he commanded; and during the night of the 12th he retired, fearing lest he should be attacked in the rear by Lincoln, who, as he was now informed, was marching against him. The number of loyalists in the State had proved to be far fewer than he was led to suppose, and he found himself in a position of some danger. His retreat, however, was adroitly managed. Apprehending that he might encounter the army of General Lincoln, which was greatly superior in number to his own, he turned to the east, and proceeded along the coast. For a time he made a stand in the island of St. John, and there awaited the reinforcements which he was expecting from New York.

The island so designated is separated from the continent by a narrow piece of water, called the river Stono. On the mainland, where a ferry was established for communication with the detached territory, Prevost stationed a number of his men, to cover the island and protect the foragers. The post itself was defended by three redoubts, joined by connecting lines; and a bridge of boats was thrown over from shore to shore. The troops on the mainland amounted to fifteen hundred, and Lincoln, knowing that they could be at once supported by those on the island, forbore from making any attack as long as Prevost remained at St. John's. But, on the English General leaving, and the garrison at Stono Ferry being reduced to seven hundred, Lincoln perceived that a favourable opportunity was presented for offensive operations. Some troops still remained on the island; but nearly all the boats had been removed, so that intercommunication was no longer easy. It was arranged between Lincoln and Moultrie that the latter should pass over to James's Island with a body of militia, and engage the attention of the troops on St. John's, while the former should attack the post at the ferry. The action took place on the 20th of June. At the head of twelve hundred men, Lincoln advanced to the assault about seven o'clock in the morning. He was encountered by two companies of Highlanders, who fought against superior numbers with dogged courage, but were at length compelled to retreat under shelter. The combat was renewed immediately before the lines, and the Americans, at one time, seemed on the very point of getting within the enclosure. This was prevented, and Lincoln, finding that Moultrie, for want of boats, was unable to render him any support, retired in good order, carrying his wounded with him. In consequence of this battle, the British evacuated Stono Ferry and the island of St. John on the 23rd of June, and retired to Beaufort, in the island of Port Royal. The American commander established his head-quarters at Shelden, not far off; and the summer heats now rendered further operations impossible. A large number of slaves had been liberated by the English during the campaign, and, in zeal for their new friends, had shown them where the valuables of their former masters were concealed. Many of these died of camp-fever; others perished of hunger in the woods, being afraid to return to the plantations. South Carolina is believed to have lost in this way four thousand of her slaves, besides a large amount of other property; yet the gain to England was literally nothing.

CHAPTER XLII.

Naval and Military Expedition to Chesapeake Bay—Destruction of American Stores—Washington's Plans for the Campaign of 1779—Defensive Operations to be mainly relied on—Financial Embarrassments—John Jay President of Congress—Reorganisation of the Army—General Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians of the Six Nations—Defeat of the Savages, and Resignation of Sullivan—Taking of American Forts at Stony Point and Verplank's Point by the English—Movements of Washington for the Defence of the Hudson—Expedition of General Tryon to the Shores of Connecticut, and sacking of various Towns—Washington's plan for the Recovery of Stony Point—The Fort attacked by General Wayne, and taken—Results of the Action—Failure of an Attack on Fort Lafayette—Stony Point evacuated by the Americans, and re-occupied by the English—General M'Lean besieged by the Americans at Penobscot—Flight of the Besiegers on the Approach of an English Fleet—Temporary Seizure of a Post at Paulus Hook—Affairs in the South—Siege of Savannah by d'Estaing and Lincoln—Attempt to Storm the Works—The Siege raised—Clever Exploit on the Ogeeche.

The change in the seat of operations, from the Northern to the Southern States, had not justified the expectations that were formed of it. Much valour had been shown by the British troops; some skill had been exhibited by the Generals; yet the South was as far from being vanquished as the North. It was now resolved to send an armament to Virginia, with the intention of interrupting the commerce of Chesapeake Bay, and destroying the magazines on its shores. The fleet on the North American station had, for a short time after the departure of Lord Howe, been commanded by Admiral Gambier, who was succeeded in April by Sir George Collier. Clinton and Collier together concerted a plan for entering the Chesapeake with a mixed military and naval force, which, by a series of rapid movements, was to act at several points in quick succession. One thousand eight hundred men were placed by Clinton under the orders of General Matthews; and the fleet appointed to carry them, and to take part in their operations, was convoyed by the Admiral himself. The Capes of Virginia were reached on the 8th of May, three days after the vessels had left Sandy Hook, in the vicinity of New York. After anchoring for awhile in Hampton Roads, the fleet entered the river Elizabeth on the morning of the 10th, and struck so much consternation into the American troops stationed in that locality that they immediately took to flight. General Matthews established his head-quarters at Portsmouth, and sent out small parties to Norfolk, Gosport, Kemp's Landing, and Suffolk. Large quantities of naval and military stores, and a number of valuable ships, were either taken or destroyed, and General Matthews returned to New York before the end of the month.

During the campaign of 1779, the Americans could do little more than remain on the defensive. They were not strong enough to attack the English at New York or Rhode Island; and their adversaries, having command of the sea and of the great rivers, were enabled to move with so much ease and celerity, and to strike their blows in so many different places, that the Americans, not knowing where they would be assailed, were compelled to divide their forces, and keep watch on all vulnerable points at once. Early in the winter, Washington had suggested three plans for prosecuting the campaign. Two of these contemplated offensive operations; the third, which was finally adopted, in consideration of the pecuniary exhaustion of the country, and the insufficiency of the military supplies, was to be purely defensive, excepting as regarded the frontier Indians, who were to be chastised for their depredations in the previous year, and deterred from the repetition of such acts in the future. The financial argument had perhaps as much influence over the ultimate decision as the necessities of the military situation. Even the most sanguine were alarmed at the steady depreciation of the paper currency, and it was hoped that the diminution of active and expensive operations would give the country time to recover itself in some degree. Much, also, was expected from the French alliance, and from the probability of England being involved at the same time in a war with both France and Spain, so that she would be compelled very considerably to relax her efforts in America.

The new President of Congress was John Jay, one of the New York representatives—a man of Huguenot descent, by profession a lawyer, in character impulsive and vehement, though not without those checks which are imposed by study and observation. It was shortly after Jay's accession to the chief Federal office that Washington arrived at Philadelphia, to give his reasons against the contemplated Canada expedition. In that city, the Commander-in-Chief remained until the latter end of January, 1779, and during those few weeks many important subjects were debated at large between him and the members of Congress. The infantry of the Continental army was now organised in eighty-eight battalions, to which were added four regiments of cavalry, and forty-nine companies of artillery. Recruiting was vigorously commenced, to fill up the gaps which would shortly be made by the expiration of the term of service of several of the men; and the system of bounties, into which many abuses had entered, underwent a partial reform. The great inconvenience resulting from the bounties offered by the States being frequently higher than those of Congress, was nevertheless permitted to remain; and this was a fruitful cause of trouble. It was indeed a marvel how the army was kept up at all. The value of labour had risen so much, owing to the increased demand consequent on the competition of the military life, and to the depreciation of the currency, that a man could obtain more by keeping out of the army than by going into it, even at a high rate of bounty.* It was no longer necessary, however, to maintain so large a number of men in the field, now that the offensive had been changed into a defensive policy; and in this pause it was resolved to pay more attention than formerly to the discipline of the troops. Baron Steuben, a man of long experience in the wars of Frederick the Great, had for some time been acting as Inspector-General of the American forces. For the use of those forces, he wrote a system of tactics; and the result of his tuition was a great improvement in the discipline of the army, where the different, and sometimes widely distinct, exercises of the troops from various States were reduced to a single method.

The expedition against the Indians now received the attention of Washington. Four thousand Continental troops were detached for the purpose, and were joined by militia from the State of New York, and by independent companies from Pennsylvania. The whole force was commanded by Sullivan, who first established his head-quarters at Wyoming. He then proceeded up the Susquehannah into the Indian country. General James Clinton simultaneously advanced with another division by Lake Otsego and the east branch of the Susquehannah, and formed a junction with Sullivan near the point of union of the two branches. Sullivan now found himself at the head of nearly five thousand men, with whom he boldly plunged into the wilderness. Starting from the forks of the Susquehannah on the 22nd of August, the united force proceeded by very toilsome marches up the Cayuga, or western branch of that river, towards the chief settlements of the natives whom they proposed to attack. These savages belonged to the Six Nations,—viz., the Mohawks, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Senecas,—but did not include the whole of that large confederation. Most of the Oneidas, and a few of the Mohawks, sided with the United States; the rest suffered themselves to be influenced by the presents and promises of English agents. They formed a very powerful body of warriors, and, being unrestrained by any feelings of humanity, were a terrible scourge to the small, outlying settlements of white people. It has, indeed, been said that their cruelty was less diabolical than that of the Anglo-American loyalists, and that they would never permit white men to accompany them on their expeditions, because of the enormities they were in the habit of perpetrating. But, from what we know of the Indian character when excited by combat, it is difficult to believe that they could have been surpassed by the most ruthless of American rangers. Ferocity is the rule of irregular warfare, and red men and white are apt to be equally debauched.

The Indians of the Six Nations had information of the blow that was being prepared for them. They determined to go forth and meet their opponents. To the number of about a thousand, commanded by some whites, and by the half-caste, Brandt, they fortified themselves at a distance of a mile from Newtown. Sullivan attacked them with spirit, and drove them back, though not without greater loss to his own side than to theirs. This success so discouraged the savages and their white allies that they abandoned their villages, fields, and orchards (which were laid waste by the victors, with all the remorseless fury they had denounced in the enemy), and retired to the vicinity of Niagara, where they were protected by a British garrison. The invaders then returned to Wyoming, and, according to his usual habit, Sullivan transmitted to Congress a pompous and boastful account of his achievement, which excited laughter and derision in all who read it. Sullivan was much offended when he heard of these disrespectful criticisms, and on the 9th of November sent in his resignation, on the plea of bad health. In the course of the summer, expeditions were despatched against the Indians of the southern frontiers as well. These were made to suffer severely, but they revenged themselves by sanguinary incursions into civilised territory.

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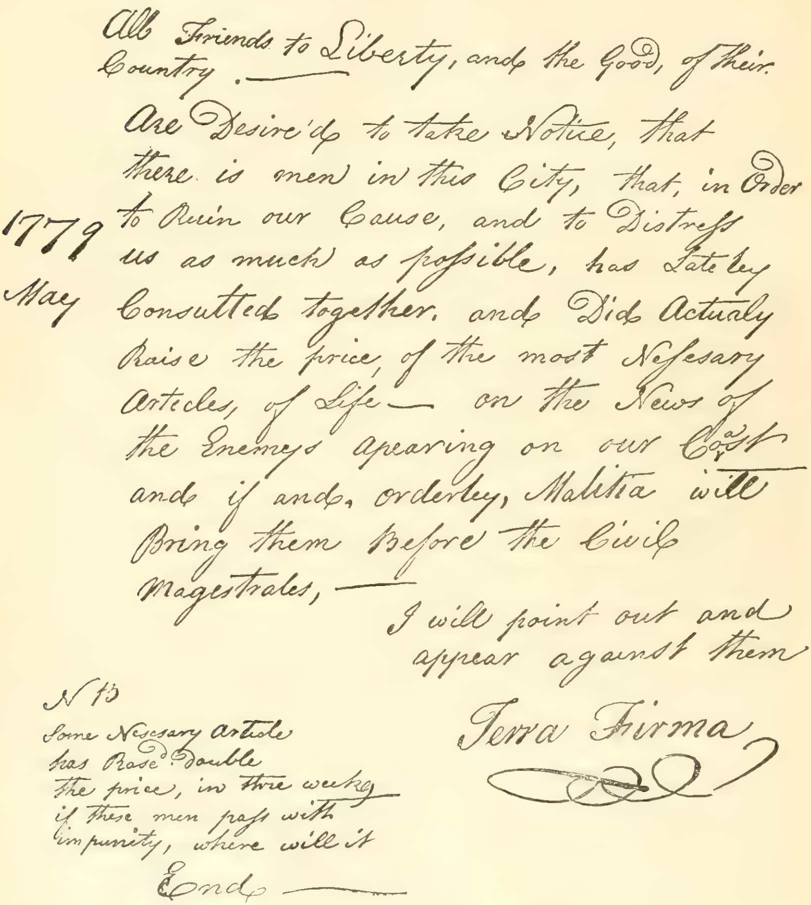
* Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 12.



All Friends to Liberty, and the Good, of their Country. —

Are Desire'd to take Notice, that there is men in this City, that, in Order to Ruin our Cause, and to Distreſs us as much as poſsible, has Lately Consulted together. and Did Actualy Raise the price, of the most Neſesary Articles, of Life — on the News of the Enemys apearing on our Coast and if and, orderley, Malitia will Bring them Before the Civil Magestrates, —

1779
May

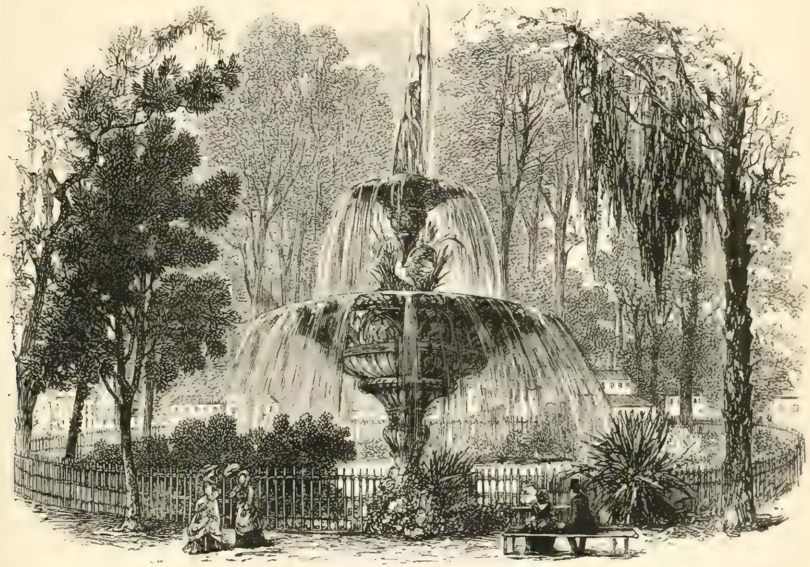
I will point out and appear against them

Terra Firma

N B
Some Nesesary Article has Rase'd double the price, in thre weeks if these men paſs with impunity, where will it End —

FAC-SIMILE OF A DECLARATION ABOUT THE SCARCITY OF FOOD.

At this period, the head-quarters of Washington were at Middlebrook, on the Hudson, where they had been fixed at the beginning of the previous winter. To preserve his lines of communication, and to guard the passes of the highlands between New York and Albany, the General ordered the construction of fortifications at Stony Point, a rocky promontory on the west side of the Hudson, thirty-six miles above New York, and also at Verplank's Point, on the opposite side of the river. Both these places, Sir Henry Clinton resolved to attack; and on the 30th of May a strong force, destined for this purpose, sailed up the stream, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief and by Admiral Collier. On the following day, the largest division of the troops landed on the east bank, seven miles below Fort Lafayette, situated at Verplank's Point, while the rest, with Clinton himself, continued their course, and landed on the west side, three miles from Stony Point. At the latter place the American works were unfinished, and the garrison retired, after setting fire to a blockhouse. The attacking force seized the position, and, with extraordinary labour, dragged some heavy cannon and mortars to the top of the hill. The work was performed during the night, and the soldiers worked so diligently that by five o'clock on the following morning a battery was ready to open fire across the river on Fort Lafayette. The distance was about a thousand yards; but Stony Point is a lofty elevation, while Verplank's Point is a flat peninsula. The situation of Fort Lafayette was therefore considerably exposed to the fire of any one holding Stony Point; and the work, though in a much more forward state than that on the west side of the Hudson, suffered greatly from the fire of the opposite fort, and of the armed vessels and gunboats on the river. Measures were taken to invest Fort Lafayette, and the garrison speedily surrendered. Clinton gave directions for completing the fortifications of both posts, and putting them in a thorough state of defence. But he was not long suffered to enjoy his triumph in peace.



VIEW IN THE PARK, SAVANNAH.

It had entered into the general designs of Clinton to force his way to the highlands (if he should judge that movement to be practicable), to make himself master of the passes, and in this way to secure the command of the Hudson. Washington divined that the preparations at New York had some such object, and at once took measures to prevent its realisation. He drew his troops together, and ordered General Putnam to make a rapid movement up the river. The garrison at West Point, some miles above the two forts then in possession of the English, was strengthened; and a strong position was taken at Smith's Close, also on the Hudson. These dispositions effectually stifled the contemplated further operations of Sir Henry Clinton in the same direction. Hearing that Staten Island was threatened, the English commander, after leaving garrisons in the posts he had taken, returned with his fleet and army to New York. Washington removed his head-quarters to New Windsor, and distributed his forces on both sides of the Hudson in such a way as to be in the best position for resisting any sudden incursion. Clinton next turned his attention to the coast of Connecticut, and detached two thousand six hundred men, under the command of Major-General Tryon, formerly Governor of New York, with orders to effect a diversion on the New England shores. A squadron with the troops on board left Long Island Sound on the 4th of July, and next morning reached New Haven, one of the chief towns of Connecticut. The place was taken after some opposition, and the successful troops destroyed all the artillery, ammunition, public stores, and vessels in the harbour. They afterwards attacked Fairfield, Norwalk, and Greenfield, and committed great depredations not only on public but on private property. Dwelling-houses, shops, school-rooms, and even churches, were burnt; acts of pillage were allowed, if not actually enjoined; and the unfortunate places were given up to all the licence of an unrestrained army. The attacks being unexpected, resistance was necessarily slight; yet many lost their lives in a vain endeavour to protect their homesteads. Such acts disgraced the English forces, while in no respect tending to put down the rebellion, or restore the authority of the King.

If Sir Henry Clinton supposed that these operations would draw the Americans from the highlands of New York, he was entirely mistaken. Washington declined to be thus led away from an important position, or rather set of positions. He even resolved to turn to account the absence of a portion of his antagonist's forces, by attempting to recover Stony Point. He therefore reconnoitred the post himself, and instructed Major Henry Lee, at the head of a party of cavalry, to collect all the information possible as to the condition of the works and the strength of the garrison. To take such a fort was evidently an exploit of great difficulty, which could only be effected by a surprise: for the position, besides being strongly fortified by art, and well provided with artillery, was situated on a steep hill, washed by the waters of the Hudson on three sides, and on the fourth protected by a deep marsh, connected with the river, and passable only at one place. It was necessary, however, for Washington to do something, for many people were beginning to murmur at the merely defensive character of the campaign, and were crying out with indignation at the Connecticut outrages. The enterprise was entrusted to General Wayne, who commanded a detachment of light infantry in advance of the main body of the American forces; and the night of the 15th of July was fixed on for the attack. The detachment started from Sandy Beach, and marched more than twelve miles over a rugged and mountainous road. The heat was terrible, and it was eight in the evening when the vanguard arrived at Spring Heels, within a mile and a half of the enemy. There the troops were halted and formed, while Wayne and some of his officers went forward to reconnoitre. The fort was at that time garrisoned by rather more than six hundred men; but Wayne, though he might not have known how many or how few were the forces by which he was to be encountered, could see for himself that several vessels of war were stationed in the river, so as to command a sandy beach at the foot of the hill, which it was possible to pass at ebb-tide.

At half-past eleven at night, the whole army moved forward in two columns to the assault. Both columns advanced with fixed bayonets, and the most positive orders were given not to fire, but to rely wholly on the steel. A forlorn hope of twenty picked men preceded each column, to remove the *abatis* and other obstructions, and to open a way across the marsh. The passage of that watery expanse was difficult and tedious: but at length, at twenty minutes past twelve, the outer works were reached, and the assault began. The Americans were received by a tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot; but they rushed forward at the charge, and the two columns, arriving almost at the same moment, met in the centre of the enemy's works. General Wayne, who accompanied the right column, was slightly wounded in the head, but got into the enclosure with the rest. After a brief but animated combat, the English troops were routed, and the Americans gained complete possession of the fort. In accomplishing this brilliant feat, the assailants lost only fifteen killed, and eighty-three wounded. The killed on the other side amounted to sixty-three; and the number of prisoners taken was five hundred and forty-three. The results of the action were very important to the Americans; for they not only gained the fort, but also a large number of cannon, mortars, muskets, shells, shot, tents, and other stores. It is much to the credit of the conquerors that, although exasperated by the recent devastations on the coast of Connecticut, they did no injury to the garrison after resistance ceased. Congress recognised the worth of the achievement by passing resolves of a complimentary character, granting rewards, and directing that the value of all the military stores taken in the garrison should be divided among the troops in proportion to the pay of the officers and men. Medals commemorative of the event were struck, and a vote of thanks was passed to Washington for the vigilance, wisdom, and magnanimity with which he had conducted the military operations of the States, especially in connection with the recovery of Stony Point.

An attack on Fort Lafayette, situated on Verplank's Point, had also been contemplated by the Commander-in-Chief; and two brigades, under General M'Dougall, were ordered to proceed towards it, and await the arrival of intelligence with reference to the operations against the other fort. By some misunderstanding, the proper information was not conveyed to M'Dougall until it was too late for him to move with effect. Moreover, this officer was greatly in want of horses and carriages for the transportation of heavy guns; so that he could hardly have done much in aid of the attack. General Wayne turned the artillery of Stony Point against the ships in the river, compelling them to drop down the stream till they were out of range; and he also fired on Fort Lafayette, but without making much impression. M'Dougall's detachment was now placed under General Howe, who was provided with battering cannon; but he speedily found it necessary to retreat, and the fort remained untaken. On hearing of the capture of Stony Point, Sir Henry Clinton abandoned a design which he had formed of attacking New London, in Connecticut (a well-known resort of privateers which had inflicted great injuries on British trade), withdrew his transports and troops from Long Island Sound, where they had recently returned, and went in person with a large force to the support of Colonel Webster, who had the command at Verplank's Point. Clinton was in hopes that Washington would hazard a battle in the open field for the possession of Stony Point; but the American commander, after a careful survey of his new acquisition, determined to evacuate the post, remove the cannon and stores, and destroy the works. Without the fort on the east side of the Hudson, the possession of that on the west side was of no great value; for the guns of the former could prevent all communication by King's Ferry between the two banks of the river, and, that ferry being closed, Washington's intercourse with the Eastern States could be maintained only by a very circuitous route. Besides, the retention of Stony Point would have required a garrison of fifteen hundred men, a force which Washington could ill spare. The position must have been fortified towards the river, as the British had command of the water; and it might have been necessary to fight a general action in its defence. For these reasons it was abandoned, and the Royal troops afterwards re-occupied the post, and repaired the works.

Shortly after these events, General M'Lean, who commanded the army in Nova Scotia, and who had recently established a post at Penobscot, in the eastern part of Massachusetts, was besieged by a fleet of armed vessels and a body of troops. The object of establishing the post in that locality was to check the incursions of the Americans into Nova Scotia, and to supply the Royal Navy-yards at Halifax with ship-timber. To the Massachusetts Government the formation of such a military centre within their State seemed to threaten a peril which they were bound to resist. They therefore sent to Penobscot a fleet consisting of fifteen vessels of war, and a certain number of transports; and an army of militia, amounting to between three and four thousand men. M'Lean's station was situated on the east side of Penobscot Bay, nine miles from the bottom of that enclosed water. The land where the fort had been built was a wild peninsula, covered with an unbroken forest, and presenting no trace of population or of culture. It was necessary, before constructing the fort, to clear away the wood by which the ground was cumbered; and the work of building had hardly begun when, on the 21st of July, M'Lean heard of the expedition against him. He had the protection of three sloops of war, which fired on the American vessels when they appeared in the bay on the 25th. Owing to this opposition, and to the rugged nature of the shore, the troops were not able to land until the 28th. The interval was turned to good account by the garrison and their energetic commander, and the defensive works were pushed forward with great rapidity. Lovell, the American General, erected a battery within seven hundred and fifty yards of the fortifications, and for nearly a fortnight a brisk cannonade was maintained, without at all affecting the spirit or resolution of the defenders. Preparations were made for an assault; but on the 13th of August Lovell heard that Sir George Collier, with a superior naval force, had entered the bay. Knowing that he could not cope with such an antagonist, he embarked his forces and cannon in the night, and sailed off, in the hope of escaping the English fleet. The American ships, however, were vigorously pursued and fiercely attacked. Some were burnt or blown up, and the men, being landed in a desert country without provisions or other necessaries, were subjected to great hardships as they groped their way through a hundred miles of pathless and inhospitable forest. Many died on the route, and the survivors were in a ragged and spent condition when at length they emerged from the shadowy wilderness into peopled and cultivated lands. It is related that while in the woods the seamen and landsmen quarrelled as to who was blamable for the disaster which had occurred, and that they fought with such fury and pertinacity that fifty or sixty were slain.* The expedition was a miserable failure from first to last.

On returning to New York, Sir George Collier resigned the command of the fleet to Admiral Arbuthnot, who had just arrived from England with some additional ships of war, and with provisions, stores, and reinforcements for the army. Sir Henry Clinton now pitched his camp above Haerlem, with his upper posts at King's Bridge. Washington, during the second half of the year, was stationed at West Point, whence he sent out expeditions on both sides of the Hudson. One of these expeditions was conducted by Major Henry Lee against the British post at Powle's or Paulus Hook, on the Jersey bank, opposite to New York. The position was so strongly fortified, and so difficult to get at, that the garrison, lulled into a false security, took no measures to guard against surprise. The usual result ensued. On the morning of the 20th of August, when part of the garrison was absent on a foraging excursion, the Major, with three hundred infantry and a troop of dismounted dragoons, seized the blockhouse and two redoubts before an alarm could be given. The sentinel at the outer gate had mistaken the assailants for the foraging party returning, and had suffered them to pass unchallenged. When the error was discovered, and the garrison began firing on the American intruders, a general alarm was spread, not only to the shipping in the roads, but even to New York. Guns were heard in many directions, and Major Lee, fearing that if he delayed he should be cut off, retreated with the loss of two men killed and three wounded. He took with him a hundred and fifty-nine prisoners; and, as his design was not to hold the place, but to carry off the garrison, it must be admitted that he was partially successful, and that his bold and spirited performance deserved the gold medal which was presented to him by Congress in recognition of this feat. On the retreat, however, some of the soldiers behaved very badly. Writing to President Reed, Major Lee said:—"In my report to General Washington, I passed the usual general compliments on the troops under my command. I did not tell the world that near one half of my countrymen left me."

The concluding military events of 1779 took place in the South. General Prevost, though compelled to abandon his attempt on South Carolina, and to relinquish the upper parts of Georgia, was still in a position to keep all that region of America in a state of alarm. D'Estaing, on his return from the West Indies, where he had been engaged, not unsuccessfully, with Admiral Byron, was on this account requested by Rutledge, the Governor of South Carolina, and by General Lincoln, to visit the Savannah, and help to expel the English. He assented to their solicitations, and, with twenty-two sail of the line, a number of small vessels, and six thousand soldiers, appeared at the mouth of the river with great suddenness. Some British vessels, being surprised, fell into his hands, and on the 13th of September he landed half his force at Beaulieu. Some of Prevost's regiments had been scattered among distant outposts in Georgia, and in the island of Port Royal; but they were hastily called in on news arriving of the appearance of the French fleet. On reaching the town of Savannah, d'Estaing summoned the place to surrender, and Prevost, to gain time, requested a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, which was granted. By extraordinary efforts, the detachment from Port Royal arrived in the interval, and Prevost then informed the French commander that he would defend the town to the utmost. When the whole of his detachments had reached him, he had under his orders an army of nearly two thousand men. The forces under d'Estaing had by this time been joined by those of General Lincoln, Colonel M'Intosh, and Count Pulaski. Heavy artillery and stores were brought up from the fleet, and on the 23rd of September the siege began. For several days a scathing fire was poured upon the walls, not only from the batteries erected by the besiegers, but from a floating battery in the river. Yet no sensible effect was produced, and Savannah showed not the slightest sign of yielding.

D'Estaing was disappointed, and, what was worse, he was placed in a position of no little danger. The tempestuous season was on the eve of setting in; it was not improbable that an English fleet might be sent against him, or might imperil the conquests which he had recently made in the West Indies; and a further stay in the Savannah became obviously unadvisable, unless the town could be taken. The besiegers accordingly determined to make an attempt at storming the place. On the morning of the 9th of October, three thousand French, and half that number of Americans, advanced in three columns to the assault, under cover of a heavy bombardment. They met with a resolute resistance; but the attacking force pressed on, broke through the *abatis*, crossed the ditch, and mounted the parapet. Pulaski and two hundred horsemen, inspired by a desperate valour, dashed between the batteries towards the town; but the heroic Pole fell mortally wounded, and the squadron broke.* After a sanguinary struggle, lasting fifty minutes, the besiegers were driven from the works. Both the French and the Americans, but especially the former, lost a large number of men, and, as the siege was now quite hopeless, it was abandoned, and the armies left their ground on the evening of October 18th. The Americans recrossed the Savannah into South Carolina, and the French hurriedly embarked on board their ships. A violent storm shortly afterwards arose, and scattered the fleet in various directions; and the complete dispersion of this naval armament seemed to typify the entire ruin of those efforts after independence which the South had recently been making.

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* Stedman's History of the American War, Vol. II., p. 151.

The very general disappointment felt in that part of America at the collapse of this enterprise, was in some slight degree mitigated by a daring and clever feat executed by Colonel White, of Georgia. On the night of the 30th of September, accompanied by only six volunteers, he made such an appearance of strength, by the lighting of numerous fires in different places, and by other artifices, that he induced a British captain, posted near the river Ogechee under protection of five vessels, to surrender at discretion, with a hundred and forty-one men, who were all secured, and conducted to the American post at Sunbury, twenty-five miles off. The exploit was much to the credit of Colonel White; but it was a poor compensation for the failure at Savannah.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Withdrawal of the British Troops from Rhode Island, Stony Point, and Verplank's Point—Disposition of the American Army at the Approach of the Winter of 1779—Reinforcements sent to the South—Levying of Supplies on the American People for the Support of their Army—The Difficulties of Paper Currency—Proceedings of Congress on the Subject—Recognition by Spain of the Independence of the United States—The British Settlements on the Mississippi attacked by the Spaniards—Congress determines to appoint a Commissioner to Negotiate a Treaty of Peace with Great Britain—Instructions to him, and to Dr. Franklin at Paris—Negotiations with Spain and Holland—Sailing of an Expedition to Charleston under Sir Henry Clinton—Position of General Lincoln in the South—Preparations for Defence at Charleston—Clinton's Approaches to that City—Opening of the Siege (April, 1780)—The Place surrounded—Outlying Posts scattered and cut off—Surrender of Fort Moultrie—Desperate Condition of the Defenders of Charleston—Capitulation resolved on—Terms granted to the Besieged—Results of the Fall of Charleston—Further Operations of the Royal Troops in South Carolina and Georgia—Defeat of Colonel Buford on the Borders of North Carolina—Submission of the two Southern States.

ALARMED at hearing that the French under d'Estaing had landed in the neighbourhood of the Savannah, and fearing that they would proceed to the north, and join Washington in attacking New York, Sir Henry Clinton, at the latter end of October, evacuated Rhode Island, where a large body of his forces had been stationed nearly three years. Stony Point and Verplank's Point were also abandoned, and the army was concentrated at New York. The American army, as the year drew towards its close, was again put into winter quarters. The main body was stationed in the vicinity of Morristown, in New Jersey, with strong detachments at West Point and other posts near the Hudson, and the cavalry in Connecticut. Washington fixed his head-quarters at Morristown, and, being impressed with the necessity of supporting General Lincoln in the South, directed two of the North Carolina regiments, and the whole of the Virginia force, to march to the relief of that officer. This was in the early part of December, and was consequent on the failure of the attack on Savannah, and the departure of the French fleet from the American coasts. Congress had desired Washington to take these measures, and had assured the inhabitants of Georgia and South Carolina of their watchful attention. They also recommended to those States the filling up of their Continental regiments, and a due regard to their militia while on active service. But it was now evident that the men of the extreme South were not well qualified for war. An enervating climate, and the life of self-indulgence which the possession of slaves so often induces, had sapped the energy of the race which had peopled that part of America. Many of the Georgians and South Carolinians were willing, or even more than willing, to purchase repose by submission to the Crown, now that the sharp edge of Royal power had been painfully experienced. Even those who were still unrelenting in their enmity, shrank, with a few exceptions, from the dangers and hardships of a protracted struggle.

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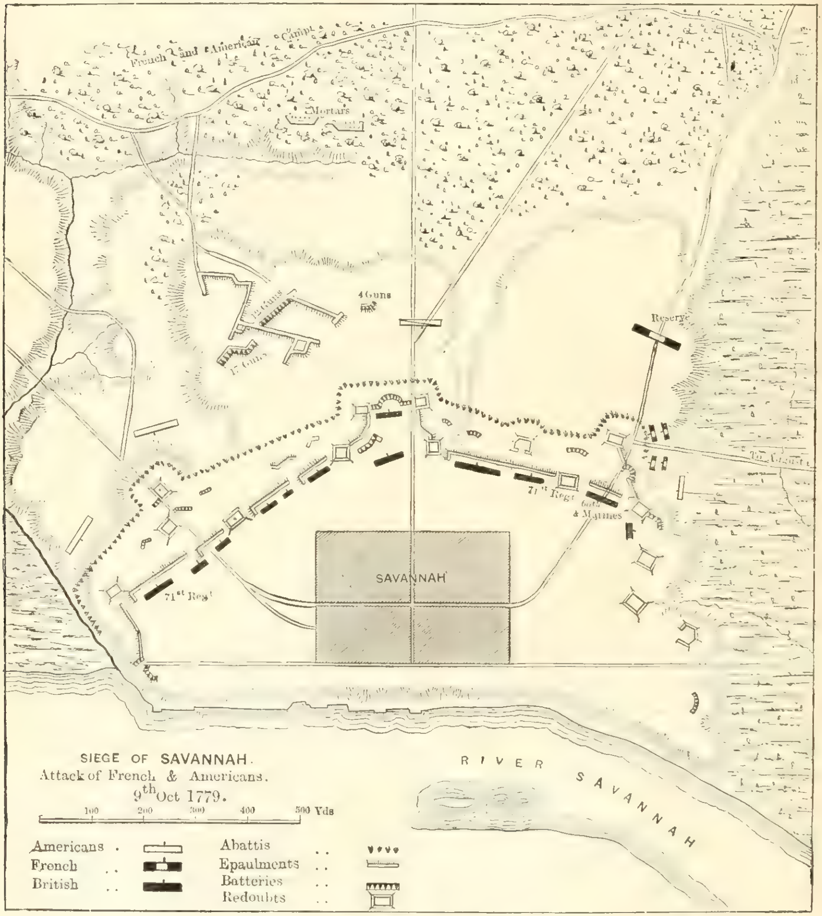
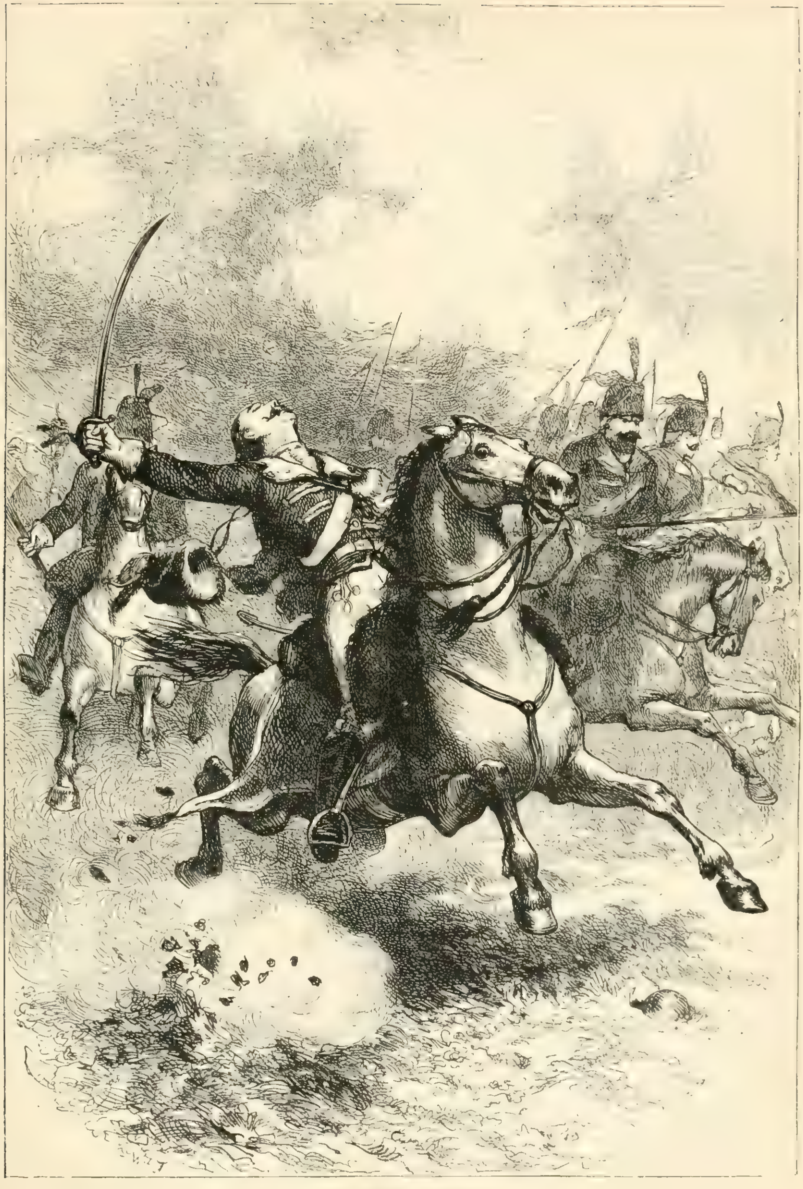
* On hearing of the death of this nobleman, the King of Poland exclaimed, "Pulaski, always brave, but always the enemy of monarchs!"

In the Northern States, the winter was more than usually severe. The ordinary channels of


French and American Camp
Mortars
4 Guns
Reserve
To Augusta
71st Regt
71st Regt
60th & Marines
SAVANNAH
RIVER SAVANNAH
SIEGE OF SAVANNAH.
Attack of French & Americans.
9th Oct 1779.
100
200
300
400
500 Yds
Americans
French
British
Abattis
Epaulments
Batteries
Redoubts

PLAN OF THE POSITION BEFORE SAVANNAH.



THE CHARGE OF PULASKI.

transportation were closed, and a failure of provisions brought great distress upon the troops. Once more it became imperative to levy supplies on the inhabitants; but in procuring these contributions the aid of the civil magistrates was sought, and the owner of the commodities taken was allowed to fix the price by a fair valuation, or to receive the market-price when the certificates were paid. The people showed so much good-will in the matter that it was not found necessary to proceed to violent measures. This was the more remarkable, and the more praiseworthy, as the rapid and unexampled depreciation of the Continental paper-money made the offers of purchase little more than illusory. After awhile, indeed, each State was required to furnish a certain quantity of beef, pork, flour, corn, forage, &c., to the Federal army. The States were to be credited for the amount at a fixed valuation in specie; and it was hoped that the arrangement would avoid the difficulties attaching to payment in notes. But the system was found impracticable, owing to the want of central authority, the distance of several of the States from the army, and the difficulties of conveyance; and after a trial it was abandoned. The embarrassments of a non-metallic currency, however, continued, and laws were enacted for making paper-money a legal tender, at its nominal value, in the discharge of debts contracted on the understanding that they were to be paid in gold or silver. Many debtors took advantage of these laws; but it was regarded by the more scrupulous as a dishonourable evasion. Washington, in particular, felt very strongly on the subject.[*]

This great financial trouble engaged much of the attention of Congress in the autumn of 1779. On the 1st of September it was resolved that the Legislature would on no account exceed two hundred millions of dollars in Continental bills of credit; and in November the whole of that large sum was both issued and expended. On the 13th of September, the members addressed to their constituents a long letter on the financial state of the country. From this it appeared that the taxes had brought in very little to the treasury, and that the issues of paper-money had thus been rendered necessary. It was argued, however, that at the close of the war the United States would easily be able to pay the whole of their national debt in twenty years—a sanguine anticipation which was very far from realised; and paper-money was even represented as a blessing, being the only kind of money which could not "make unto itself wings, and fly away,"—which remained with them, would not forsake them, and was always at hand for the purposes of commerce and taxation. The question was asked, whether there was any reason to apprehend a wanton violation of the public faith. "It is with great regret and reluctance," said the writers of the letter, answering this query, "that we can prevail upon ourselves to take the least notice of a question which involves in it a doubt so injurious to the honour and dignity of America. We should pay an ill compliment to the understanding and honour of every true American, were we to adduce many arguments to show the baseness or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it. A bankrupt, faithless Republic would be a novelty in the political world. We are convinced that the efforts and arts of our enemies will not be wanting to draw us into this humiliating and contemptible situation. Impelled by malice, and the suggestions of chagrin and disappointment at not being able to bend our necks to their yoke, they will endeavour to force or seduce us to commit this unpardonable sin, in order to subject us to the punishment due to it, and that we may thenceforth be a reproach and a by-word among the nations. Apprised of these consequences, knowing the value of national character, and impressed with a due sense of the immutable laws of justice and honour, it is impossible that America should think without horror of such an execrable deed. Determine to finish the contest as you began it, honestly and gloriously. Let it never be said that America had no sooner become independent than she became insolvent; or that her infant glories and growing fame were obscured and tarnished by broken contracts and violated faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring, and almost adoring, the splendour of her rising."

These confident assurances have a strange aspect when contemplated by the light of subsequent facts. In less than two years, the States were compelled to declare themselves insolvent, and the paper currency was never redeemed. There were those who, long before it came to this, looked with great distrust on such vast emissions of notes; but the Government had really no choice in the matter, owing to the prevalence among the people of what a modern English statesman has called an ignorant impatience of taxation. Each State was left to furnish its own quota of taxes, and frugality was the rule, because it was known that the people did not like parting with their money, even in support of national independence. The issue of notes was a ready resource for meeting the expenses of the war, and at first it answered very well, for the credit of the country was as yet unimpaired, and the number of notes originally put forth was not large. But when the experiment was repeated again and again, the natural consequences ensued. People doubted the ability of the Federal Government to redeem such a sum as two hundred millions of dollars. The paper got a bad name. Forty dollars in notes came to be worth only one in specie. In some cases, the note sank to less than one-hundredth of its nominal value. At the latter end of 1779, in the State of Maryland, an English officer paid an innkeeper's bill, amounting in paper-money to £732 and some odd shillings, with four guineas and a half in gold.

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[*] Sparks's Life of Washington, chap. 12.

The mischief was augmented by a still further issue of notes on the part of the several States individually. Prices rose, as in the case of the innkeeper's bill, to a preposterous degree, in order to cover the loss entailed by the depreciation of the paper. Even in 1778, when the evil had not reached its highest, Washington told his friend, Gouverneur Morris, that a bad horse was not to be bought for less than £200, nor a saddle for under £30 or £40; that boots cost £20; that flour was selling at different places from £5 to £15 per hundredweight, hay from £10 to £30, and beef and other essentials in the like proportions. In April, 1779, according to the same authority, a waggon-load of money would scarcely purchase a waggon-load of provisions. The more far-seeing politicians were alarmed; and at the very time when the members of Congress were proclaiming that a bankrupt Republic would be an anomaly, the citizens of Philadelphia were holding a meeting to protest against any further emissions of Continental paper, and to express an apprehension that the ease with which money was thus procured had produced a remissness of inquiries as to the reality of its application. It would appear, according to Jefferson, that the actual value received by Congress for the nominal two hundred millions was not more than about thirty-six millions of silver dollars. The issues, in fact, did not come into circulation, after the early days of the war, at their nominal value, but at the rate at which the currency stood in the market. Yet that these notes answered their purpose for awhile, cannot be denied; and a writer of the time has recorded that the circulation of the paper was never more brisk than when its exchange was five hundred to one.*

Now that Spain had entered into the war with England, her scruples about recognising the independence of the United States were overcome. She had but recently declared that the cause of the King of England as against his rebel subjects was the cause of all Kings; and, with so large a colonial empire as her own in America, it is obvious that she had every interest in discouraging the attempt of a dependency to shake off the control of the parent State. But she had also many old grounds of quarrel with England, and she was at length dragged, by her own resentments and by the solicitations of France, into a position of hostility which may have helped in some slight degree to secure the final success of the Anglo-Americans, but which, if so, was followed, several years after, by a tremendous Nemesis, in the shape of a universal revolt of those colonies which Spain then held upon the Western Continent, but which she holds no longer. The recognition of the independence of the English possessions followed on the belligerent state. Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, collected the whole force of his province at New Orleans immediately on hearing of the declaration of war, and on the 19th of August, 1779, publicly recognised the separate existence of the States by beat of drum. He then marched against the British settlements on the Mississippi, which he speedily reduced. Only a small force had been stationed there, and it was found impossible to resist for many days. But the triumph was a very small one, and did not produce any remarkable effects.

The desirability of bringing the war to a termination was at this time more strongly felt in America than in England. The exhaustion of the States was alarmingly visible in many ways; the alternation of victory and defeat was wearisome and disheartening; it was a moot point on which side the balance of advantages lay; and it was still more doubtful whether the future would not bring with it a striking reversal of some of the successes which had been gained. Congress, apparently moved by these considerations, resolved on the 14th of August to appoint a Commissioner to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain, and to send certain instructions to that agent, and also to their Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of France. They specially enjoined on the former that he was to insist on a recognition of the United States as sovereign, free, and independent, before entering into any negotiation; and that he was not to assent to any treaty or treaties unless that independence was thereby secured and confirmed. Although the cession of the provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia was spoken of in these instructions as "of the utmost importance to the peace and commerce of the United States," and although it was held to be more particularly advisable that the equal common right of the States to the fisheries should be guaranteed them, the desire of terminating the war induced Congress not to make the acquisition of those objects an ultimatum on that occasion. Their Commissioner was empowered to agree to a cessation of hostilities during any negotiation that might ensue, provided France should assent to such a step, and provided likewise that all the forces of the enemy should be immediately withdrawn from the United States.

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* Gordon's History of the Independence of the United States; Earl Stanhope's History of England; Sparks's Life of Washington; *North American Review*, July, 1852.

The instructions to Dr. Franklin, the Minister at Paris, were in one respect in signal contradiction of those to the Commissioner who was to negotiate with the British Government. The latter was instructed to waive the question of the fisheries, for the sake of obtaining the much-desired treaty of peace. The former was told that the common right of fishing was in no case to be given up, and that if, after a treaty of peace with Great Britain, she should molest the citizens of the United States in this respect, such molestation would be regarded as a breach of the peace, and would be made a common cause by the said States. Franklin was furthermore instructed to request of the French Government a series of explanatory articles, in addition to those of the Treaty of Alliance, binding France, in case of Great Britain acting in the manner supposed, to join with the United States, and aid them with her good offices, her councils, and her forces. It is difficult to see how Congress can be acquitted of a charge of bad faith in this matter. If Governments are to consider nothing but the advancement of their own interests, irrespective of the means by which that result is brought about, the method here adopted may be quite beyond impeachment; but if morals have anything to do with politics—and a new State founded on abstract right is particularly interested in maintaining the affirmative of that proposition—the wisdom as much as the justice of such dealings may be fairly questioned.

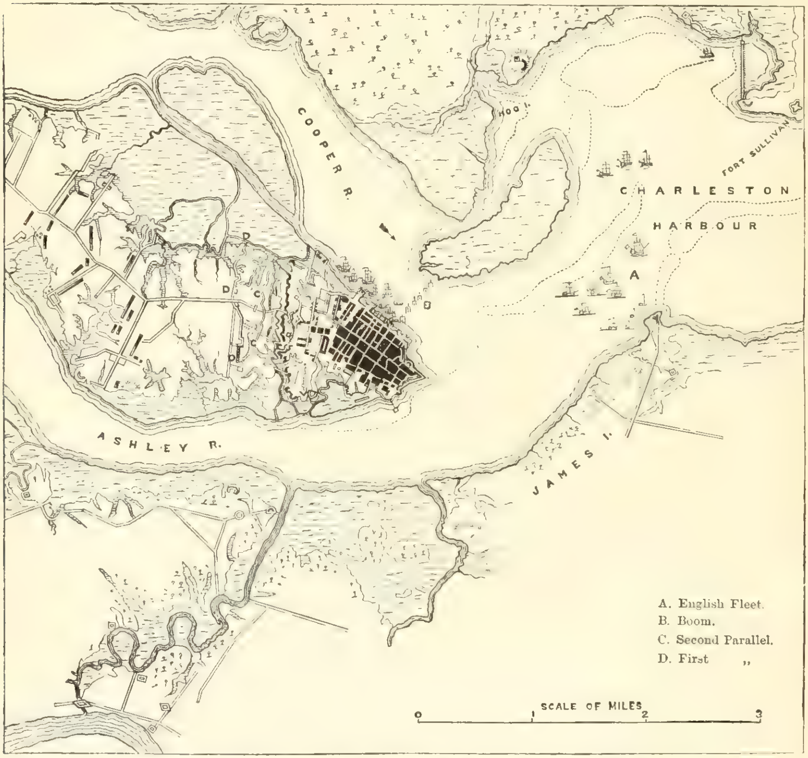
The nomination of a proper person to manage the proposed treaty of peace had next to be considered. John Adams and John Jay were proposed on the 25th of September, and a few days afterwards the former was elected. Jay was appointed to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and of amity and commerce, with the Court of Madrid. To conciliate that Government, it was determined that, if the King of Spain should give warlike assistance to the United States, he should not be precluded from securing to himself the Floridas: indeed, the United States were prepared to guarantee the Floridas to Spain, if they should be obtained by conquest, provided the former Power should be allowed the free navigation of the Mississippi into and from the sea. "The distressed state of our finances, and the great depreciation of our paper-money," said the instructions to Jay, "incline Congress to hope that his Catholic Majesty, if he shall conclude a treaty with the States, will be induced to lend them money." The Minister was therefore first to endeavour to obtain from the Spanish Government a subsidy in consideration of the proposed guarantee of the Floridas; and then to solicit a loan of five millions of dollars on the best terms obtainable. With these instructions, Jay sailed for Europe before the end of October, and was succeeded in the Presidential chair by Samuel Huntington. On the 21st of October, Henry Laurens was elected to negotiate a loan in Holland; and on the 1st of November he was chosen to solicit a treaty of amity and commerce with that country. About the same time, M. Gérard, the French Minister at Philadelphia, was succeeded by the Chevalier de la Luzerne.

Sir Henry Clinton was resolved not to let the winter season be entirely one of rest. In the North, the extreme cold prevented active operations; but the same period of the year was peculiarly favourable to a campaign in the South, where the heat of summer was very distressing to English troops. The Commander-in-Chief desired to gain possession of Charleston, which would give him a hold over all that part of the Union. He sailed from New York on the 26th of December, but did not reach Savannah, which was to be his base of operations, until the end of January, 1780, owing to the stormy weather which prevailed, and the interruption of the American cruisers, which managed to capture some of the transports and victuallers. In this tempestuous voyage, most of the cavalry and draught horses perished, and the armament was in an unfit condition to take the field on its arrival at Savannah. Fortunately for the enterprise, the Americans themselves were not in a state to profit by this fact. General Lincoln had but a small and ill-regulated force at his disposal, and, to increase its weakness, the several divisions were scattered in various places. Congress thought so gravely of the position of affairs in the South that it recommended the slaveholders to adopt the dangerous course of arming their negroes; but the plan could not be carried out, for want of weapons, and it is very probable that people on the spot were not sorry for the excuse. Yet the House of Assembly determined, disadvantageously as they were circumstanced, to defend Charleston to the utmost. They had the aid of four American frigates, two French ships of war, and the marine of South Carolina, under Commodore Whipple; and, with this slight addition to their land defences, the people of Charleston awaited the attack of the British force.

After staying some time at Savannah, to repair the injuries to his army and fleet, Sir Henry Clinton proceeded north, and landed on St. John's Island, thirty miles south of Charleston, on the 11th of February. Thence he moved to the island of St. James, sending forward part of his fleet to blockade the harbour of Charleston, and advancing cautiously until the reinforcements which he had ordered should arrive. This slowness of approach gave Governor Rutledge and General Lincoln time to repair the fortifications of the town, and to take other military measures. Some rather elaborate works of defence were thrown up in front of the city, and between the rivers Ashley and Cooper; and Lincoln hoped that, if he could delay the besiegers for a little while, reinforcements would arrive from the main body of the Continental army, and compel the enemy to abandon his attempt. The fortifications were constructed under the direction of M. Laumoy, a French engineer in the American service, and were sufficiently good to compel the English General, when he at length began the siege, to make his approaches in regular form. Clinton did not hasten his advance, but erected forts and formed magazines at proper stations as he proceeded, and secured his communications with those forts and with the sea. On the 1st of April, the General arrived before the walls of Charleston; and on the 9th, Admiral Arbuthnot anchored within reach of its seaward guns. The American naval force under Commodore Whipple retired before the English fleet, and his vessels, being obviously incapable of resistance, were dismantled, and made to contribute, by their artillery and seamen, to the land-defences of the beleaguered city. When Clinton had finished his first parallel, which was on the day of Arbuthnot's arrival with the fleet, and had mounted his guns, he summoned General Lincoln to surrender the town. The American refused to forsake his charge, and his adversary at once opened fire.

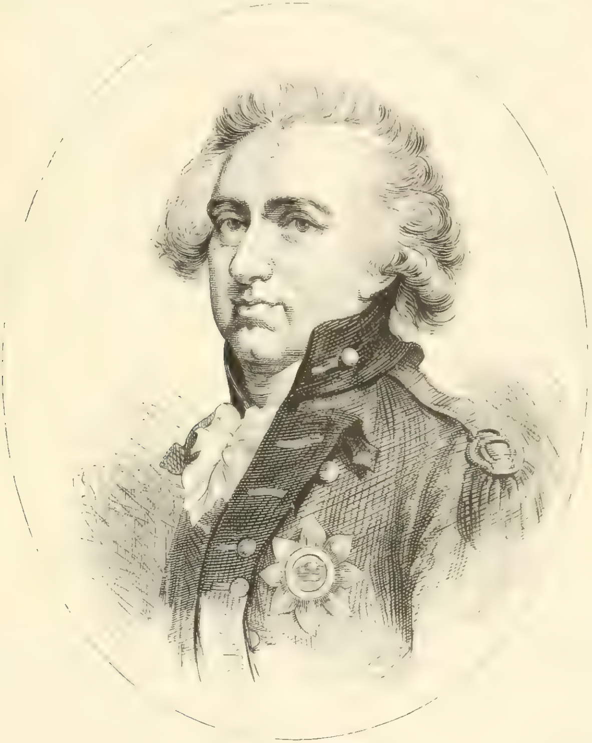
Rutledge and half of his council now took advantage of the country to the north being still open, and left the city, that they might carry on the government of the State elsewhere, and might at the same time rouse the local militia, who, however, declined to be roused. In this northerly direction, a party of the American cavalry, under General Huger, had taken post at Monk's Corner, thirty miles above Charleston, in the hope of checking the British foragers, and of protecting supplies on their way to the town. Posts of militia were also established between the Cooper and the Santee, to cover the retreat of the Charleston garrison, if they should be obliged to retire. It was not long, however, ere Clinton resolved to block up that avenue as well as the others. He therefore called in the troops whom he had posted to the south of the capital, and directed Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, commanding a corps of light dragoons, to dislodge the American posts beyond the Cooper. That officer was conducted during the night of April 14th, by a negro slave, through unfrequented paths to the scene of action, where, suddenly bursting upon the astonished Carolinians, he killed or captured several, and dispersed the rest. Charleston was now completely invested; the besiegers received a reinforcement of three thousand men from New York; the second parallel was completed, and the spirits of the garrison began to decline. An evacuation was talked of; but the idea was soon abandoned as impracticable. The investing lines were soon after strengthened, and on the 21st of April terms of capitulation were offered, but rejected. A third parallel was commenced, and the despairing garrison made a sortie, but without any important results.

On the 7th of May, the garrison of Fort Moultrie, where the works had been suffered to fall into decay, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, immediately on being summoned to do so by Admiral Arbuthnot. The cavalry which had escaped from Monk's Corner, and which had by this time reassembled, were again surprised and defeated by Tarleton on two occasions; and the condition of the defenders of Charleston was now so forlorn and hopeless—the troops being exhausted by incessant duty, many of the guns dismounted, and the supplies of food almost consumed—that terms of capitulation were once more proposed on the 8th of May, but without success, as, in the opinion of General Clinton, too many concessions were required. He knew that he had the town in his power, and could afford to wait. The batteries of the third parallel did terrible execution. Shells and carcasses, in one unresting storm, were thrown into several parts of the town, and many houses were set on fire. The besiegers' works were within a hundred yards of the walls; and, in addition to the cannon and mortars, the rifles of the Hessian Chasseurs produced such effect that few escaped who showed themselves above the lines. The American engineers had some time before given it as their opinion that the lines could not be defended ten days longer; and when, on the 11th of May, the British crossed the wet ditch by sap, and commenced preparations for a general assault by sea and land, a panic seized on all within the town. Some of the militia threw down their arms; others begged of General Lincoln to accept Sir Henry Clinton's terms; the civilians were clamorous for a surrender, and the American commander signified his readiness to accept the conditions of the stronger. A capitulation was signed on the following day, and Charleston passed into the possession of the Royal troops.



PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON. (*From Stedman's History of the American War.*)

The terms granted by Clinton were generous, considering how completely he was the victor. He stipulated that the town and fortifications, the shipping, artillery, and all public stores, were to be given up as they then were; but, as regarded the surrender of the troops, he waived all humiliating circumstances. The garrison were to march out of the town, and lay down their arms in front of the works. They were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged, and to be supplied with good and wholesome provisions at the same rate as the British troops. The officers were to keep their arms, and their baggage was not to be searched. They were also to be allowed their personal servants, and might dispose of their horses by sale. All civil officers and citizens who had borne arms during the siege, and even the citizens generally, were to be prisoners on parole, but without molestation to their property. The French consul, and the subjects of France and Spain, with their houses, papers, and other movable effects, were to be protected and untouched; but they also were to consider themselves prisoners, though with a certain liberty, on giving their word of honour not to endeavour to escape. The siege, while entailing a good deal of suffering and alarm on the inhabitants, had not resulted, on either side, in many deaths or injuries; but some twenty of the citizens had been killed in their houses by random shots. The effective strength of the garrison was rather less than two thousand five hundred men; and the besiegers consisted of nine thousand British troops. Upwards of thirty houses were burnt, and others greatly damaged. Considerably more than four hundred pieces of artillery, including those in the forts and ships, were taken by the conquerors—a more serious injury to the American cause than the loss of the fighting men, or the subjugation of the city.*



SIR HENRY CLINTON.

Determined to follow up his success, Sir Henry Clinton sent a strong detachment, under Lord Cornwallis, across the river Santee to the frontiers of North Carolina; a second, not so numerous, into the centre of South Carolina; and a third up the Savannah to Augusta, in Georgia. The common object of all these expeditions was to disperse any parties of armed men who might yet be found, and to ensure the complete submission of the country. To Lord Cornwallis, in particular, was assigned the extirpation of a body of Continental troops under a Colonel Abraham Buford, who, arriving too late in the siege to be able to relieve Charleston, had posted themselves on the northern banks of the Santee, where they were joined by those of the American cavalry who had survived their last defeat by Tarleton. Shortly after crossing the river, Cornwallis was informed that Buford was lying with four hundred men near the borders of

* Dr. Gordon's History, where the details are stated to have been derived from General Lincoln's letters and papers, from various MSS., from Dr. Ramsay's History, and from other publications.

North Carolina. He despatched Colonel Tarleton, with seven hundred of his cavalry, called the Legion, to surprise the party. The energy of this dashing officer was again displayed. He marched a hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, and came up with the enemy at a place called the Waxhaws. A demand that Buford should surrender, on the same terms that had been granted to the garrison of Charleston, was at once sent in, and refused; and Tarleton, who during the truce had been so disposing his men as nearly to surround the enemy, made a furious onslaught, for which the Americans were evidently not prepared. Most of them threw down their arms, and cried for quarter; but a few continued firing, and Tarleton was in no mood for mercy. Buford himself, and a few horsemen, forced their way through the opposing lines, and escaped: the greater number were killed on the spot, badly wounded, or seized as prisoners.

The Americans have always denounced in strong language the ferocity of Tarleton on this occasion; and it does in truth appear that the firing was kept up much longer than it should have been.* The English found it necessary to justify their conduct, which they did by asserting that the Americans themselves renewed the battle after a pretended submission; but this the Americans denied.

Resistance terminated with the defeat of Buford. The spirit of the people was completely broken. Many of them voluntarily took the oath of allegiance, or gave their parole not to bear arms against the mother country. Clinton, however, stationed military detachments in various parts of the conquered provinces, and on the 3rd of June issued a proclamation, in which he discharged from their parole all the militia who had been made prisoners, excepting those who had surrendered at Fort Moultrie and Charleston, and restored them to the rights and duties of citizens. He solicited the inhabitants to take military service under the Crown, that they might secure the King's Government, and deliver the country from the anarchy which had long prevailed; and he declared that such as should neglect to return to their allegiance would be treated as enemies and rebels. The effects of this proclamation were not happy. The South Carolinians were above all things desirous of peace. They were willing for the sake of quiet to submit to Royal sway; but the majority still cherished their resentments, and were not at all inclined to encounter the perils of war for the sake of still further repressing a cause to which, on the whole, they felt friendly. For the present, they professed loyalty; but it was with a secret reservation in favour of the patriots, whenever the opportunity should arise.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Return of Sir Henry Clinton to New York—Lord Cornwallis in Command of the Southern Army—Lord Rawdon—Despotic Government of Cornwallis—March of an American Army from the North to the Relief of South Carolina—Baron de Kalb—Partisan Warfare under Colonel Sumpter—The Main Body of the British Southern Army concentrated at Camden—Appointment of General Gates to take Command of the American Southern Army—March of his Troops through a Sterile and Malarious Region—Sufferings of the Soldiers—The Opposing Armies Face to Face—Battle of Camden—Flight of the American Militia—Gallant Conduct of the Continentals—Death of Baron de Kalb—Terror-stricken Retreat—Defeat of Colonel Sumpter—Measures of great Severity adopted by Earl Cornwallis and Lord Rawdon—Their Vindication of Themselves—Position of Washington in the North—Privations of the American Troops—Return of Lafayette to the United States—Determination of France to send Land and Sea Forces to America—Knyphausen's Invasion of New Jersey—Arrival of Sir Henry Clinton from the South—Skirmish at Springfield—Evacuation of the Jerseys—Attack on Bergen Point—Arrival of the French Fleet with Troops on Board—Bad State of American Affairs—Dilatory Recruitment of the Army—Patriotism of Pennsylvania—Sir Henry Clinton's Abortive Design on Newport—The French Fleet Blockaded—Gloomy Views of Clinton—Interview between Washington and Rochambeau at Hartford, in Connecticut.

Sir Henry Clinton designed to follow up his conquest of South Carolina by a series of operations against the sister province; but his intentions in this respect were frustrated by the receipt of information that a French fleet, with troops on board, was expected very shortly on the American coast. The English Commander-in-Chief therefore thought it prudent to return to New York with the greater part of his army, leaving four thousand men, under Lord Cornwallis, to hold what had been won, and, if that could be effected, to extend the victories of the British arms into other parts of the south. On the 5th of June, Clinton sailed from Charleston, and Cornwallis at once turned his thoughts to an active prosecution of the campaign. But, owing to the great heat of the weather, and the want of magazines, he was unable to make any direct movement until the approach of autumn. In the meanwhile, he took steps for enlisting the loyalists of South Carolina and Georgia into the Royal army, and for forming companies of militia. He also communicated with the supporters of the British cause in North Carolina, and advised them to remain quiet until the King's forces advanced to their support. Unfortunately, however, they made various attempts at insurrection before the right time, and were for the most part crushed by the local authorities, though one party, consisting of eight hundred men, succeeded in reaching a detachment of the English army at Camden, in South Carolina. The command at that spot was given to Lord Rawdon—a young nobleman, then barely twenty-six years of age, but who had already, five years before, distinguished himself by his courage at the Battle of Bunker's Hill. In subsequent years, Lord Rawdon, as the Earl of Moira, and ultimately as the Marquis of Hastings, acquired renown in India, where he acted as Governor-General, and also in a military capacity. At present he was comparatively unknown; but he soon had an opportunity of showing that the confidence of Lord Cornwallis in his abilities as a soldier was not misplaced.

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* Gordon and Stedman—both English historians of the war—condemn the conduct of Tarleton on grounds of humanity: the former by implication; the latter very explicitly. Stedman had served with the English army in America during the war.

While still at Charleston, Cornwallis attended to the government of the subjugated province, but, it is to be feared, in a spirit much too despotic. He issued a succession of proclamations, abridging the privileges of the prisoners of war; and he established a board of police for the administration of justice, which acted with great partiality towards the loyal, and great harshness towards all who had been concerned in the insurrection. Several of the latter were imprisoned at a distance from their families; and fear of consequences induced many to make a hypocritical profession of loyalty when they were in truth only awaiting an opportunity to resume the war. Those who had suffered from their devotion to the national cause were encouraged by the sympathy of the South Carolinian ladies, who refused to attend the concerts and public receptions of the victors, and preferred to visit their unhappy countrymen in the prisons where they languished. Yet even this influence did not counteract to any great extent the feeling of depression which had spread over the land, and which lasted for some weeks after the fall of Charleston. A more courageous spirit ultimately set in, and an occasion presently arose for once more raising the standard of revolt in the southern portions of the Union.

At the end of March, Washington sent a reinforcement to the Carolinas, consisting of Delaware and Maryland troops, with a regiment of artillery, under the command of Baron de Kalb, a German officer. Their despatch had been delayed for want of funds, and, when at length they started, they had a long and tedious way before them. Being unprovided with magazines, they were obliged to spread themselves in small parties over the country in order to collect corn and other necessaries. It was July before they reached North Carolina, and at Deep River they were compelled to halt for some time. On the approach of this force, a number of South Carolinian refugees, who had sought protection in the northern province and in Virginia, assembled, to the number of two hundred, under the lead of Colonel Sumpter, whose family had been treated with great cruelty by the English military authorities, and who in consequence cherished a feeling of fierce resentment. He now burst into South Carolina, determined to do as much mischief on a small scale as he could. Popular support and assistance were not found wanting by his followers. Village blacksmiths forged for them rude instruments of war out of those which had been used for husbandry; private families gave up their pewter dishes, to be melted down into bullets. Even then, the supply of weapons was most inadequate; yet these courageous men sought out small detached parties of militia or of Royal troops, and fought them with varying success. In time, their stock of arms was increased by what they took from the bodies of the dead on the field of battle; and the fame of their exploits caused others to join their ranks, so that they soon numbered six hundred men. Then some companies of Royal militia deserted, and went over to Sumpter; one of them under circumstances which cannot escape the imputation of peculiarly bad faith. Lisle, the commander, who had recently accepted military rank as a Royal officer, concealed his intention until his men had been supplied with clothes, arms, and ammunition, and then carried them to the little army of guerillas. Although these men were on two occasions defeated with loss, the partisan warfare of Colonel Sumpter, and the advance of the American army from the North, were facts sufficiently serious to oblige Cornwallis to draw in his outposts, and mass his scattered troops. The English forces had up to this time composed a line of posts extending from the river Pedee, near the eastern boundaries of the State, to the fortified village of Ninety-six, in its more western division. The village so called is supposed to have derived its singular name from the circumstance of its being ninety-six miles distant from the principal village of the Cherokee Indians. Now that the outlying posts were abandoned, the main body of the army was concentrated at Camden.

De Kalb, who commanded the army of relief, which Congress strained every nerve to reinforce on its march, was an officer of excellent abilities and considerable experience; but the fact of his being a foreigner was against him, as he was unacquainted with the country, and a stranger to the language and disposition of the people. On the 13th of June, therefore, General Gates was appointed to take command of the Southern Department, and was vested with very ample powers. The striking success of Gates over General Burgoyne at Saratoga had conferred upon the former officer a very high reputation—a reputation, perhaps, in excess of his deserts, though his deserts were not mean. He had succeeded to the unbounded confidence which, in the earlier days of the war, was bestowed on another Englishman, now in disgrace and retirement—General Charles Lee; for it is remarkable that for some years the Americans placed more reliance on two natives of the country against which they were in rebellion, than on their own much greater man, Washington, not to speak of Greene and Arnold. Gates reached the camp at Buffalo Ford, Deep River, on the 25th of July, when he requested Baron de Kalb to retain the command of his division, as formerly in the grand army. It is not improbable that the German was glad to escape the responsibility of the chief command; for his practised military eye must have seen how poor, with a few exceptions, were the materials with which he would have had to deal. A large part of the army consisted of undisciplined troops, and these were to encounter some of the best soldiers in the world, well commanded, and confident with recent victory. The supply of food was of the worst, if indeed it can be said that there was any supply at all; and the march was through a dreary and perplexing country, in the hottest season of the year. The American forces counted about two thousand men—a very insufficient number, considering all that lay before them; but reinforcements of militia from North Carolina and Virginia were expected, and it was resolved to brave the issue.

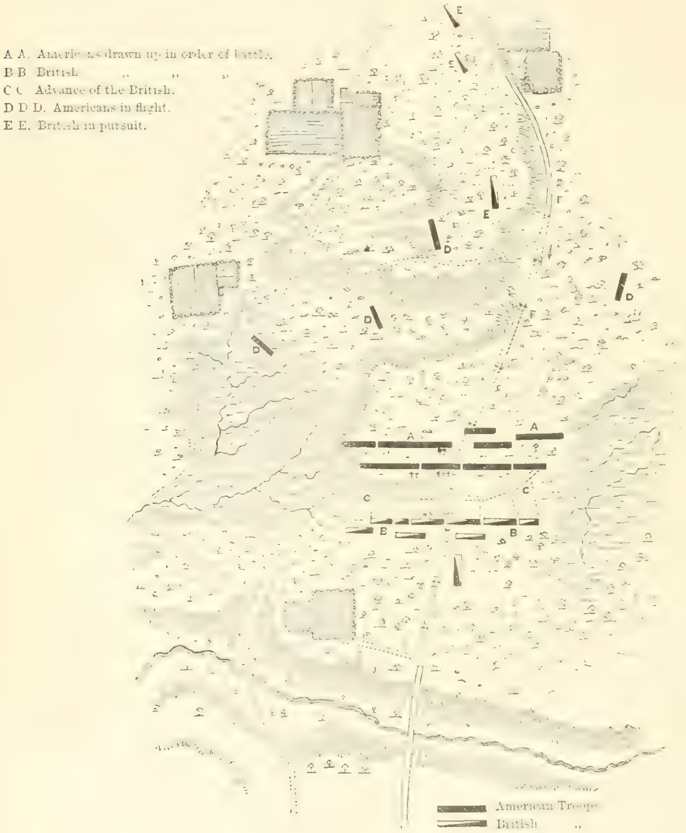
Without loss of time, Gates got his army in motion by the 27th of July; and, considering it advisable to close with the enemy as soon as possible, took the direct road to Camden, though it lay through a region of great sterility. Sandhills, swamps, and pine-barrens succeeded one another with wearisome sameness; the midsummer sun was fierce and tyrannous; the air drooped heavily with malarious vapours; the march was toilsome and depressing beyond description; and the men were exposed to imminent danger of starving. At one time, there were signs of a mutiny on this account. The subsistence of the troops was in fact an affair of chance. The men occasionally found lean cattle wandering about the woods, and these they killed and consumed; but this precarious supply often failed them altogether, and their case became little short of desperate. Unripe corn, gathered from the fields, supplied the place of bread; and, when that was wanting, the wild peaches of the country were gladly eaten as a resource against positive famine. Disease ensued, as it is sure to do under such circumstances; the army was threatened with destruction before it had seen the enemy. Gates at length struggled through the dismal tracts which had folded him and his men in their deathlike embraces; and, being reinforced by the expected militia towards the middle of August, he considered his army in a sufficiently favourable state for encountering the Royal forces.

By this time, Lord Cornwallis had joined the main body of his troops at Camden, situated on the river Wateree, a branch of the Santee. The Americans began to move on the evening of August 15th, and the advanced guards of the armies unexpectedly met in the woods about two o'clock on the morning of the 16th. If mere numbers always prevailed, the issue of the day would have been entirely favourable to Gates; for he had now four thousand men to only two thousand of the English. As regards health, the forces were about on a par; for both were suffering from the maladies of a depressing and almost tropical climate. But the British troops were of much superior quality to the Americans; were better armed and better fed; and had a thorough knowledge of their business as soldiers, which could not be said of many of their opponents. The regulars under Gates formed a rather small minority; the rest were raw militia. In this respect, Cornwallis was in the superior position; but his paucity of numbers was embarrassing, and Camden was not well adapted for sustaining an attack. The English General, however, saw that he must either strike a successful blow, or retreat to Charleston. To have adopted the latter alternative would have been a dangerous confession of weakness, and in the then disaffected state of the province would have been followed at once by a general rising. He therefore advanced towards the American camp, and the commencement of the battle resulted, as we have said, from an accidental collision in the woods. Several other skirmishes occurred during the night, serving to show the opposing commanders the position of each other's forces, but in themselves attended by no decisive results.

Cornwallis perceived that the Americans were flanked on both sides by morasses, and that consequently they would not be able to avail themselves of their superior numbers to spread their ranks, and enclose his small army. He formed his men in two divisions, of which the right was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, while the left was under Lord Rawdon. The American army was in three divisions, with artillery between them. The respective commanders were Generals Gist and Caswell, and Baron de Kalb; Gates holding himself in readiness to appear wherever his presence might be required. With the earliest light of morning, the English began the attack, rushing forward with a cheer which struck dismay into the opposing ranks of the militia. The latter had already been much shaken by the obscure encounter of the previous night, which had caused the advanced guards to fall back with precipitation, and had spread a feeling of vague alarm through the whole line. It should in fairness be recollected that the Americans were reduced in strength and spirits by the low dietary to which they had for some weeks been accustomed; by fatiguing marches and impaired health. The Virginian militia on the left of the American line could not abide the shock of onslaught. After a desultory and feeble discharge of musketry, they threw down their arms, and fled. The centre, composed of the militia of North Carolina, caught the rapid infection of dismay, and dashed confusedly to the rear. They were pursued by Tarleton's cavalry, and cut down without even the show of resistance. Gates, with some of the militia officers, attempted to rally them; but they refused to listen to the word of command, and continued their headlong flight. It was afterwards said by some that Gates abandoned the ground sooner than he ought, and before all hope of victory was lost; but it seems more probable that he was borne off the field by the rush of his scared militia, and that he found it impossible to do more than endeavour to cover the retreat of the regular troops by steadying a sufficient number of the others to answer that purpose. The attempt, however, was unavailing. It was the regulars who covered the flight of the militia.

The former, in truth, fought with the utmost gallantry. Under the command of Baron de Kalb, they disputed every inch of ground, even after the centre and left wing had entirely disappeared. These devoted men, the regular or Continental troops, formed the right of the American line, and were assailed by the British left, under Lord Rawdon. The contest was long and bloody. After awhile, Colonel Webster got to the rear of the Americans, and the two armies became intermingled in a murderous and almost indiscriminate struggle. Not until Lord Cornwallis brought his whole force to bear on them did the heroic Continentals give way. At the last moment, de Kalb made a desperate charge at the head of a body of troops who still refused to yield. Struck with eleven mortal wounds, the gallant German fell to the ground, and his aide-de-camp, Colonel du Buysson, vainly announced his rank and nation to the English troops. Du Buysson himself received several wounds, and was taken prisoner, together with the Baron. The latter died on the following day, after dictating a letter in which he gave warm expression to his admiration of the troops he had commanded, for their valorous and prolonged resistance to superior force. Their behaviour was indeed splendid, but it did not suffice to save the army. The regiments were first mobbed, and then scattered in small knots of fugitives, or in single units, through the woods and marshes to the north of Camden. Officers and men were separated; the roads were strewn with arms, accoutrements, baggage, fragments of waggons, the dead bodies of men and horses, and the miserable wounded; and cries of terror and of agony mingled in the sultry air. It is not the least disgraceful part of this flight that much of the property of the officers was plundered by their own militia. The baggage-waggons of General Gates and Baron de Kalb, however, were saved, as were the papers and private letters of both those commanders. The pursuit by the English cavalry was hot for more than twenty miles; and at a distance of forty miles, whole teams of horses were cut out of the waggons, that they might be mounted by officers or men. Gates arrived at Charlotte late that night, and on the following day proceeded to Hillsborough, to devise some plan of defence in conjunction with the Legislature of North Carolina.

Shortly after this signal discomfiture of the American main army, Colonel Sumpter received a serious check at Catawba Ford. A few days before, he had been reinforced by Gates, and ordered to intercept a convoy of clothes, ammunition, and other stores, for the garrison of Camden, which was on its way from Ninety-six, and to reduce a small fort on the Wateree, not far from the head-quarters of the English army. In both these objects he succeeded; but, upon hearing of the disastrous affair at Camden, he hastily withdrew, with his stores and prisoners, along the south bank of the Wateree. Tarleton was sent in pursuit, and, coming up with the Americans on the 18th of August, when they thought themselves beyond danger, and were reposing in the heat of the day, inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. The prisoners and stores were recovered; nearly four hundred of the guerillas were killed or wounded; and Sumpter was glad to escape without his coat.


A A. Americans drawn up in order of battle.
B B British ,, ,,
C C Advance of the British.
D D D. Americans in flight.
E E. British in pursuit.
A
A
B
B
C
C
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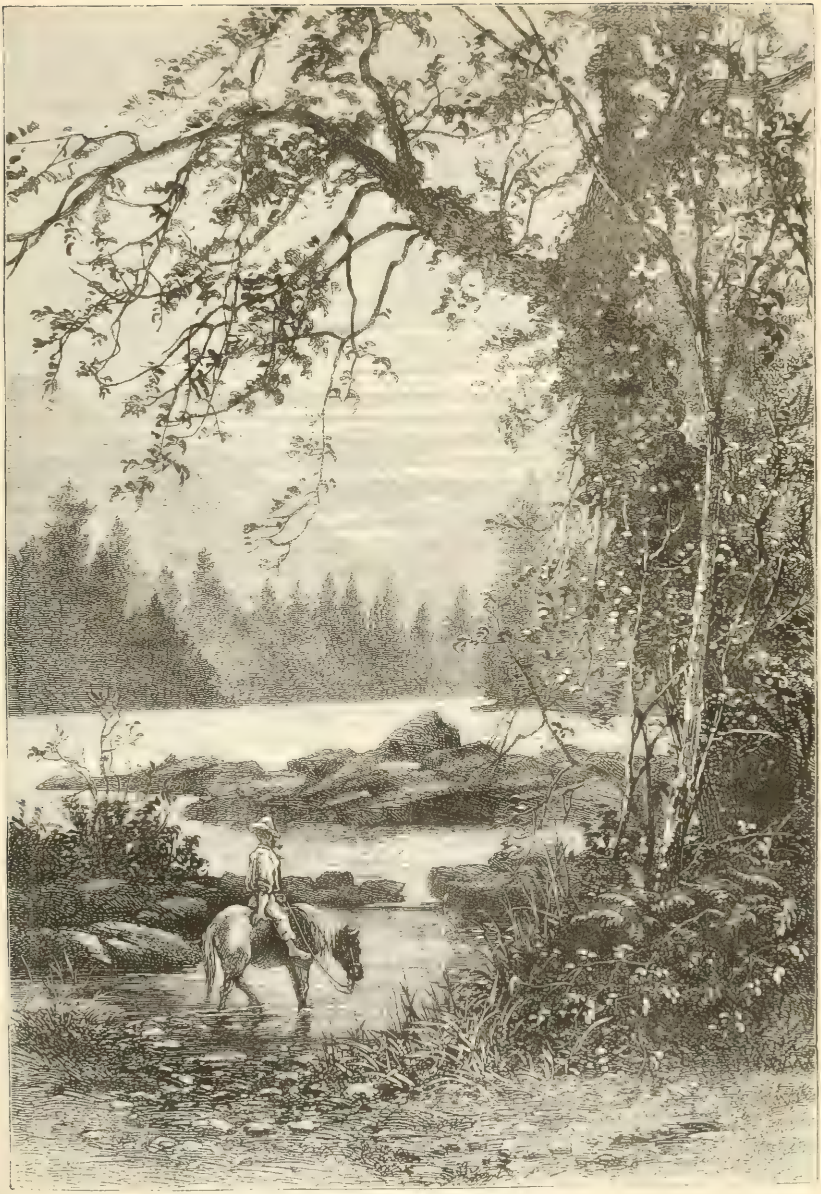
E
American Troops
British ,,

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CAMDEN. (From Stedman's History of the American War.)

Lord Cornwallis now advanced to Charlotte, and, while revolving a plan for the conquest of North Carolina, took measures for securing his hold on the adjoining province. Some of these were more severe than it is easy to justify. All militia-men who, after serving with the English, joined the insurgents, were to suffer death. Several of the prisoners taken in the battle of Camden were hanged, in consequence of their having formerly professed allegiance to the King, and received Royal protections which were found in their pockets. Certain persons who had been living on parole at Charleston, and who were discovered to be in secret correspondence with the rebels, were trans-



VIEW IN NORTH CAROLINA.

had reduced the whole village, including the church, to ashes. The act was one of wanton and inexcusable barbarity, and it was attended by another even more atrocious. A Mrs. Caldwell, wife of the minister of the place, was shot through the window of her house while sitting in the midst of her children. For this execrable deed there seems to have been not the slightest shadow of a pretext. It was doubtless the act of a single individual, obeying simply the lawless impulse of his own depraved and murderous nature; but the burning of the village must have been done by authority. Such measures seldom have any other effect than to exasperate opposition, and provoke retaliations which are frequently as bad as the original offences. The British left behind them a sense of cruel wrong, and a fierce desire for revenge; but the Jerseys, so far from being subdued, became all the more implacable in their hatred of Royal government. Knyphausen dared not venture on any further attempts in that direction, but concentrated his regiments at Elizabethtown and in Staten Island. On hearing of the invasion of New Jersey, Washington had made preparations for attacking the enemy; but the retreat of the British rendered this unnecessary—fortunately, perhaps, for the American commander, whose army at that time was extremely weak. The retiring forces were followed by an American detachment, which attacked their rear-guard on the morning of the 8th, but was repulsed. Washington, in consequence of these events, drew his army nearer to the Hudson, where he took up a position from which he could act with equal celerity in defence of New Jersey or of the New York highlands.

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The French fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line, with frigates and other vessels, and having nearly six thousand troops on board, reached the shores of Rhode Island on the 10th of July. This armament, it was announced, was to be followed by a second division; but no second division ever came. A few days later, Lafayette arrived at Newport from the American head-quarters, to consult with his countrymen as to the further course of the campaign; and a plan of combined operations against the enemy in New York, drawn up by Washington, and addressed to Count Rochambeau, was carried with him by the young French Marquis. This plan was formed on the supposition that the French would have a stronger naval force than the English, and would be able to attack the enemy's fleet with a good prospect of success, or at the worst be in a position to block it up in New York harbour. The calculation, however, proved futile; for, after the scheme was arranged, Admiral Graves arrived from England with six ships of the line, which, with those already on the station, gave a total naval force much superior to that of the Chevalier de Ternay. It was agreed, therefore, to wait for reinforcements; and Washington was not sorry for this delay, as his army was yet in a feeble and disorganised condition. He had still only a very inadequate number of troops, and these were so badly apparelled that their commander felt a very natural sentiment of shame in presenting such ragged legions to the smart and well-clad French. On the 20th of August, he wrote to a friend:—"To me it will appear miraculous if our affairs can maintain themselves much longer in their present train. If either the temper or the resources of the country will not permit of an alteration, we may expect soon to be reduced to the humiliating condition of seeing the cause of America upheld in America by foreign arms."

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About a month after this despatch was penned, the American and French commanders became personally known to one another. On the 21st of September, Washington and Rochambeau met at Hartford, in Connecticut, where they talked over their plans for the next campaign, without, however, being able to settle anything with precision. As a compliment to their French allies, and a recognition of the unity of the two nations, the American officers now wore cockades of black and white—the former being the American colour, the latter the French. At Hartford, and also at head-quarters, Washington managed to present the best aspects of his army to the foreigners, and to exclude the worst. A French observer (the Marquis de Chastellux) testified in glowing terms to the soldier-like demeanour of the general officers, and to their politeness and ability; and spoke with admiration of the handsome equipage of the Commander-in-Chief, of the battalion of the Guards, of the numerous grooms holding fine horses, of the regularity with which all things were ordered in camp, and of the perfection of the discipline. Yet there was a shabby background to this picture, and Washington was not the man to forget it.

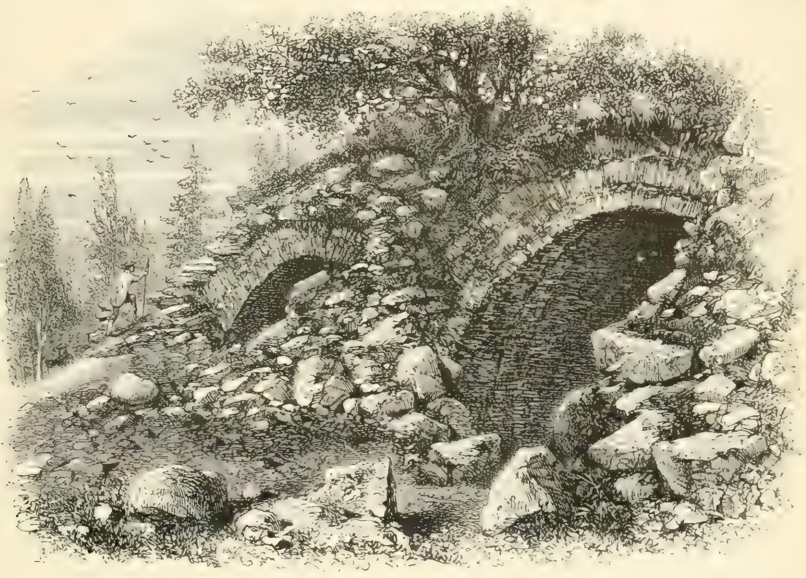
CHAPTER XLV.

Statements of Congress to the Minister of France—Efforts of France to bring about an Alliance between the United States and Spain—Spanish Policy with respect to America—Opinions of George III. on the Continuance of the War—Position of Lord North—The "Armed Neutrality"—General Arnold—His Embarrassments when in Command at Philadelphia—Charges brought against him—His Claims against Congress partly disallowed—He determines to betray his Country—Correspondence between him and Clinton—He undertakes to surrender West Point and the other Posts in the Highlands—Major John André and his Previous Career—His Interview with Arnold—The Terms of Surrender agreed upon—André within the American Lines—His Journey towards New York in Disguise—Arrest of André by American Militia—Flight of Arnold on learning the Fact—Washington at West Point—Discovery of Arnold's Treason—Distress of Mrs. Arnold—Trial of André, and Condemnation of him as a Spy—His Execution by the Hangman—Honours paid in England to the Memory of André—Remarks on the Merits of the Case.

France being now upon the scene of action as the military ally of the United States, it became incumbent on the rulers of the latter to consult their great patron on all affairs of importance, and to give sufficient information as to the means and resources of the Republic to enable the French monarch to proportion his own armaments to the necessities of the case. On the 31st of January, 1780, Congress resolved to lay before the French Minister, for transmission to his Sovereign, certain intelligence, which was to the effect that the United States confidently relied on bringing into the field, in the ensuing campaign, an army of twenty-five thousand effectives, exclusive of commissioned officers; that this army could be reinforced by militia to any extent required; that supplies of provisions for all the forces could readily be obtained; that further supplies for the use of such troops as France might send should be laid up in magazines, and that these magazines should be put under the agent of the French Marine. The assistance of a competent naval force was directly asked for; Congress declaring that without such a force little more could be attempted by the American army than straitening the quarters of the enemy, and covering the interior parts of the country. The superiority of the English at sea, it was observed, enabled them to change their object and operations with the utmost facility, while those of the United States were rendered difficult by the great extent of country they had to defend. At the same time, Congress assured the French King that the people of the United States—whatever might have been insinuated to the contrary by the British Cabinet, with respect to some members of the Federation—were unanimously resolved to secure their independence and their liberties.

This communication was made some months before the arrival of the French fleet and army, and it shows that in those early days of 1780 the American leaders were not at all confident of their ability to expel or subdue the English army, without the active co-operation of France. At that time the South was being threatened; the North was kept in constant alarm and watchfulness by the presence of the Royal forces at New York; and the Middle States would probably have re-

recovered much of their former loyalty on the first signal success of the King's troops in their part of the Union. Considerations of this nature doubtless had great weight with the French Government in resolving to send an army and a navy to the assistance of the infant Republic. France, indeed, was now quite as anxious for the success of the rebellion as the rebels themselves were. To ruin England in the New World was the most cherished object of her policy. Not content with offering her own aid to the Confederation, she used all her influence to bring Spain likewise into the alliance, and to this end instructed her Minister at Philadelphia to discuss the subject with Congress, in order that the latter might consent to such terms as would be likely to satisfy the Spanish monarch. Although at that date Spain had an accredited agent at Philadelphia, his business was transacted through the French Minister; and the chief of the two Bourbon Powers seems to have been authorised to speak on behalf of the other. France, said the representative of that country, most earnestly wished to see an alliance between the United States and Spain; but his Catholic Majesty (as the Spanish Sovereign was called) held certain engagements on the part of the former to be highly necessary as a preliminary. It was indispensable that the United States should not extend their boundary in a westerly direction beyond a defined limit; that they should renounce all claim to navigate the Mississippi, as no territory belonging to them was situated thereon; that, if the King of Spain should conquer the Floridas during the existing war (as was probable), every cause of dispute relative thereto between Spain and the United States should be removed; and that the Southern States should be prohibited from making any settlements or conquests in the territories lying on the east side of the Mississippi, then possessed by Great Britain, but possibly destined to be conquered by the Spanish arms. In briefer language, Spain was very willing to aid the Anglo-American colonies in striking down the power of England, but only on condition that the former should forswear for ever both the South and the West. The Floridas had been ceded to England at the Peace of 1763, and had recently been the scene of a good deal of irregular and predatory warfare—the Georgians and South Carolinians having made incursions into the neighbouring province, to revenge an invasion by the Floridians.



RUINS OF FORT PUTNAM, WEST POINT.

Spain knew that the United States, quite as much as the British Government, sought an extension beyond the original boundaries of the Thirteen Provinces; and she made the strict limitation of their desires in that respect a condition of any warlike alliance. In their instructions to Mr. Jay, a few months earlier, of which the reader has been informed, Congress had stated their willingness to guarantee the Floridas to his Catholic Majesty, in the event of their being conquered by him, but had made the free navigation of the Mississippi a proviso. This, however, did not suit the policy of the Spanish King, who had an interest in restraining within the closest bounds the dangerous activity of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Such was the position of the United States towards France and Spain in the year 1780. The views of George III. about the same period were no less important. It is now well known that, for a long while before the termination of the struggle, Lord North was personally averse from the further prosecution of the war, and opposed to the principles which had provoked it. In 1778, he had expressed to the King an earnest wish to resign office into the hands of Lord Chatham; and both before and after that date he would probably have granted Independence itself, rather than continue a fratricidal and exhausting contest. It was only an exaggerated sense of devotion to the King that withheld him from relinquishing the Premiership when he found himself forbidden to carry out this policy. That he was unable to give effect to his ideas, must be attributed entirely to his Royal master. George had a high, and it must be admitted a conscientious, sense of what he believed to be due to his Crown, to the rights of his successors, and to the predominance of the nation over its possessions. The people, for the most part, supported him in his opinions on this topic, and he regarded the public sentiment as an important element in the case. In January, 1778, he wrote to Lord North:—"Perhaps the time will come when it will be wise to abandon all America but Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas; but then the generality of the nation must see it first in that light." Persuaded, and no doubt rightly persuaded, that the generality of the nation did *not* see the matter in that light, he pursued with dogged determination his original view, that the colonies must be beaten into submission. Yet it was with a frequent reservation of the possibility of other events rendering a modified course advisable. On the 31st of January, 1778, the King, addressing his Prime Minister by letter, said:—"You must remember that before the recess I strongly advised you not to bind yourself to bring forward any plan for restoring tranquillity to North America: not from any absurd ideas of unconditional submission, which my mind never harboured, but from foreseeing that whatever can be proposed will be liable, not to bring America back to her attachment, but to dissatisfy this country." And in the same letter he remarked, "I do not reject all ideas, if a foreign war should not arise this session, of laying a proposition [of a conciliatory nature] before Parliament." Alluding to the probable approach of that war, he observed that in such a case it might be wise to withdraw the troops from the revolted provinces, and, having strengthened Canada and the adjacent parts, to attack the French and Spanish islands. When the war with France became inevitable, he was anxious that Lord North should not delay his conciliatory measures, which were accordingly brought forward in the House of Commons on the 17th of February. Writing on the 26th of March, the King evinced some disposition to accommodate matters through the agency of the Commissioners, but later on returned to his original demand for a vigorous prosecution of the war. "If," he wrote in the autumn of 1778, "Ministers show that they never will consent to the independence of America, and that the assistance of every man will be accepted on that ground, I am certain the cry will be strong in their favour." All this while, Lord North was urging the King to accept his resignation, or to negotiate for peace; but neither course was acceptable to George. "If any one branch of the Empire," he affirmed, "is allowed to throw off its dependency, the others will infallibly follow the example." On the 11th of June, 1779, he addressed Lord North in these terms:—

"No man in my dominions desires solid peace more than I do. But no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, can incline me to enter into the destruction of the Empire. Lord North frequently says that the advantages to be gained by this contest never could repay the expense. I own that any war, be it ever so successful, if a person will sit down and weigh the expense, they will find, as in the last, that it has impoverished the State enriched; but this is only weighing such points in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter. It is necessary for those whom Providence has placed in my station to weigh what expenses, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what would be more ruinous than any loss of money. The present contest with America I cannot help seeing as the most serious in which any country was ever engaged. It contains such a train of consequences that they must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving all the evils that have arisen from it I should suppose no man could allege, without being thought fitter for Bedlam than a seat in the Senate; but step by step the demands of America have risen. Independence is their object, which every man, not willing to sacrifice every object to a momentary and inglorious peace, must concur with me in thinking this country can never submit to. Should America succeed in that, the West Indies must follow, not in independence, but for their own interest they must become dependent on America. Ireland would soon follow, and this island, reduced to itself, would be a poor island indeed."

The same feeling is still more emphatically expressed in a letter of June 22nd, in which the King told Lord North, "Before I will hear of any man's readiness to come into office, I shall expect to see it signed, under his own hand, that he is resolved to keep the Empire entire, and that no troops shall consequently be drawn from thence, nor independence ever allowed." In 1780, he was just as eager for pushing the war to extremities as in previous years. "I can never suppose," he wrote to Lord North on the 17th of March, "this country so far lost to all ideas of self-importance as to be willing to grant American Independence. If that could be ever universally adopted, I shall despair of this country being preserved from a state of inferiority. I hope never to live to see that day; for, however I am treated, I must love this country." He continued to write in the same strain until the necessity of making peace could no longer be resisted. But in 1780 he not only desired to succeed; he believed that success would ultimately come, if the English people remained steadfast, and Ministers could always be found who would not betray their trust.

The contest at length assumed such dimensions that a less firm mind might well have been appalled; but George had certainly the virtue of courage. The United States, France, Spain, and ultimately Holland, were in arms against England, and the neutral nations, with Russia at their head, formed a confederacy, called the Armed Neutrality, to protect their commerce against the asserted right of Great Britain to search neutral vessels for contraband of war. These nations declared that "free bottoms make free goods;" that neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent Powers; that all effects belonging to the subjects of the said belligerent Powers should be looked upon as free on board such neutral ships, excepting contraband of war; and that no port should be considered under blockade unless there were before it a sufficient number of ships to render the blockade effective. These were principles which highly commended themselves to the Americans, who, even apart from the existing state of war, had an interest in the freedom of commerce on the high seas; and it was precisely these principles which were accepted, at the conclusion of the Crimean war, by Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey.

General ideas of policy, and even the large and important questions out of which the war arose, were now, however, to be for awhile eclipsed in the minds of Americans by a personal matter affecting the character of one of their principal men. The treason of Benedict Arnold, and the tragical event connected with it—the execution of Major André as a spy—are the two most conspicuous circumstances of the American war in 1780. Arnold was a dashing and brilliant General. His courage was marked; his enterprise was greater than that of many of his contemporaries; he had a real genius for warfare, and, on the field of battle, drank the fierce joy of combat with all the passion of a Moslem devotee, or of an ancient Norseman, before whom the halls of Odin rose in glittering vision above the dust and haze of mortal fight. He was one of the heroes of that extraordinary expedition against Quebec in 1775 which, fruitless in all other respects, was fruitful in courage and in stern resolve. The success of Gates at Saratoga was in some measure owing to the efforts of Arnold; and on other occasions he showed that in him the Republic had a captain worthy to lead her troops. But, unfortunately for his fame with posterity, and doubtless for his own peace of mind, he was a man vain, arrogant, and deficient in moral sense; and it so chanced that he was placed under circumstances peculiarly tempting to a nature such as his. Having been several times wounded, he retired for awhile from active service, but in 1778, on the evacuation of Philadelphia by Sir Henry Clinton, was appointed to the command in that city. While there, he married a young lady of great beauty, one of the damsels who had adjudged the prizes at the Mischianza, and of course a loyalist. This doubtless had an influence over the opinions of Arnold; but the act which ultimately disgraced his name was probably occasioned in a larger degree by his necessities, and by a feeling of anger at certain treatment which he regarded as unjust. His dictatorial manners and extravagant style of living having given offence to the Philadelphians, they were well-disposed to bring against him a number of charges of neglect of duty and abuse of power. The charges were investigated before a court-martial, and on the 20th of January, 1779, Arnold was acquitted of the principal allegations, but found guilty on the others, and sentenced to be publicly reprimanded by the Commander-in-Chief. This was mortifying, but it was followed by what, in the then embarrassed state of his fortunes, was a much heavier affliction. Some time before, he had presented to Congress several large claims against the United States on account of money which he said he had expended for the public service in Canada. On being examined, these claims were partly disallowed, and it was thought by many that they were of such a nature as to raise some suspicion of the integrity of him who made them.

Arnold was exasperated and sorely troubled. He threw up his commission in the American army, and began to revolve in his mind the opening of negotiations with the English General. In addition to his personal occasions of quarrel, he found a cause of complaint against Congress on more public grounds. He seems from the first to have sincerely disapproved of the French alliance, and his objections gathered force with time. It is possible he may have persuaded himself that the national cause was no longer what it had been, and that he was justified in deserting it; for acts springing from corrupt motives generally contrive to weave for their nakedness, by the slow and organic processes of self-esteem, some decent investiture of pretended virtue. Be that as it may, he commenced a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton in the course of 1779. This correspondence was carried on through Sir Henry's aide-de-camp —afterwards his Adjutant-General—Major John André; and the terms employed, though perfectly well understood by the parties concerned, were such as might seem, in the event of discovery, to have reference only to commercial transactions. Arnold disguised his hand, signed his letters "Gustavus," and for some time gave no clue to his identity. The intelligence he communicated, however, was found to be authentic, and it was sometimes important. From a variety of circumstances, Clinton divined that his mysterious correspondent was Benedict Arnold; and after awhile the secret was revealed. Arnold was without employment; his embarrassments were serious; his creditors were becoming importunate; he still lived with ostentatious splendour, still sought the society of wealthy and conspicuous persons, and had no means wherewith to discharge the claims that were rapidly accumulating against him. He engaged in business transactions, and failed; he sent out privateers, which met with no fortunate adventures. Treason might be a source of profit; and the idea of treason became gradually more and more familiar to his mind.

Washington, having no suspicion of what was passing in the thoughts of this sometime soldier of the Revolution, desired to employ him in the campaign of 1780; but Arnold, with many expressions of devoted patriotism, excused himself, on the score of being still disabled by his wounds. Nevertheless, he solicited and obtained the command at West Point, which carried with it the charge of all the other posts in the highlands of New York. It had already been arranged between Clinton and Arnold that, if the latter should succeed in getting the appointment, he would at once hand over all those posts to the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, "in such a manner as to contribute every possible advantage to his Majesty's arms." Such were Arnold's own words in making the proposal of surrender; and, arriving at West Point early in August, he awaited a favourable time for action. The absence of Washington, when, in the month of September, he went to Hartford, in Connecticut, to consult with Count Rochambeau, presented a good opportunity for carrying out this execrable design. To Sir Henry Clinton the surrender of such important positions could not fail to recommend itself as a great gain to the Royal cause. Their possession would give the British complete command of the Hudson, and open a free communication between New York and Canada, by that river and the lakes. This was an object which Washington had always been very solicitous to prevent, by the maintenance of his posts in the highlands; and hitherto he had been successful in that part of his military policy. Clinton cannot be blamed for taking advantage of an offer, however base its origin, which promised such valuable results. He had the interests of his Sovereign and his country to consider, and could not weigh questions of honour which, after all, concerned the maker, not the receiver, of the proposal. He acted as probably any other commander would have done under the circumstances, and gladly welcomed an unexpected aid towards the successful termination of the struggle.

Previous to the actual surrender, it was necessary that an interview should take place between Arnold and some representative of the English General, that the details of the plan might be settled. Arnold desired that the officer employed on this service should be Major André, with whom, under the assumed signature of "John Anderson," the previous correspondence had been carried on. André was a young man, rather less than thirty years of age, the son of French parents naturalised in England. In early life he acted for a time as clerk in his father's counting-house in London; but a tender attachment, which the young lady's friends opposed, seems to have directed his thoughts to the army, and he joined the British forces in Canada, with a lieutenant's commission, before the beginning of the war. Though the lady afterwards married another, he never forgot her, but carried her portrait, painted in miniature by himself, invariably about with him. A romantic element always appeared in his character, and, with the amorous devotion of a Troubadour, he had many of the Troubadour graces and accomplishments, both of body and of mind. He was handsome; he had engaging manners; his skill as a painter was not inconsiderable; he was something of a poet; with a general knowledge of literature he combined a special aptitude for the profession he had chosen. At the capitulation of St. John's to Montgomery, in 1775, he was taken prisoner, but was shortly afterwards exchanged, and ultimately acquired high favour with Sir Henry Clinton. He was now despatched on the delicate business resulting from Arnold's offer.

The *Vulture* sloop-of-war had been recently stationed by Clinton in the river Hudson, at a sufficient distance from the American posts to excite no suspicion, yet near enough for the design which was being secretly pursued; and André joined the vessel on the evening of September 20th. Some attempts to open communications which should be free from suspicion having failed, another plan was hit on. On board the British sloop was a certain Colonel Beverly Robinson, a loyalist American officer, whose house was at that time the head-quarters of Arnold. The original intention was that the landing and the interview with Arnold should take place under cover of a flag of truce, the professed object of which was to effect some arrangement as to the sequestered property of Robinson. In furtherance of this end, a letter was sent from Robinson to Arnold, soliciting a meeting. The letter reached Arnold while Washington was visiting him; and the former, to keep up appearances, showed the communication to his superior, and asked his advice. Washington strongly recommended him not to grant the request, but to refer Robinson to the civil authorities. Arnold was afraid of acting to the contrary, as the advice was given in presence of others: he therefore persuaded a Mr. Joshua H. Smith, who resided within the American lines, to go on board the *Vulture* at night, and deliver a packet, ostensibly addressed to Robinson, but really intended for André, whom Arnold knew to be on board. Smith afterwards asserted that he was the bearer of a flag of truce; but the statement is of doubtful accuracy, and the transaction was certainly of an irregular kind, or it would have been carried on openly, and in the daylight. On his return, Smith was accompanied by André, who wore his uniform, but was still described as Mr. Anderson. It was the night of the 21st of September—the day on which Washington was with Rochambeau. Darkness had fallen for some hours when Arnold and André met on a piece of neutral territory on the western side of the Hudson, and began their momentous discussion. The negotiations occupied so much time that the approach of dawn saw them not yet finished. André, therefore, contrary to his original stipulation and intention, and, as he said, without any knowledge of what was being done, was conducted within the American lines to the house of Joshua Smith, where the details of the business were finally arranged. It was settled that an attack on West Point should be made on the 24th or 25th of the month, and that Arnold should give up the place; and pass-words and signals were agreed upon. As it was possible that by that time Washington himself would be in the fortress, it is thought that one part of Arnold's design was to effect the capture of the Commander-in-Chief. The American traitor delivered to André, for Sir Henry Clinton, a number of papers relating to the fortress; several maps and plans; and certain memoranda, indicating the weakest points in the works, and the positions to which the American troops would be ordered, so as to facilitate the British attack.

It was very important that André should get back to the sloop as soon as possible. But it was now found that the *Vulture*, galled by a fire from the American posts, had dropped lower down the river, and, although she subsequently returned to her former station, Smith, probably alarmed lest the firing should be resumed, refused to make arrangements with his boatmen for rowing them to the vessel. It was therefore agreed that André should go to New York by land. Earlier in the day, Arnold, before leaving for head-quarters, had proposed this mode of proceeding, had concealed the compromising papers in André's boots, had made him change his uniform for a plain coat, and had given him and Smith (who was to be his guide) passports signed by the General, and, as regarded

André, made out in the name of John Anderson. The latter authorised the bearer to go to the lines at White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, as he was on public business. When the return by land was suggested in the morning, André refused to agree to it; later in the day he found he had no alternative. In a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, written a week after, he stated that his going within the enemy's lines, his changing his dress, and his following a circuitous route back to New York, were circumstances imposed on him by others, though perhaps unavoidably. Clinton, it appears from that officer's manuscript Memoirs, had strictly charged André not to change his dress on any account, or possess himself of writings by which the nature of his business might be traced; and it was understood by the English General that, after the interview was concluded, the Major would be sent back the way he had come.* The change of route seems to have been unavoidable; but the disguise, and still more the carrying of such compromising papers, were errors of the most serious, and, as it turned out, the most fatal character. The papers were not even of any service; for Clinton, as both Arnold and André must have known (such is Clinton's own account), was already in possession of the information they conveyed.

Crossing the river in the dusk of the evening at King's Ferry, André and Smith, to disarm the suspicions of a patrolling party with which they fell in, proceeded to a house on the eastern shore, where they passed the night, continuing their journey on the following morning. The road passed through a solitary country, consisting of wooded hills, deep valleys, and frequent streams, desolated since the war by the ravages of two sets of marauders, called Cowboys and Skinners, the former attached to British rule, the latter to the cause of Independence. Owing to the lawless activity of these brigands (for they were no better), houses were dismantled, fields were laid waste, and the whole land was reduced to so mournful a state of ruin that grass grew on the public roads for want of regular traffic. At Pine's Bridge, a village not far from the English posts, Smith took his leave, and André walked on in confident expectation of being soon beyond the possibility of danger. But it unfortunately happened that a scouting party, consisting chiefly of militia, was at that time scouring the neutral ground between the outposts of the two armies. As André was approaching the village of Tarrytown, three militiamen, two of whom were playing at cards in a little thicket by the roadside, while the third kept a sharp watch for any passing stranger, rushed out upon him, and seized the bridle of his horse. The incident ought really to have been of no importance. André had only to produce his passport with Arnold's signature, and he would of course have been suffered to proceed; or, even had the men proved to be loyalists, and André been seized as one of the other party, the mistake could soon have been rectified. But the suddenness of the attack destroyed his presence of mind. He believed moreover that he was beyond the American posts, as indeed, strictly speaking, he was. Still further, by one of those strange accidents which look like fatality, a member of the party wore the uniform of a loyalist refugee, which had been given him in exchange for his own coat while he was in captivity to the British. Trusting that the men were loyalists, André imprudently said, "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party?" "What party?" they asked. "The lower party," said André, meaning the party farther down the river, or, in other words, the British. "We do," answered the men. André then stated that he was an English officer on urgent business, and desired not to be detained a minute. The three men, however, now revealed themselves in their true character as Americans; and André, forcing a laugh, and pretending that what he had said was only a subterfuge to help him along, produced his passport from Arnold. But it was too late. The men dragged him into the thicket, proceeded to search his person, and, pulling off his boots, found between his stockings and his feet the papers which Arnold had secreted there. From the subsequent testimony of one of the Americans, it would appear that he endeavoured to make a bargain with André as to what he would give them to let him go. He offered large sums of money, frequently advancing his terms; but another of the mililia-men cut the matter short by declaring that he should not escape if he offered ten thousand guineas.† They then carried him to the commander of the outposts, Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, who was stationed at North Castle with a party of dragoons. Jameson acted with a degree of folly which Washington not inaptly described as "egregious." Although he had for some time past suspected Arnold of treachery, and had even

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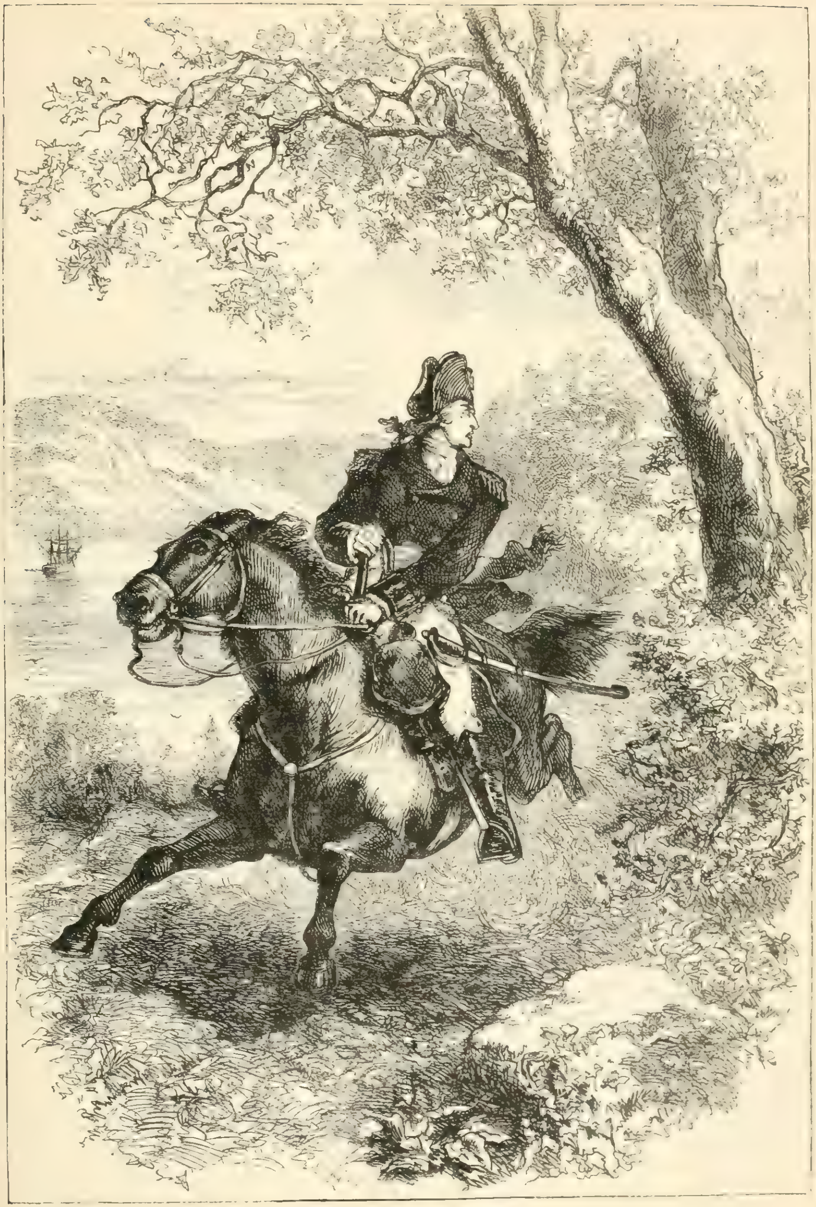
* Extract from the MS. published by Earl Stanhope in the Appendix to Vol. VII. of his History of England.

† According to what Major André told some Americans during his captivity, the original motive of the militia-men in stopping him was the hope of finding money concealed about his person, or in the housings of his horse, and that this was what really induced them to strip him.



ESCAPE OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

threatened to arrest him, if he should appear in that locality and order his men nearer to the enemy, he adopted a course which was exactly calculated to secure the escape of the arch-criminal. He examined the papers, saw their treasonable character, and knew them to be in the handwriting of Arnold. Nevertheless, he despatched a messenger to the General, with a letter informing him of the capture of André, of the discovery of the documents, and of the fact of his having transmitted those documents to Washington. Major Tallmadge strongly remonstrated against sending any such intimation to Arnold; but Jameson, with the obstinacy of dulness, was inflexible. On one point, however, he gave way to the representations of Tallmadge. He had actually sent off André himself with the lieutenant who carried the letter to Arnold; but he afterwards despatched orders that the prisoner was to be delivered into the custody of Captain Hoogland at Lower Salem.

Arnold, after parting from André on the 22nd, had in the first instance gone to West Point, and afterwards to the house where he resided, which was on the opposite or eastern side of the Hudson. Here, in the course of the 25th, while expecting a visit from Washington on his return from Hartford, he received Jameson's letter, telling him what had happened. The Commander-in-Chief had been delayed on the road, but had sent forward his two aides-de-camp; and Arnold was sitting at breakfast with those gentlemen, and with his own staff, when the lieutenant arrived. It says much for the self-possession of this traitor to his country that, on reading the letter to himself in the presence of the others, he was able to conceal the terrible emotions which it must necessarily have aroused. Requesting the aides-de-camp to inform General Washington on his arrival that he had been unexpectedly summoned by business of importance at West Point, he ordered a horse to be got ready instantly, and beckoned to his wife to follow him to their own chamber. To the astonishment and horror of that lady, he told her that they must immediately part, perhaps to meet no more, and that his very life depended on his reaching the English lines without detection. Mrs. Arnold swooned with the sudden blow, and her husband, hurrying downstairs, sent the lieutenant to her assistance, sprang on the lieutenant's horse, which he found waiting at the door, dashed off to the banks of the river, and got into his barge. "Push out into the middle of the stream!" was his first order to the rowers; then, displaying a white handkerchief, he directed them to row down the river to the *Vulture*, as he was going there with a flag of truce. The white handkerchief protected them from being fired on by the American officer at Verplank's Point, and the English ship was safely reached. Arnold made himself known to the captain, and the vessel, dropping down the river, conveyed him to New York.

In the meanwhile, Washington was on his return journey from Hartford. He followed a road different from that by which he had gone to the Connecticut city; and the messenger who carried Jameson's letter, with the documents found on André, missed the Commander-in-Chief in consequence of this change of road, and went back to North Castle. Thus it fell out that, on reaching the house of Arnold, Washington knew nothing of the treason of that officer. He arrived there very shortly after the flight of his subordinate, and, receiving the message that had been left for him, determined to follow to West Point. Attended by his officers, he embarked on the Hudson, and, while moving up the stream (for the fortress lay not only on the other side, but more to the north), called the attention of his companions to the magnificent highlands on both sides, and remarked, "I am glad, on the whole, that General Arnold has gone before us; for we shall have a salute, and the roaring of the cannon will produce a fine effect among the mountains." The barge was now moving obliquely towards the western shore; but not a gun spoke from the walls. Washington expressed some astonishment, and shortly afterwards they saw an officer descending the rocks towards the beach. As the boat ran into the shingles, and Washington was stepping out, the officer apologised for his apparent neglect, saying that he had been taken quite by surprise. "How is this, sir?" asked the Commander-in-Chief; "is not General Arnold here?"—"No, sir," replied the officer; "he has not been here these two days, nor have I heard from him within that time."—"This is extraordinary," rejoined Washington. "Since, however, we are come, although unexpectedly, we must look round a little, and see in what state things are with you." The works were accordingly inspected, and Washington, having satisfied himself that all was safe, returned across the river to Arnold's house.

During his absence, Colonel Jameson's messenger had arrived with the despatch giving an account of the arrest of André—or, as he called himself, John Anderson—and enclosing the suspicious documents discovered in his stockings. The communication was opened by Colonel Hamilton, one of Washington's officers, who had been left behind at head-quarters.

On reaching the house, the Commander-in-Chief was drawn aside by Hamilton, who placed the damnatory papers in his hands. With that equanimity which always distinguished this remarkable man, he said nothing about the affair to any of his officers, except Lafayette and Knox; yet in his heart he was distressed and staggered. "Whom can we trust now?" he exclaimed to Lafayette. Then, proceeding to the dinner-table, he said, with the utmost calmness, "Come, gentlemen, since Mrs. Arnold is unwell, and the General is absent, let us sit down without ceremony." The condition of Mrs. Arnold was indeed pitiable. She was almost frantic with grief and dismay. Now raving with passionate denunciations, now melting into tears, she excited the liveliest sympathies in all who saw her. Washington himself she upbraided with being in a plot to murder her child; yet almost in the same breath she lamented the imprudence of its father, which had occasioned all her misery. From the *Vulture* Arnold wrote a letter to Washington, soliciting a considerate treatment of this unhappy lady. Professing to have a heart conscious of its own rectitude, and in the step he had taken to be actuated by the same love of America which had always influenced him, he asked, not any favour for himself—for, he said, he had too often experienced the ingratitude of his country to attempt such a thing—but protection for his wife from those insults and injuries to which a mistaken vengeance might expose her. To the immortal honour of the American authorities and of the American people, this prayer was ultimately granted. It was generally believed that Mrs. Arnold, though coming of a loyalist family, knew nothing of the contemplated treason, and she was allowed, before the close of the year, to rejoin her husband at New York.

Left to himself at Lower Salem, at first under the charge of Captain Hoogland, and then under that of Major Tallmadge, André was not long in coming to the decision that he ought to reveal his true name and mission to the American Commander-in-Chief. He wrote to Washington on the 24th of September, stating that he was Major John André, Adjutant-General in the British army, acknowledging in general terms the object which he had in view in going to the vicinity of West Point, yet withholding the name of Arnold. In this letter he emphatically asserted that he had never had any intention of going within the American lines, and he complained of having been "betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise." He then preferred a request to his Excellency, which was that, in any rigour towards himself which policy might dictate, he should not be branded with anything dishonourable, as he had had no motive but the service of his King, and was involuntarily an impostor. He at the same time took the liberty of mentioning that there were some American gentlemen at Charleston, who had, while either on parole or under protection, been engaged in a conspiracy against English rule, and of suggesting that they might be exchanged for himself, or might be affected by the treatment he should receive. Of this letter Washington took no notice. André was shortly afterwards removed to West Point, and then to the head-quarters of the army at Tappan, on the west side of the Hudson, where the case was referred to a Court of Inquiry, charged to report on the facts, and to advise what punishment was due. By the ordinary usages of war, André might have been hanged at once, as a spy taken in the fact; but it was thought better to have an investigation. The Court consisted of twelve American, and two foreign, officers: the latter were Baron Steuben and the Marquis de Lafayette; and the whole were under the presidency of General Greene. The investigation took place on the 29th of September; but previous to that date letters were addressed to Washington by Colonel Beverly Robinson and General Clinton, the object of which was to represent to the American Commander-in-Chief that Major André was under the protection of a flag of truce sent by General Arnold, and of a passport signed by the same officer, and therefore could not be detained without a gross violation of the laws of war common among nations. Clinton's missive enclosed a letter from Arnold to himself, pointing to the same facts, and assuming the responsibility of André having returned by land, and of his travelling in a false name; "all which," added the traitor with matchless effrontery, "I had then a right to do, being in the actual service of America, under the orders of General Washington, and commanding General at West Point and its dependencies."

The proceedings of the Court of Inquiry were brief. André was not allowed the presence of any advocate, witness, or friend; but it is said that the Court behaved, in other respects, with great delicacy, begging him not to consider himself bound to answer any questions which he might find embarrassing. He made various statements, however, both by word of mouth and by a written paper; and it was mainly on these statements, embodying the facts already set forth, that the members of the Court founded their conclusions. The dignified and respectful conduct of the prisoner, whose chief anxiety seemed to be to shield all but himself, excited a strong feeling of sympathy with him on purely personal grounds, but in no degree affected the issue, as indeed it should not have done. At the close of the inquiry, which did not extend beyond one sitting, Greene and the other officers reported it as their opinion that Major André ought to be considered a spy, and, according to the law and usage of nations, to suffer death. The unfortunate man, when informed of his impending doom, bore himself with the same firmness he had exhibited from the first. Once only he broke down into tears, and that was when referring to the invariable kindness of Sir Henry Clinton, and expressing a fear lest he should reproach himself, or any one else should reproach him, with being the cause of his sad fate. To this effect he wrote to Clinton; and at the same time called his attention to the fact that he had a mother and three sisters, to whom the value of his commission would be an object. The commission was afterwards sold by Sir Henry for the benefit of the family.

It now remained for Washington to confirm, to annul, or to mitigate, the judgment of the Court of Inquiry. Some accounts assert that Washington was outvoted by the others on the question of hanging André; but it does not appear that he was a member of the Court, or in any way interfered with its deliberations. On the 30th of September, Clinton wrote to him to say that he had deputed General Robertson, together with the Lieutenant-Governor and the Chief Justice of New York, to confer with his Excellency, or such representatives as he might appoint, on the subject of Major André's position. These persons, attended by Colonel Beverly Robinson, went to Dobbs's Ferry on the morning of October 1st. Only General Robertson was permitted to land (the others, excepting Robinson, not being military officers); and with Greene, who appeared for Washington, the General had a very prolonged conference. The discussion turned much on the disputed fact whether André, on landing from the *Vulture*, was or was not under the sanction of a flag of truce. Arnold asserted that he was; but, at the investigation, André himself had admitted that it was impossible for him to suppose he came on shore under any such protection. It must in candour be granted that, even assuming the flag of truce to be unquestionable, such flags never could be intended to cover such acts, and that the Americans were fairly entitled to argue that from the moment his treason took shape Arnold ceased to be one of their officers, and had no authority to act in any way as such. General Robertson offered to exchange for André any prisoner whom the Americans might choose, and intimated that Sir Henry Clinton had frequently spared the lives of American spies on the intercession of Washington. Finally, he proposed to refer the question to the judgment of General Knyphausen and Count Rochambeau, who, as foreign officers employed on the side of England and America respectively, might be supposed likely to arrive at a dispassionate conclusion. But neither his arguments nor his offers had any effect on the mind of Washington.

The execution, which was to have taken place on the 1st of October, was postponed, to allow of this discussion. The postponement prolonged for a day the painful suspense of André. On the 2nd, early in the morning, Robertson received a note from Greene, briefly stating that General Washington saw no reason for altering his determination. General Robertson at once wrote to Washington direct, repeating the arguments already submitted to Greene, and adding that Sir Henry Clinton would be "infinitely obliged" by the liberation of the captive, and that he (Robertson) would regard any considerate treatment of the Major as a favour he would always be intent to return. This appeal was as fruitless as the others; but it appeared that there was one condition on which André would have been released. Captain Aaron Ogden, who conveyed the letters from André and Washington to the British posts at Paulus Hook, hinted that the young English officer would probably be exchanged for Arnold. Lafayette had directed him to let fall this suggestion; but he had no such instructions from Washington. At any rate, the idea was one which could not for a moment be entertained. It was again brought forward by Greene at the conference with General Robertson, and replied to by a glance of indignant rebuke. André's case was rendered still more hopeless by a most imprudent letter written by Arnold to Washington on the 1st of October, threatening retaliation, and the shedding of a torrent of blood, if the prisoner should be executed.

André was constantly guarded by officers with drawn swords; but he was not likely to make any attempt at escape. On the morning of the day originally appointed for his execution, he drew with his pen a sketch of himself as he sat at his prison-table, which he gave to one of the officers in charge. During that same day, he wrote a very touching letter to Washington, imploring that he might die the death of a soldier, not that of a felon. No answer was returned; and when André was summoned forth to die, on the morning of the 2nd of October, he was not without a hope that the favour he had craved would be granted him. That it was not granted has been attributed to the inflexible sternness of Greene, who insisted that any mitigation of the sentence would imply a doubt as to its justice. It is also said that Congress was consulted before André was examined, and declined to interfere.

André had sent to New York for the uniform of a British officer, and, having arrayed himself in this on the fatal morning, he placed his hat on the table, and said to the officers on guard, "I am ready at any moment, gentlemen, to wait upon you." He then walked to the place of execution arm-in-arm with two subaltern officers, bowing serenely to several gentlemen whom he knew. When he came within sight of the gibbet, he appeared (as Major Tallmadge has recorded) to be startled, and inquired, with some emotion, whether he was not to be shot. Upon being told that this could not be allowed, he exclaimed, "How hard is my fate!" but immediately added, "It will soon be over." To the fact of dying he professed to be reconciled, but not to the mode of his death. While waiting near the gallows until the necessary preparations were completed, he betrayed some degree of nervousness; rolling a stone to and fro with his foot, and making an effort to swallow, as if checking an hysterical affection of the throat. A few minutes later, he stepped into the waggon; shrank for a moment from the disgraceful instrument; then, recovering himself, observed, "It will be but a momentary pang." He bandaged his eyes with his own hands, and, on being reminded that he had now an opportunity to speak, if he desired it, lifted the handkerchief, and said to Colonel Scammel, "I pray you to bear me witness that I meet my fate like a brave man." They were his final words. He died with scarcely a struggle, and remained suspended for half an hour, during which an awe-struck silence prevailed over the whole assemblage. His remains were interred close by, but were removed to England in 1821, when a small peach-tree was found growing above the grave. They now repose in Westminster Abbey, near a mural tablet erected to his memory by George III., who caused him to be there described as one "who fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his King and country." A pension was also conferred on André's mother, and his brother was created a baronet.*

The conduct of Washington in connection with this most painful affair has been strongly condemned in England, and as strenuously defended in America. The case is one of those which take entirely different aspects, according to the point of view from which they are contemplated. André's unhappy fate may be regarded from three points of view: that of pure humanity; that of English patriotism; and that of American patriotism. From the first of these, there is room for no other feeling than sorrow and compassion. From the second, André appears as a brave man, ignominiously put to death because he had done his duty to his country. Clinton, it should be observed, could not have refused the offer of Arnold; it was necessary that some one should arrange the preliminaries; and André was the man on whom the risk devolved. It must always be recollected, in association with this view, that, in the estimation of the English, Arnold was merely restoring to George III. what was his by right, though for a long while withheld from him by rebels. But this can by no means be the view of Americans. To them, Arnold was a traitor, and a traitor of the most dangerous and despicable order. André came within their power while furthering the wicked designs of Arnold; and it can excite no surprise that they should have held him guilty. It is beyond dispute that one of the objects of André's visit to Arnold was to obtain information with regard to the fortifications at West Point; and the flag of truce, had it existed, could not protect what was in truth an act of spying. The punishment of a spy is death by the halter, according to the general usage of armies. Sir William Howe had hanged a man in 1776, when taken under somewhat similar circumstances to those of André. That the latter had not intended to go within the American lines makes no essential difference. He was there as a matter of fact; and he carried on his person indisputable evidence of the errand on which he had been employed.

Men who venture on these desperate enterprises take their lives in their hands, and it is not fair to speak in terms of severe condemnation if those whom they would fain have injured strike hard in return when chance has delivered the enemy into their power. Still, the rigour of strict law may sometimes be mitigated as to its extreme application; and it will always be to many a matter of regret that the military authorities of America found themselves unable to hearken to the prayer of André, and grant to a gallant soldier the solace of a soldier's death.

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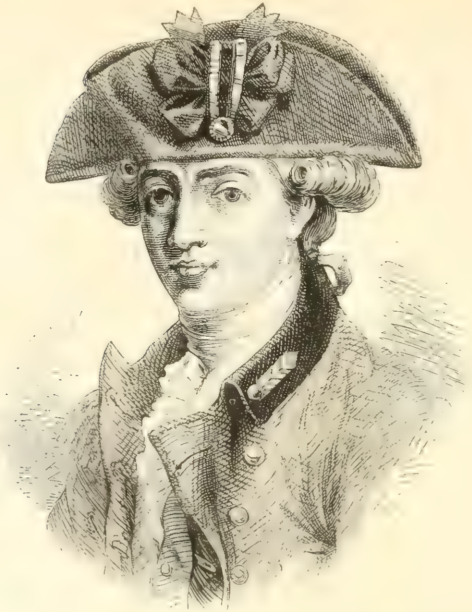
* Gordon's and Stedman's Histories of the War; Sparks's Washington, and Life and Treason of Arnold; Washington Irving's Life of Washington; Earl Stanhope's History of England; and other authorities. The case in its legal bearings has been fully discussed by Mr. Charles J. Biddle in an essay printed in Vol. VI. of the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1858.



Your most obedt
humbl. Servant
J. André.

PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.

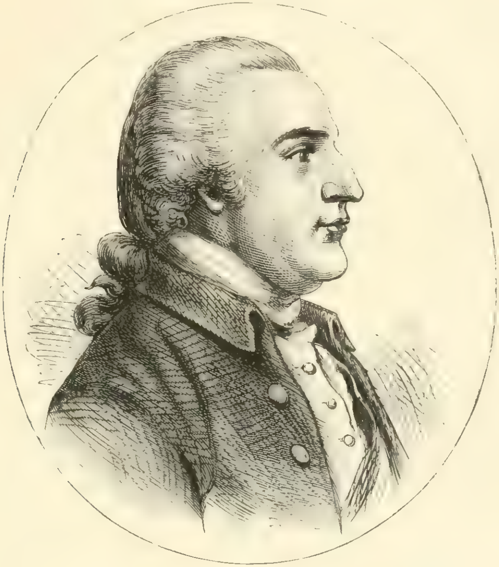
CHAPTER XLVI.

Clinton's Announcement to the British Army of the Death of Major André—His Remarks on Washington's Conduct in the Affair—Subsequent Career of Arnold—His Address to the People of America, and Proclamation to the American Army—Other American Officers suspected—Inquiries set on Foot—Plot for seizing Arnold—Champe, the Sham Deserter—A Desperate Ride—Failure of the Plot—Rewards and Honours to the Militiamen who arrested André—Trial of Joshua Smith—Treatment of Mrs. Arnold—Measures at West Point—Inquiry into the Military Conduct of General Gates—Greene appointed to the Command in the South—Proceedings of Earl Cornwallis—Expedition of Major Ferguson in the Neighbourhood of Ninety-six—Irruption of Western Settlers into North Carolina—Defeat of Ferguson's Troops, and Death of their Commander—Retreat of Lord Cornwallis into South Carolina—Last Measures of Gates previous to Surrendering the Command into the Hands of Greene—Desultory Warfare—Expedition of Colonel Tarleton against Morgan—Battle of the Cowpens, and Defeat of Tarleton—Pursuit of Morgan by Lord Cornwallis—Greene joins Morgan at Sherwood's Ford—Escape of the Americans into Virginia—Sufferings of both Armies—Greene re-crosses the River Dan into North Carolina—Slaughter of Loyalists on the River Haw—Movements of the Opposing Army—Defeat of the Americans at Guildford Court House.

NEWS of the dismal fate of André was conveyed to New York by his servant, who had joined him after his arrest, and who carried back the regimentals in which he had died, and his other effects.

On the 8th of October, Sir Henry Clinton issued an order to the British army, announcing, "with infinite regret," and in very general terms, the death of his young friend. "The unfortunate fate of this officer," he added, "calls upon the Commander-in-Chief to declare that he ever considered Major André a gentleman, as well as, in the line of his military profession, of the highest integrity and honour and incapable of any base action or unworthy conduct." Clinton seems never to have forgiven Washington for his severity on this occasion. In his manuscript Memoirs, he speaks of his great antagonist as apparently "delivering himself up to the rancour excited by the near accomplishment of a plan which might have effectually restored the King's authority, and humbled him from his present exalted situation," and as burning "with a desire of wreaking his vengeance on the principal actors in it."

Still dilating on the same theme, he remarks:—"His [Washington's] acting in so cruel a manner, in opposition to my earnest solicitations, could not but excite in me the greatest surprise, especially as no advantage whatever could be possibly expected to his cause from putting the object of them to death. Nor could he be insensible, had he the smallest spark of honour in his own breast, that the example, though ever so terrible and ignominious, would never deter a British officer from treading in the same steps, whenever the service of his country should require his exposing himself to the like danger in such a war."* Nothing can be more natural than the feelings of Clinton in connection with this sad case; and yet there is no ground for supposing that Washington acted from any other motive than a stern sense of duty, according as his duty appeared to him to lie.



Bened. Arnold

PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL ARNOLD. (*The Portrait is from that of Du Simitier*, 1783.)

If men always suffered in proportion to their wrong-doing, Arnold should at this time have been a man haunted by remorse and terror. Colonel John Laurens, who had at an earlier period served as aide-de-camp to Washington, but who was now on parole at Philadelphia, remarked that he must be undergoing the torment of a mental hell. In replying to Laurens's letter on the 13th of October, Washington greatly questioned this. Arnold, he said, wanted feeling; and while his faculties would enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there would be no time for remorse. His subsequent career seems to support this view. He was well content to forget his quality as an American in his new character of a British officer. Being appointed a Colonel in the British service, he was allowed to retain the brevet rank of Brigadier-General which he had held in the army of the United States; and he received in money the sum of £6,315, as compensation for losses incurred by his going over to the Royalist side. It was part of his bargain with Sir Henry Clinton that he should be indemnified for whatever loss of property he might sustain by this change of masters. We shall shortly find him acting in the field against his countrymen. When the war was over, he engaged in commercial transactions in Nova Scotia and the West Indies, and ultimately settled in England, where he died on the 14th of June, 1801.

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* Appendix to Vol. VII. of Earl Stanhope's History of England.

Shortly after his arrival at New York, Arnold published an address to the people of America, in vindication of his conduct. His argument was that he had originally taken up arms merely to aid in obtaining a redress of grievances; that he considered the Declaration of Independence precipitate, and the reasons for it removed by the subsequent conciliatory offers of the British Government; that Congress ought not to have rejected those offers without submitting them to the people; and that, finally, the treaty with France—a proud, ancient, and crafty foe, the enemy of the Protestant faith and of real liberty—had completed the measure of his indignation, and determined him to abandon a cause sustained by iniquity and controlled by usurpers. He also issued a proclamation, inviting the officers and soldiers of the American army, who had the real interest of their country at heart, and who were determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congress and of France, to rally under the Royal Standard, and fight for true American liberty. The proclamation held out promises of large bounties and liberal subsistence to all who should so join, together with compensation for all the implements and accoutrements of war they might bring with them. These promises had little or no effect; and few who condemned Arnold's conduct could have been convinced by the reasonings of his address. The motives for changing sides which he there alleges, may in themselves have been very good motives. It is quite conceivable that an honourable and a patriotic American may have seen a clear distinction between fighting for a redress of grievances and fighting for Legislative Independence; but in that case he would have quitted the service as soon as the intention of which he disapproved had been announced, and would certainly not have remained in arms more than four years longer. Arnold even retained his command two years beyond the time at which Congress (without, as he pertinently observes, consulting the people) refused the British offers of conciliation, and declined to meet the Commissioners. Had he been sincere and honest, he would have thrown up his commission in the American army at the later, if not at the earlier, of these periods; and in any case he would have acted openly, and not as a secret traitor, bargaining, for a sum of money, to betray the trust which had been placed in him. Even at the time itself, when national animosities were necessarily much excited, many Englishmen looked on Arnold with detestation and disgust; and at the present day it would probably be impossible to find one who would desire to say a word in his favour.

The treason which had been so nearly successful, excited in the mind of Washington a very natural distrust as to the character and designs of other officers. Rumours were circulated, implicating many persons of high standing in the American army in the plot just discovered; and, in particular, suspicion was thrown on General St. Clair. It is asserted by American writers that these rumours were set afloat by the enemy, for the purpose of spreading alarm and perplexity throughout the national camp. However this may have been, the alarm and perplexity were great, and Washington determined to test the truth of the reports by sending secret agents into New York to procure intelligence. The conduct of these inquiries was given to Major Henry Lee, who was stationed with a party of dragoons on the outposts. A paper had been discovered, in which General St. Clair was unpleasantly mentioned; but the result of the inquiries, in this case and in others, was to remove all shadow of suspicion. Washington now turned his thoughts towards a project for seizing Arnold in New York, and carrying him off within the American lines. To Major Lee this business also was entrusted, so far as its general management was concerned. Lee selected for his agent the sergeant-major of cavalry in his legion, a young Virginian named John Champe, strong, bony, and muscular, with a saturnine countenance and a singularly taciturn manner. His commanding officer incited in this young man a thirst for fame, by impressing on his mind the virtue and glory of the act he was desired to perform. The general outlines of the scheme were that the sergeant should join General Arnold as a deserter from the Americans; that he should engage in the corps which Arnold was raising, and should contrive to insinuate himself into some menial or military berth about that officer's person; that a correspondence should be kept up with a certain inhabitant of Newark who had connections with the British, but who was known to be faithful to the cause of his countrymen; and that, when the favourable moment had arrived, they should seize the General in the night, gag him, and take him across the Hudson into Bergen woods in New Jersey. Washington agreed to the details of the project, with the proviso that Arnold was to be brought in alive—partly because any irregular slaying of him would lead to charges of assassination, partly because he desired to make a public example of the traitor.

"The virtuous sergeant," as Lee described him,—though, as he was to earn promotion by his service, his motives were not solely patriotic,—made his sham desertion on the night of October 20th. The perils of the attempt began at once, and that from his own countrymen; for, as none of the common soldiers, nor even any of the officers, save Lee himself, knew of the plot, there was no small danger of the man being regarded as a real deserter, and shot by sentries, patrols, or scouting parties. He was, in fact, challenged by one of the patrols, but, putting spurs to his horse, he escaped. Information of the fact was conveyed to Lee, who had retired to bed, and who was at length obliged, after an ineffectual pretence of discrediting the statement, to order out a party in pursuit. He so contrived, however, as to interpose many delays before the troops were in the saddle, and Champe thus obtained an hour's start before his comrades set forth. This was improved by the pursuers' necessity of halting every now and then, dismounting, and examining the road, to ascertain, by the foot-prints of the horse, the direction which Champe had taken. Yet, on the whole, the pursuers must have ridden faster than the sergeant, for in the faint light of dawn they descried him, from the summit of a hill, about half a mile ahead. Champe, seeing his comrades approaching, managed to elude them, and in a little while got abreast of two British galleys at anchor near the shore beyond Bergen. By this time, Cornet Middleton, who had command of the troop, was only two or three hundred yards behind him, and it was necessary to abandon his horse. Running through a marsh, he plunged into the river, and by his cries induced those on board one of the galleys to send off a boat to his assistance.

In pursuance of the scheme, Champe enlisted in Arnold's corps, and made arrangements for surprising him at night in a garden at the back of his quarters, and carrying him in a boat across the Hudson. Lee, on the night appointed, was among the woods on the Jersey shore, with three dragoons and three led horses; but the sergeant was unable to accomplish his purpose, and at daybreak Lee returned disappointed to camp. It was feared that the man had been detected in the attempt to seize the traitor, and had been hanged; but it subsequently appeared that, on the day preceding the night fixed on for the capture, Arnold had removed his quarters to another part of the town. Some troops were about to be embarked for a distant expedition, and the American Legion, amongst whom was John Champe, were sent on board one of the transports. Thus the plot came to nothing, and it was long before Champe was able to escape, and resume his proper place among the soldiers of the Union.* He was well rewarded for the perils he had undergone, and for the pain of lying for a considerable period under the stigma of having deserted to the enemy. But it is perhaps a subject for congratulation that he failed in his plot. The seizure of Arnold under such circumstances would have had a character of treachery and savageness, which would have done no good to the American cause; and little would have been gained to the interests of the Federation by the death of a man who had miscarried in his great design, and who was discredited even with the new masters to whom he had transferred his sword.

The three militiamen who had arrested André were recommended by Washington to the President of Congress for a handsome gratuity, and the suggestion was favourably received. A formal vote was passed, expressing a high sense of their virtuous and patriotic conduct; and to each of them was awarded a farm, a pension for life of two hundred dollars, and a silver medal, bearing on one side an escutcheon engraved with the word "Fidelity," and on the other the motto, "Vincit amor Patriæ" (the love of our country conquers all other considerations)—a phrase from Virgil. The medals were delivered to the men by Washington himself at head-quarters, and it cannot be questioned that they had discharged a clear and imperative duty to their country, though not, it would seem, without some previous disposition to betray that duty for a proffered reward. It is unpleasant to be obliged to add that one of these men—Isaac Van Wart—had the bad taste to be present at the execution of André; but, having done so, it was to his credit that he was deeply affected by the spectacle, that in after-life he disliked to recall the subject, and that he could rarely speak of André without tears.

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* Irving's Life of Washington, chap. 140.

Another actor in the tragedy—Joshua Smith, who accompanied André part of the way on his fatal road to New York—was tried by court-martial on a charge of being concerned in the treason. No proof was forthcoming that he had any knowledge of Arnold's intentions, and he was consequently acquitted; but it was thought by many that he must at least have suspected something wrong, owing to the mysterious circumstances by which the interview between Arnold and André, and the departure of the latter, were surrounded. Mrs. Arnold was in the first instance sent to her father's house in Philadelphia, but was afterwards compelled by the Executive Council to leave the State. Her own desire was not to join her husband; but, on being obliged to quit Pennsylvania, she went to him at New York. By the Executive Council she was strongly suspected of complicity with the contemplated treason, but apparently without justification in facts, though some in recent times have believed her guilt. Arnold had expressed a fear lest she should be ill-treated, but the fear proved groundless. The American people magnanimously refused to identify the woman with the proved guilt of the man. It is related that she arrived one night at a village where the populace were about to burn her husband in effigy, and that they refrained from the intended act, and quietly retired to their homes, on discovering that this unhappy lady was in their midst. In England she was generally received with respect and sympathy, while her husband was slighted at the best, and often subjected to positive insult, at the hands not merely of Americans, but of Englishmen also. Mrs. Arnold died in London on the 24th of August, 1804.

The sense of insecurity at West Point, resulting from the information which Arnold would be sure to communicate to Clinton, induced Washington to hurry on the completion of the works, and to have them strongly garrisoned. The command was temporarily given to General Greene, who was ordered to march with the Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, and Stark's brigades, and to do the utmost he could to secure the position against any attack that might be meditated. Washington took post with the main body of the army at Prakeness, near Passaic Falls, New Jersey. About this period an inquiry was being made into the conduct of General Gates, whose ill-fortune at the battle of Camden, and premature retreat from the field, were considered matters imperatively demanding investigation. On the 5th of October, Congress passed a resolution instructing Washington to order a Court of Inquiry into the alleged misconduct, and in the meanwhile to appoint some other officer to the command. The General selected in consequence of this monition was Greene, who was succeeded at West Point by General Heath. To Greene, Washington would originally have entrusted the command in the South, had he not been over-ruled by Congress; and the appointment was now specially solicited by the delegates of the three Southern States. The Court of Inquiry was to be conducted in the quarter in which Gates had acted. Baron Steuben was to preside, and the investigation was to be carried on with as much despatch as circumstances would permit. The treatment of Gates by Congress was regarded by many as unduly harsh. He was degraded, and brought to a species of trial, without being accused of any military offence. It had been determined by Congress, however, some time before, that whoever lost a post should be subject to a Court of Inquiry. When the Court met, its proceedings were conducted with great deliberation, and it was not until 1782 that the General was acquitted of all blame, and restored to his position in the army.

The state of affairs in the Carolinas towards the close of 1780 was much the same as it had been immediately after the Battle of Camden, in August. Cornwallis was unable to follow up his victory by any vigorous action, owing to the diminution of his army by disease and by the casualties of war. His stores were deficient, and for some few weeks he was unable to pursue his course into North Carolina. On the 8th of September, however, he left Camden, and about the end of the month arrived at Charlotte, in the northern province, whence he advanced towards Salisbury, and ordered his militia to cross the Yadkin. He now determined to embody the well-affected part of the population in a regiment which he expected would render important services to the Royal cause. For this purpose he employed Major Ferguson, with a small detachment, to train the loyalists in the district of Ninety-six. Ferguson acted with so much energy that in a little while he had collected a large body of men eager to fight for the King; but at the same time he had exasperated many by his depredations on the friends of independence. A danger was at hand of which he suspected nothing, but which, when it came, was rendered all the greater by the animosities that he had unnecessarily kindled. A Colonel Clarke, of Georgia, had for some time been collecting a number of followers in the Carolinas. He now reappeared in his native province at the head of seven hundred men, and attacked the British post at Augusta, from which the small garrison was compelled to fall back to an eminence on the Savannah. After some fighting, Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, who had command of the British, compelled his adversary to retreat across the Savannah, and sent word to Ferguson to intercept him. That officer prepared to do so, and approached nearer the mountains than was prudent. His ill-usage of the Republicans had in the meanwhile caused a number of them to seek refuge on the further side of the Alleghanies, where they excited amongst the western settlers a strong desire to encounter the enemy at a distance from their own homes. These men had no military organisation whatever; but they were accustomed to the use of the rifle, were bold, hardy, and adventurous, and could move from place to place with a rapidity and suddenness to which regular armies are often incompetent. Each of them had his horse, and they started equipped with nothing but their blankets, knapsacks, and rifles.

Ferguson saw his danger directly he heard of their coming. He retreated towards Charlotte, and sent messengers to Lord Cornwallis to solicit reinforcements. The messengers were intercepted, and no reinforcements arrived. At Gilberttown, the western settlers selected one thousand of their best riflemen (nearly a third of their number), mounted them on fleet horses, and sent them in pursuit of the retreating foe. Ferguson established himself on King's Mountain, on the border line between North and South Carolina, and there awaited his pursuers. He had not to wait long. On the 7th of October, the western men poured in like a flood, and, with scarcely any subordination or military array, made ready for the attack. The only approach to a concerted plan of action consisted in the resolution to divide their forces into several bodies, and to assail the enemy from different quarters. Colonel Cleveland, one of the officers, told his men that, when engaged, they were not to wait for the word of command from him; that he would show them by his example how to fight, and that he could undertake no more. Every man was to consider himself an officer, and to act on his own judgment. Though repulsed, they were not to run off, but were to return, and renew the combat. If any were afraid, they had not only leave to withdraw, but were requested to do so. The exhortations of Cleveland were not without effect. Although the Americans were repeatedly driven back by the bayonet, they always returned to the charge with fresh spirit. Assailed in quick succession from several directions, the British wheeled round from side to side, and fought with desperate tenacity. But at length Ferguson fell, mortally wounded, and his successor surrendered. Nearly seven hundred laid down their arms; more than four hundred escaped; and three hundred were stretched dead or wounded on the field. Fifteen hundred stand of arms fell to the lot of the conquerors, and this success was achieved without any serious loss to the Americans. Being well protected by trees, their marksmen could exercise, without much interruption, that skill with the rifle for which they were famous. The victory being complete, the western men, after hanging some of their prisoners whom they regarded as renegades, returned to their homes.

The consequence of Ferguson's discomfiture was that Lord Cornwallis quitted Charlotte, and retreated to South Carolina. The army suffered terribly on the march. Rain fell incessantly; the men had no tents, and were obliged to sleep under trees, exposed to the malarious influences of the climate; and for five days the soldiers were reduced to support themselves on ears of Indian corn, gathered from the fields. Cornwallis was so ill that the command devolved on Lord Rawdon; and on the 29th of October this officer drew up his army at Wynnesborough, an intermediate station between Camden and Ninety-six. Yet, notwithstanding these misfortunes, an attempt was again made to crush the spirits of the malcontents by further deportations to St. Augustine, in Florida. The policy was not attended by many results; and while it was being pursued, General Gates, whose successor had not yet arrived, was doing his utmost to re-organise the army which had been beaten so disastrously at Camden. He wrote to the President of Congress, on the 16th of October, from Hillsborough, in the north-eastern parts of North Carolina, that the enemy had so far had the worst of the struggle, having lost considerably more men, officers, and arms than the national forces, and being compelled to evacuate several posts which at the beginning of the campaign they had held on the Pedee. Gates now found himself at the head of one thousand four hundred men. While Cornwallis was at Charlotte, the American General prepared to dispute the fords of the Yadkin; and on the retreat of his adversaries he occupied the position they had abandoned. Here he received a private intimation that he had been superseded in the command by Greene, and that an inquiry was to be instituted into his conduct at the Battle of Camden.

It was from Greene himself that Gates had the first official notice of his dismissal. Greene behaved extremely well in the matter. He expressed his disapprobation of the censure thrown upon Gates, and added that he should be very well satisfied to serve under him. In travelling to his new command, he lost no opportunity of impressing on those he met that the general condemnation of Gates was unjust, and founded on an imperfect knowledge of the facts. On the 2nd of December, Greene arrived at head-quarters, and on the following morning Gates delivered the command into his hands, with expressions of courtesy which the new commander reciprocated. To no light or easy task had the latter succeeded. Washington, in writing to one of the South Carolina delegates, had observed, "I think I am giving you a General; but what can a General do without men, without arms, without clothes, without stores, without provisions?" This, indeed, was not all that might have been said. Greene was summoned to rescue from the hands of the British a part of the country which, as regarded a large proportion of the people, did not wish to be rescued. He found much of the region through which he passed so disaffected to the American interests, and so well disposed to English rule, that he was not without apprehension for his personal safety ere he could join the army.* Nevertheless, he did not shrink from the responsibility, and, in a few hours after assuming his command, received news of a cheering nature. One of Morgan's foraging parties had advanced to the vicinity of the British posts at Clermont, which surrendered immediately on being summoned. Slight as was this success, it looked like a hopeful commencement of the new military administration, and had a good effect on the spirits of the army.

One of the first cares of General Greene was to re-establish discipline in his small force of not many more than two thousand men. This he could only accomplish by acts of severity; but they produced the effect intended. His position was extremely difficult. North Carolina abounded in loyalists, and so fierce an internecine warfare prevailed between these men and those of the opposite faction that whole districts were laid waste. The resources of life were exhausted, and it was a matter of the utmost difficulty to get provisions for the troops. Greene therefore determined to divide his army, and carry on a desultory warfare. He put General Morgan at the head of a small body of infantry and cavalry, with orders to proceed south of the Catawba, so as to observe the positions of the enemy; and he himself, with the rest of his force, took post, on the 29th of December, on the east side of the Pedee, opposite the Cheraw Hills, about seventy miles north-east from Wynnesborough. Morgan had already taken up a position towards the western frontier of South Carolina, whence he operated with effect on detached parties of loyalists. Other flying bodies of irregular warriors were also in the field, and a wide extent of country was kept in a state of perpetual agitation by their desultory movements. This species of warfare was rendered the more easy by the spare population of the Carolinas, and by the natural features of the land, which abounded in woods and marshes, in rapid rivers and steep hills. Although these guerilla leaders could effect nothing on a large scale, they harassed the British forces in many minor ways, and helped to wear them out. One of the most energetic of the guerillas was a General Marion, who scoured the country on the Santee, struck terror into the loyalists, and on one occasion rescued a party of Continental prisoners from an English guard. He was so ill-provided with arms that he was compelled to forge the saws of the saw-mills into a species of rude swords; and his ammunition was often most deficient. Yet he made his power felt; and the officer who was sent against him added to his followers by the severe measure of burning the houses of those who were supposed to be in his interest.

To check one of these predatory bands, and to rescue the British post at Ninety-six from the danger which seemed to threaten it, Earl Cornwallis directed Colonel Tarleton, with eleven hundred men, including cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to proceed against Morgan. At the same time, the Earl himself moved in a north-westerly direction, hoping to intercept the adversary if he should escape, and also to alarm Greene by getting between him and Virginia. Of late, Tarleton had not been so fortunate as previously. He had tried in vain to bring Marion to an action, and on the 20th of November had sustained a rather serious repulse at the hands of Colonel Sumpter, who, after his defeat on the 18th of August, had collected another company of fighting men, and was doing much mischief. However, it was now thought that Tarleton's force was equal to any emergency, and the proved energy of the commander inspired every hope of success. Morgan, on hearing of the approach of his enemy, retreated across the Pacolet, and halted at a place

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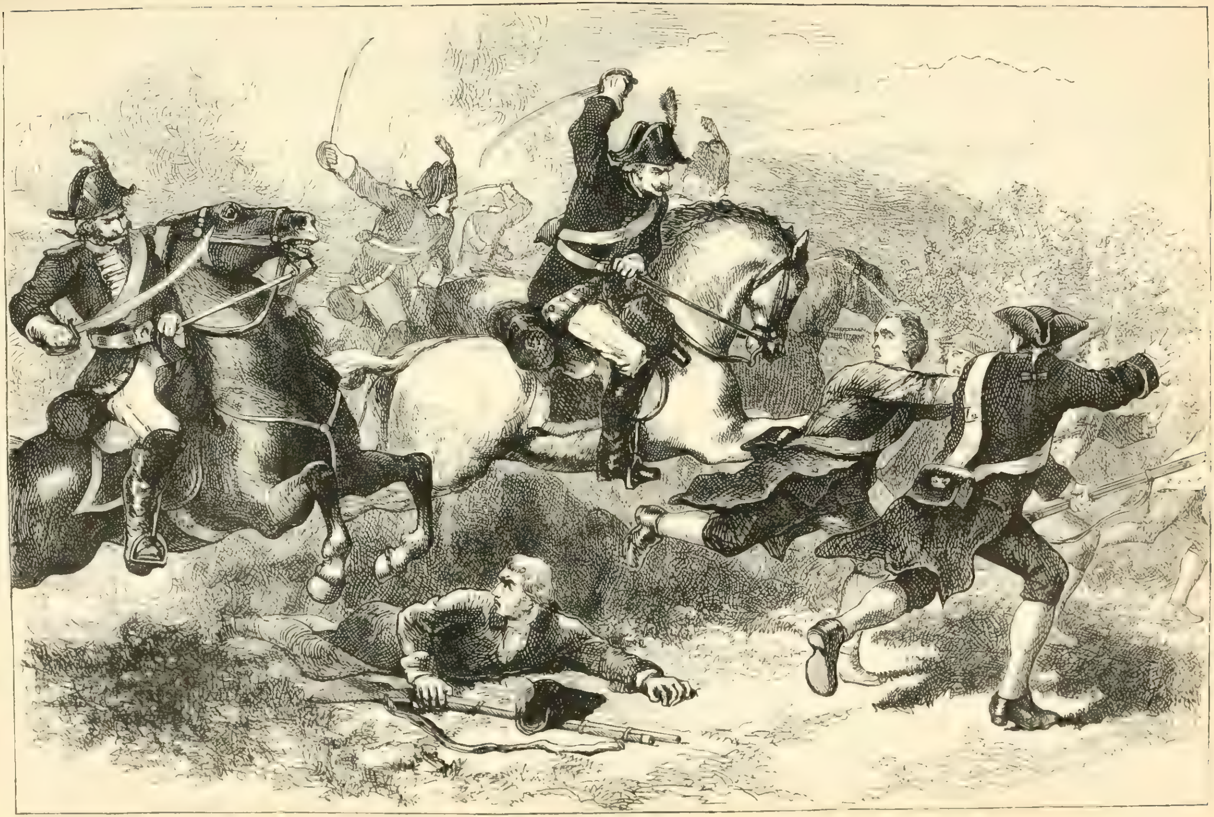
* Dr. Gordon's History, Vol. III., p. 475.



ROUT OF THE LOYAL RECRUITS.

called Cowpens, where he determined to fight. His numbers were not quite equal to those of Tarleton, but his troops were fresher. There, on the morning of January 17th, 1781, he was attacked by the English Colonel, who, though his men were much fatigued by a long night march, following on several days of great exertion, could not refrain from immediate action. Advancing with his usual impetuosity, he seemed to be on the eve of another striking triumph. The first and second lines of the Americans were speedily thrown into confusion; but, retreating to the top of a hill, they rallied, and calmly awaited the British. The latter, exhausted by their previous work, ascended the hill in some disorder, when the Americans, headed by Colonels Washington and Howard, charged their scattered ranks with so much vehemence and fury that they gave way at all points, and were pursued to the bottom of the hill. The cannon were taken, and the greater part of the infantry laid down their arms. The rest escaped, after a final and desperate charge by Tarleton at the head of forty horsemen. A hundred privates, and ten commissioned officers, had been killed on the side of the English; the wounded were still more numerous; and the seizure of artillery, muskets, and stores, was considerable. The loss of the Americans was comparatively slight, while the gain to their cause was even greater than it appeared at first.

Lord Cornwallis was vexed and astonished at the result of this action; but, although the partial destruction of Tarleton's detachment had seriously reduced his forces, which, at the best, were not too large, he determined to make a vigorous effort to retrieve his fortunes. When he heard of the disaster, he was at Turkey Creek, twenty-five miles south-east of Cowpens. Consequently, he occupied a position between Greene and Morgan, and it was a matter of great moment that he should prevent their junction. His best policy now was to beat the enemy in detail, and to this end he at once started in pursuit of Morgan, whom he hoped to overtake before he could pass the fords of the Catawba. Having, on the 18th of January—the day after Tarleton's defeat—formed a junction with General Leslie, whom a short time before he had sent towards the Catawba, the Earl began his chase of the successful American on the 19th. Destroying, for the sake of additional speed, the major part of his own and his officers' baggage, wasting even a large quantity of food, wine, and spirits, and retaining no waggons but those loaded with hospital stores and ammunition, and four empty ones for the sick and wounded, he followed fast on the retreating steps of Morgan; but that spirited officer moved with even greater celerity, and on the 29th of January passed the Catawba in safety, together with his prisoners. The last of his troops had not reached the northern bank more than two hours when the van of the English army arrived upon the southern shore. But a heavy rain had set in, and the river rose to so unusual a height that Cornwallis found it impossible to get across. During two days he was compelled to wait, and Morgan was enabled to send off his prisoners to Charlotteville, in Virginia. Thus disencumbered, he prepared to dispute the passage of the river. His camp was now at Sherwood's Ford, where, on the 31st of January, General Greene unexpectedly appeared, and took the command. He had come almost alone, leaving his division to follow as soon as it could, and had ridden post-haste, that he might be in person at the place of danger.

The Royal forces crossed the Catawba in the early morning of the 1st of February, not without some opposition, but only such as was easily overcome. Tarleton again distinguished himself by dispersing a party of five hundred militia, and the British met with no further resistance until they came to the Yadkin, when a sharp conflict took place between a body of American riflemen and the advanced guard of the pursuing army. On the night between the 2nd and 3rd, Greene crossed the Yadkin, partly by fording, and partly by the use of boats and flats. As in the case of the Catawba, the water rose immediately afterwards, and delayed the British. Greene had taken care to remove all the boats from the southern shore, and Cornwallis, not wishing to wait until the inundation had subsided, marched up the south bank of the Yadkin to the shallow fords near its source—a distance of twenty-five miles. Yet this in itself was a delay, and it was turned to the best advantage by the energetic American leader, who on the 7th of February was joined near Guildford Court House by the division he had left at Hick's Creek, on the east side of the Pedee. By this time, Greene was approaching the southern frontiers of Virginia, and his aim was to retire into that State. Cornwallis was very desirous of baffling that design, and of getting between his adversary and the proposed place of refuge. As the English commander was far from dilatory in his movements, it behoved the American to move as quickly as possible; for he was not safe in the Carolinas, whereas, if he could get into Virginia, and remove all the boats across the intervening river, the depth and width of that stream would prevent the pursuers from following; and, moreover, the Virginian population was much more favourably inclined to the national cause than that of either North or South Carolina. The nearest and most direct road to Virginia was by Dix's Ferry over the river Dan, a branch of the Roanoke; but, as the British were as near this point as the retreating force, and as it was impossible to bring up boats from the lower ferries, owing to the rapid current, Greene was obliged to shape his course obliquely to the ferries called Boyd's and Irwin's, situated about seventy miles from Guildford Court House. The other route would have saved twenty miles; but it was impracticable, and at once abandoned. Despatching, therefore, an officer and a few men to Dix's Ferry, to send the boats there down the stream to Boyd's and Irwin's, which were only four miles distant from each other, Greene left Guildford Court House on the 10th of February. He was closely pursued by the British, but the latter were harassed on their march by a corps of American light troops, formed to cover the retreat, who, on one occasion, inflicted some rather serious losses on their enemy. On the 14th of February, the fugitives crossed the Dan with their baggage and stores, and stood safely on Virginian soil. North Carolina was thus left in possession of the English; but Lord Cornwallis had entirely failed in what he proposed to accomplish.

This arduous flight and pursuit had extended over more than two hundred miles, and both armies suffered much from fatigue and deprivation. The heavy rains of the winter season were a great trial to the men, who were often wet to the skin, and had no artificial means of drying themselves. The Americans, however, were much worse off than the British. Ragged and barefooted, many of these unfortunate creatures were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. Some weeks before, Greene had written to Reed that they were living upon charity—subsisting upon daily contributions. To Washington he said that his militiamen were as ragged and naked as the Virginia negroes. Yet their military conduct was admirable, and the firm discipline of Greene was visible throughout the ranks. Not a sentinel was lost by desertion; not a murmur was heard from any one. Although the movement was a retreat, it was managed with so much address, and sustained with so much quiet endurance, as to reflect the greatest credit on the generalship of the chief commanding officer, and on the heroism of the men. The American army of the South was acquiring consistence and force under the tuition of events.

It being impossible to follow Greene any further, Cornwallis returned in a leisurely way to Hillsborough, where, on the 20th, he set up the Royal Standard, and called on the people to aid him in restoring order, and re-establishing the King's authority. Greene employed every means in his power to improve his position. He first sent a detachment of his army back across the Dan on the 18th, and then, on the 21st and 22nd, re-crossed with the main body, strengthened by a reinforcement of six hundred Virginians. His object was to do as much mischief as he could by scattered and irregular movements, and thus to dismay the loyalists. A general action he dared not hazard, and he therefore directed his greatest attention to cutting off small bodies of his countrymen who might be disposed to aid the English commander. That many were so disposed became very soon apparent. In one day, Lord Cornwallis embodied seven independent companies; and it was admitted by Greene himself, a few weeks later, that the majority of the people were in favour of British interests. On the 25th of February, some of the loyal recruits were proceeding to camp, when they fell in with Greene's vanguard, under Colonel Lee, and mistook them for Tarleton's cavalry, who had been sent to escort them. Lee, for a moment, thought they were a body of militia, under General Pickens, whom he had expected to co-operate with him; but, soon perceiving his error, he pressed on towards Tarleton, leaving Pickens, when he should arrive, to deal with the Tories. On that officer coming up and attacking the recruits, Lee, changing his design, wheeled round, and took his unfortunate countrymen in the rear. The fight, if such it can be called, occurred in a narrow lane near the river Haw. It was in truth a massacre. Quarter was refused; the loyalists begged in vain for mercy, and were sabred almost without resistance. Their evil fate did not end here. Tarleton, who was about a mile off, shortly afterwards fell in with some of the loyalists, and, mistaking them for provincial militia, assailed them with his accustomed fury. This tragical event had a great effect in deterring the population from taking arms under the King's flag.

Disconcerted in his schemes, the English General, on the 27th of February, retreated from Hillsborough in a south-westerly direction. Greene followed, boldly yet cautiously, changing his ground every night, without allowing any one beforehand to know what new position he intended to take up. His light infantry and cavalry scoured the country, overawed the loyal, and gathered information, while rendering it all the more difficult for Lord Cornwallis to do the same. These movements continued throughout several days; and, on the 6th of March, Lord Cornwallis, under cover of a thick fog, crossed the river Allemance, and marched towards Reedy Fork, where the American light troops and some militia were posted. The detachment retreated after a brisk skirmish, and General Greene fell back to the iron-works on Troublesome Creek. A few days later, he again advanced, and took up a position near Guildford Court House, at a distance of about ten miles from the British encampment. He had by this time received so many reinforcements as to be in command of an army numbering more than four thousand men. Conceiving that he was now in a sufficiently good condition to offer battle to the enemy, he made his arrangements to that end. Cornwallis, seeing his design, and not sorry for the opportunity, moved in the direction of Guildford Court House in the early morning of March 15th. The action commenced with an animated conflict between Tarleton's troops and an American detachment under Lee, ending in the retreat of the latter. This encounter gave Greene time to put the main body of his forces in order of battle. The surrounding country was woody and hilly—a desert interspersed with a few cleared fields; so that every facility for successful resistance was presented by the nature of the ground. In numbers, the Americans were twice as strong as their opponents; but a large proportion of their army consisted of ill-disciplined troops. By an unwise arrangement, the first line was composed entirely of the militia of North Carolina. Immediately on seeing the steady advance of the British, these men fled into the woods, and thence to their own homes, many of them without even firing a shot. The Virginian militia, however, and some of the Continental troops, fought with great firmness and resolution, even repelling, and for a time breaking, the ranks of the second battalion of Guards. The battle continued for nearly two hours, with varying fortune, and with great loss to both sides; but at length the Americans were forced to retreat, and retired in good order to Reedy Fork, and ultimately to Troublesome Creek. In the course of the day, the English recovered two field-pieces which had originally been lost at Saratoga, and which had changed hands more than once since then. But in seizing the cannon Earl Cornwallis did not win the Carolinas; nor in defeating Greene did he crush the revolution.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Results of the Battle of Guildford Court House—Retreat of Lord Cornwallis—Defects of the American Militia—Temporary Pursuit of Cornwallis by Greene—The American Commander enters South Carolina—Virginia invaded by Cornwallis—Taking of Fort Watson by Marion—Greene's Unsuccessful Designs on Camden—The Battle of Hobkirk's Hill—Gloomy Views of Greene—His Complaints of his Countrymen—Lord Rawdon retreats to Monk's Corner—Loss of Several British Posts—Partisan Warfare in Georgia—Acts of Ferocity—Siege of Ninety-six by the Americans—The Siege Abandoned on the Approach of Lord Rawdon—March of Rawdon to the Congaree, and thence to Orangeburgh—Greene encamped on the Hills of Santee—Lord Rawdon leaves for England—Battle of Eutaw Springs—The British Successes attended by no Useful Results—Mutual Animosity of the Southern Whigs and Tories—Case of Colonel Hayne—The South almost entirely Lost to England—Bad Condition of Affairs in the North—Mutiny of the Pennsylvanian Troops—Similar Movement in the Jersey Brigade—Apathy in America towards the Cause of Independence—Attempts to obtain Loans—John Adams in Paris—His Differences with Vergennes—His Negotiations with Holland—Rupture between Holland and Great Britain—Proposals for a General Peace, and their Ultimate Failure.

When night obscured the bloody field of Guildford Court House, the horrors of war were intensified by the state of the weather. A dark and heavy sky spread over the dying and the dead; torrents of rain descended from the clouds; and a chill air breathed over the scene of conflict, adding to the misery of those whose sufferings were already poignant enough. The English troops collected the wounded of both armies as soon as circumstances would permit; but very little could be done for their relief. No houses were near; the soldiers had brought no tents with them; they were unprovided with food, and had nothing even for their own refreshment. The unhappy wounded were therefore perforce left without assistance till morning; and many, ere the dawn, had found a welcome release in death. All through the night, the feelings of the survivors were harrowed by the cries and lamentations of their suffering comrades and adversaries; but help was impossible until the head-quarters of the army could be reached. Thus, although a victory had been won by Lord Cornwallis, it had been dearly paid for, and did not promise to be fruitful in great results. Greene's army was larger than his own, and might yet prove troublesome, however incapable of standing against the Royal forces in open field. Indeed, it soon became clear to the English commander that a retreat was inevitable, owing mainly to the difficulty of finding subsistence in a country so slightly cultivated at the best, and of late so terribly devastated by hostile legions. On the 19th of March he began to retire, leaving several of his wounded at the Quaker's meeting-house, under protection of a flag of truce. Moving by easy stages, he reached Wilmington, in North Carolina, near the mouth of Cape Fear River, on the 7th of April. Possession of this place had, by Lord Cornwallis's orders, been taken several weeks before by a small detachment; and here his wearied troops were for a time permitted to find rest.

Many incidents of the late battle must have once more brought home to the Americans the conviction that to oppose raw militia to regular troops was to ensure continual defeat. Although some of the militia at Guildford Court House fought well, others fled with disgraceful precipitancy, not even waiting to be attacked, and never again joining the ranks they had betrayed. Only a few months before (towards the end of the preceding year), Congress had determined on raising a large standing army; and a writer of the time remarks that they ought earlier to have got rid of an error which the experience of all mankind has exploded, viz., the carrying on a war with militia, or with temporary levies. America, he observes, had been amused almost out of her liberties, and the behaviour of the militia on several occasions had been unreasonably extolled. Some of the first Generals in the American service were ready solemnly to declare that they never witnessed a single instance, throughout the contest, which could support the opinion that militia or raw troops were fit for the real business of fighting.* Had the separate existence of the United States depended entirely on pitched battles, it is doubtful whether the desired result would ever have been attained. The chief strength of the revolutionists lay in their ability to wear out their opponent by a series of minute operations—to distract his attention by a multiplicity of simultaneous movements—to exhaust his resources by keeping the whole area of the Federation in a state of perpetual revolt and menace. But in the meanwhile more might have been done in other ways by an army better organised and disciplined.

Greene was astonished to find that Lord Cornwallis, so soon after his victory, was actually retreating. He resolved to pursue him, which he did so closely that occasional skirmishes took place between his advanced parties and the rear-guard of the British. The pursuit, however, was not carried very far. It was extended only to Ramsay's Mills on Deep River, where Greene arrived on the 28th of March, a few hours after the Royal troops had quitted that position by a temporary bridge over the stream. His army was now greatly diminished by desertions, and by the expiration of the period for which certain portions had been called out. It was also reduced to extremities for want of food, the men being so near starving that they ate with avidity any refuse they could find. It therefore appeared to Greene better to relinquish the pursuit of Cornwallis, and enter South Carolina—a step which he thought would compel the English General to follow him, and thus relieve North Carolina, or to remain in that part of the country, to call in his outposts in the south, and so to facilitate the re-conquest of South Carolina and Georgia. The forces of both commanders were very small—Greene's not more than seventeen hundred, and Cornwallis's two hundred less than that. Each was desirous of evading the other; and the war became to a great extent a war of manœuvring of alternate retreats and pursuits. Lord Cornwallis had anticipated Greene's design of invading South Carolina, and had despatched several messengers to Lord Rawdon, who commanded the British posts in that province, to urge the necessity of being prepared for such a danger. But the messengers were intercepted, and Rawdon was still ignorant of the threatened peril when Cornwallis, shortly after his arrival at Wilmington, received information that Greene had actually begun his southward march. It now became necessary for the Earl to determine —and that with so much rapidity that it was impossible to consult with Sir Henry Clinton at New York—whether he should proceed to Camden, and relieve Lord Rawdon, or advance into Virginia, and join Generals Phillips and Arnold, who were already in that province. He decided on the latter course; considering that Greene had got the start of him so far that the fate of Camden would be sealed before he could arrive there. He also dreaded being hemmed in between the great rivers in that part of the country; and, trusting that his subordinate in South Carolina would be able to defeat the American General, he resolved on starting for the north, in the hope of making an important demonstration in that quarter. On the 25th of April he began his march.

That very day, an important action was fought in South Carolina. Greene had by this time entered the southern province, and, in alliance with the guerilla leader, Marion, had commenced a series of desultory attacks, which proved very embarrassing to the English commander. Lord Rawdon had established a line of detached posts from Charleston, by way of Camden and Ninety-six, to Augusta, in Georgia. One of these posts—Fort Watson, situated on the Santee—was taken on the 23rd of April by Marion, acting in combination with Colonel Lee, who, together with his legion, had been sent by Greene with this view. The far more difficult achievement of subduing Camden, Greene hoped to accomplish in person. Unfortunately for him, however, he was unable to keep his advance secret. The country through which he marched was so hostile that he was obliged to move slowly and cautiously; information of his coming was conveyed to the British commander; and when Greene arrived before Camden, on the 20th of April, he found his antagonist ready to receive him. After encamping for a short time immediately before the place, Greene moved to Hobkirk's Hill, a little more than a mile north of Camden, on the road to the Waxhaws—a spot well protected by swamps, trees, and underwood. He had for a while sent off his artillery and baggage to a considerable distance, that he might be the more free to exercise some rapid movements on which he had determined; and a drummer, who deserted from the American army, revealed to Lord Rawdon the absence of the heavy guns and of the militia. The English commander resolved to attack his adversary at once. Stealthily approaching Greene's camp on the morning of the 25th, he surprised the entire force, and, although the American General was shortly afterwards joined by his artillery and militia, for which he had sent

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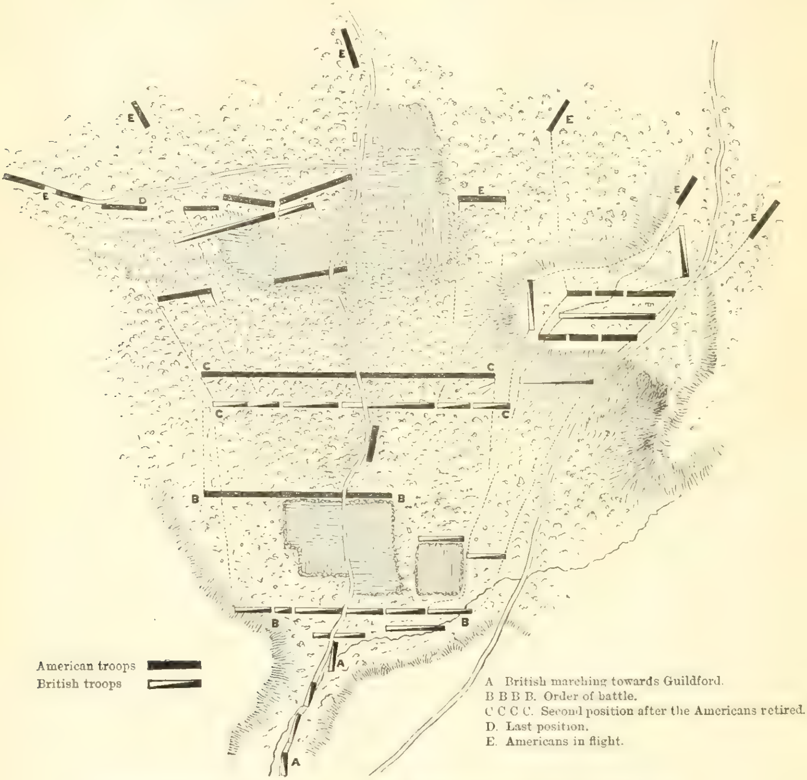
* Gordon's History, Vol. III., p. 494.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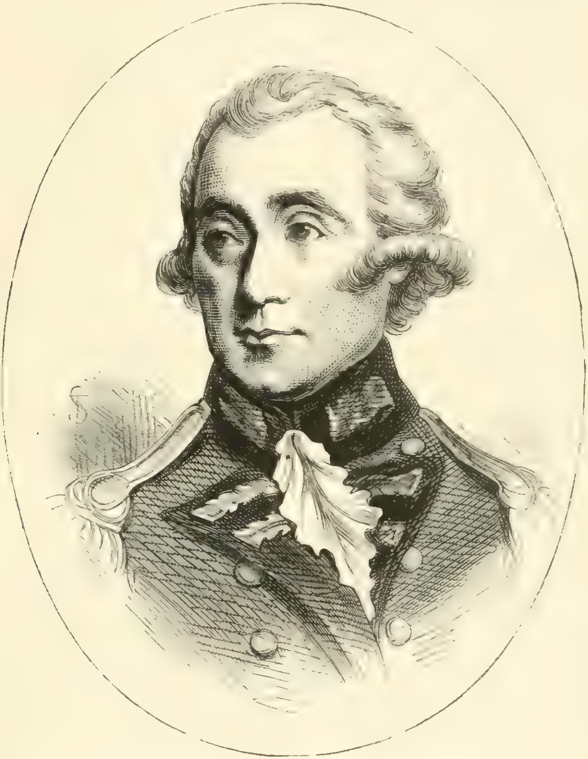
American troops ▬
British troops ▭
A. British marching towards Guildford.
B B B B. Order of battle.
C C C C. Second position after the Americans retired.
D. Last position.
E. Americans in flight.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF GUILDFORD. (*From Stedman's History of the American War.*)

on finding himself unable to execute the designs he had conceived, inflicted on him a severe defeat, with heavy loss. Greene's orders for the conduct of the battle were that the British should be simultaneously assailed in front, on both flanks, and in the rear. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington actually got to the rear of the attacking force, and made some prisoners; but the hill was carried by the British, and Greene was compelled to order a retreat. The conquerors pursued for nearly three miles, and were then checked by a furious charge made by Colonel Washington at the head of a body of cavalry. On the following day, Greene proceeded to Rugely's Mills, twelve miles to the north of Camden.



LORD RAWDON, AFTERWARDS MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

His views at this time were of the most gloomy character. In a letter to Washington, written on the 1st of May, he said:—"We fight, get beat, and fight again. We have so much to do, and so little to do it with, that I am much afraid these [Southern] States must fall, never to rise again; and, what is more, I am persuaded they will lay a train to sap the foundation of all the rest." Three days later, he wrote to Joseph Reed:—"Those whose true interest it was to have informed Congress and the people to the northward with the real state of things, have joined in the deception, and magnified the strength and resources of this country infinitely above their ability. Many of those who adhere to our party are so fond of pleasure that they cannot think of making the necessary sacrifices to support the Revolution. There are many good and virtuous people to the southward; but they cannot animate the inhabitants in general as you can to the northward. When ruin appears to approach any State, they are alarmed, and begin to think of exerting themselves; but its approach no sooner receives a check than they sink back into a careless inattention." After bitterly complaining of the apathy of several States, Greene continued :—"I have been playing the most hazardous game to keep up appearances in this quarter until more effectual support could be afforded. But our number is reduced to a mere shadow. The war to the northward is nothing. It is a plain business. Here the war rages like a fire; and the enterprise and activity of the enemy almost exceed belief. I have run every risk and hazard, and find the difficulties thicken upon me daily; and you know I am not of a desponding spirit or idle temper. If our good friends the French cannot lend a helping hand to save these sinking States, they must and will fall. Here we are contending with more than five times our number, and among a people much more in the enemy's interest than ours."

Yet the English, though so frequently victorious, seemed never to get any nearer the accomplishment of their purpose. On the present occasion, Lord Rawdon was unable, owing to the smallness of his army, to follow up his success; and Greene, by cutting off his supplies, harassing his communications, and fomenting amongst the people a feeling of disaffection to the Royal cause, soon rendered Camden untenable. By the middle of May, Rawdon, finding that he could not bring his opponent to a second general engagement, had withdrawn to Monk's Corner, on the river Cooper, in the vicinity of Charleston. The efforts of Greene's detachments were now beginning to be attended by important results. The fall of Fort Watson was followed by that of Fort Motte, Georgetown, and Fort Granby. These successes determined numerous waverers to side with the Republicans; and even those sincerely attached to the Royal side were disgusted by the arrogance with which they were treated on the part of many British officers, by the rapacious exactions to which they were subjected, and by the violence from which they suffered. The tide was beginning to turn against the representatives of the King's authority.

This was especially the case in Georgia. A vigorous partisan warfare sprang up in that province, where General Pickens, Colonel Lee, Colonel Clarke, Captain M'Koy, and other daring leaders, performed a number of rapid movements, for the most part attended by success. During the month of May, Pickens and Lee laid siege to Fort Cornwallis, at Augusta. Several batteries were raised against the walls, and poured forth a murderous fire, from which the besieged could find no protection, though they almost buried themselves under the ground. On the 5th of June, the garrison capitulated, to the number of three hundred men. The British officers at Augusta had created by their severities a strong sentiment of antagonism in the country people; and after the surrender one of them was treacherously shot dead. Although a reward of a hundred guineas was offered for the apprehension of the murderer, he could not be discovered; and it was only with difficulty that another officer was saved from a similar fate. The latter had recently hanged thirteen American prisoners, and delivered up others to the Indians to be tortured. A very vindictive feeling now characterised the proceedings of both parties; but Greene, to his great credit, did the utmost he could to check the excesses of his own men. When, at the taking of Fort Granby, Lee's militia desired to put to death the American loyalists who were found in the place, Greene declared that he would capitally punish such acts whenever they were committed.

The post of Ninety-six, in South Carolina, was seriously exposed to attack on the withdrawal of Lord Rawdon from Camden to Monk's Corner. Instructions were sent to Colonel Cruger, who was in command at Ninety-six, to abandon the post, retire to Augusta, unite his force to that which he found there, and act according to his discretion. But these directions never reached the person for whom they were intended; and Cruger made the best preparations he could for meeting any attack that might ensue. The place was already rather elaborately defended, but many additional works were hastily thrown up, and, as the event turned out, they sufficed to save the position. At the head of nearly a thousand men, Greene appeared before the walls on the 22nd of May. He erected two works within seventy paces of the fortifications; but a sallying-party destroyed them, killed several of the Americans, and carried off the entrenching tools. The siege-works were then thrown back to a distance of four hundred yards, and, by diligent application, the second parallel was completed by the 3rd of June. Heavy batteries were erected, and gradually advanced nearer to the walls. Several of the defences were enfiladed by a vehement cross-fire. One of the attacking works was erected near the *abatis*, and raised to a height of forty feet, so as to command the interior of the town. Riflemen were posted on the top, and picked off many of the garrison. On the 8th of June, Lee arrived from Augusta with a reinforcement, and Greene extended and increased his siege-works, but was unable to effect the reduction of the place. Its defenders, however, suffered severely, especially from want of water. A rivulet ran by the town, but every one who, during the day, endeavoured to obtain a supply from this source was shot by the vigilant American marksmen. Nothing could be done but to send naked negroes to the stream by night, in the hope that their dusky bodies would not be distinguished from the equally dusky trees.

As June advanced, the besiegers opened their third parallel, and carried a mine and two trenches within a few feet of the ditch. Field-pieces were mounted on batteries at a distance of only a hundred and forty yards from the fort, and the garrison was reduced to such severe extremities that the necessity of surrendering began to be considered. But Lord Rawdon was by this time moving to the relief of the threatened post. He had received considerable reinforcements from England, and on the 7th of June he left Charleston, and marched to the relief of Ninety-six with an army of two thousand men. On the 11th, Greene received notice of his approach, and immediately sent orders to Sumpter to retard the British army by every means in his power. Rawdon, however, contrived to evade him, and Greene, feeling that if he did not take the place at once he could not take it at all, made an attempt, on the 18th of June, to carry it by storm. Supported by a heavy cannonade from the batteries, and a close discharge of musketry from the lines, his men moved to the assault in two columns. On the left they were successful, but on the right were driven back by a spirited sortie. The American General was then compelled to abandon the attack, and on the following day to relinquish the siege altogether. Having crossed the Saluda on the 20th, he encamped on Little River, the worse for his attempt on Ninety-six by one hundred and fifty-five men.

Lord Rawdon arrived at the fortress on the 21st, and found that the garrison had lost eighty-five of their number in killed and wounded. On the evening of the same day he set out in pursuit of Greene; but the latter, having sent off his sick and wounded, rapidly continued his retreat in a north-easterly direction. On his way he destroyed the corn-mills, that the enemy might be deprived of sustenance; and Rawdon, after continuing the pursuit as far as the river Enoree, returned to Ninety-six, in despair of overtaking his adversary. Very soon, however, he found it necessary to evacuate the fortress which Greene had so recently besieged, and to contract his posts. He accordingly marched to the Congaree, leaving more than half his force under Cruger to escort to some place of safety the loyal inhabitants of the district, who feared the vengeance of their countrymen. Greene had for the moment retired behind Broad River, but, on hearing of this separation of the Royal army, he returned towards the Congaree. Rawdon therefore retreated to Orangeburgh, where he was joined by reinforcements from Charleston; but his antagonist was about the same time strengthened by the arrival of Marion and Sumpter with a thousand men. The combined American force marched on Orangeburgh, with the intention of attacking the camp there; but, finding the place far too strong, Greene retreated over the Congaree, and on the 16th of July took up a position on the high hills of Santee. He had previously detached Sumpter, Marion, and Lee to Monk's Corner and Dorchester, that they might threaten the lower posts of the British; but the scattered detachments of the latter fought their way through the opposing ranks, and joined their comrades.

The midsummer heats, and the sickly condition which they generally create, now rendered a few weeks' suspension of the war unavoidable. Lord Rawdon availed himself of leave of absence, granted in consequence of ill-health, and embarked for England. The command devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, and that officer was not long in finding that he had succeeded to a harvest of difficulties. He transferred his forces to the Congaree, and encamped near its confluence with the Wateree. In this position he was in time menaced by Greene, who, when the heats had abated, quitted the high grounds of Santee, and moved towards the locality of his enemy. Not more than fifteen miles intervened between the armies; but they were separated by two large rivers, which an invader could not readily pass without making a circuit of seventy miles. This tedious route was followed by Greene, and, on his approach, Stuart, who had considered himself secure on the Congaree, and had even spread several of his parties widely over the country to collect provisions, retired to Eutaw Springs, sixty miles north of Charleston. He was pursued in a leisurely manner by Greene, who was anxious for the arrival of expected reinforcements before he attacked the enemy. On receiving these, it was resolved to give battle on the following day, September 8th. In the morning, accordingly, the American army marched towards the English; but information of the advance had already been conveyed to Colonel Stuart by two deserters. The British commander therefore drew up his forces obliquely across the road which the enemy was pursuing, and, being on high ground, was in a position of superiority. A battle, lasting nearly four hours, contested with great obstinacy, and attended by much slaughter, was fought between the contending forces. In the first instance, the British outposts were driven in on the main body. The front line of the Americans attacked with the utmost fury, and the militia exhibited more firmness than was usual with them. But after awhile they were compelled to retire, and their comrades then resorted to the bayonet. A portion of the English line, consisting of raw levies, gave way in turn, and fled in tumultuous rout; but the more seasoned regiments stood their ground, and a wild struggle of intermingled foes set in. Lee had now turned the left flank of the Royal troops, and, charging them in the rear, drove them in formless heaps off the field, seized their artillery, and started in pursuit. On the right the British were more fortunate. Stuart had ordered Major Sheridan to take post with a detachment in a large, three-storied, brick house in the rear of the army, and had sent another body of men to occupy an adjoining palisadoed garden and close shrubbery. These positions were assaulted by the Americans with desperate persistence, but without success. Four pieces of artillery were brought to bear on the house; but the walls were of such strength that they were not seriously injured. The two detachments replied by a sharp and telling fire; most of the American artillerymen were killed or wounded; and when the attacking force withdrew, it was found impossible to bring off the cannon. Colonel Washington endeavoured to turn the right flank of the English, but was wounded and made prisoner in the vain attempt. Notwithstanding the partial success of the assailants, they were unable to retain possession of the field, and Greene, collecting his wounded, retired with his prisoners to the ground he had occupied in the morning. The fight had resulted in heavy losses on both sides, especially on that of the English, and no great advantage had been gained by either. The victory has been equally claimed by the Americans and the British; but with more reason by the latter than by the former. The Americans, it is true, drove back their adversaries at the commencement of the struggle, and seemed for a time to be winning. But the great test of victory is in the possession of the field at the close of the engagement; and, as the Royal troops finally repulsed their assailants, and retained their ground during the ensuing night and a part of next day, while the Americans retreated to a distance of some miles, it seems difficult to deny that the advantage, as far as the mere encounter went, lay with the British forces. This, however, implies no discredit to Greene's troops, who fought with great spirit, resolution, and skill.

The British were in no better position than before. On the afternoon of the 9th of September, Colonel Stuart destroyed part of his stores, and retreated to Monk's Corner, while Greene withdrew to his former position on the hills of Santee. Both commanders found their armies so much weakened by the losses resulting from the late battle, that it became impossible to undertake any further operations on a large scale. The British shortly afterwards continued their retreat to Charleston Neck, and thenceforward confined their operations to the defence of the posts in that vicinity, so that Charleston itself might be preserved to the King. Thus, although Greene had been frequently beaten, had failed in his object at Eutaw Springs, and had been compelled to retire, the advantage in the long run fell to him; for the English, being unable to follow up their successes, or even in any case to retain permanent possession of the ground on which they originally stood, were obliged to relinquish a large region of inhabited country, the people of which, almost by necessity, accepted the Revolutionary rule. The proportion of Royalists in the southern provinces was at one time so great, that, had the English Generals in those parts of America been in command of larger armies, it seems not improbable that both the Carolinas and all Georgia would have been preserved. But neither Cornwallis nor Rawdon had an adequate force at his disposal; and the desultory, erratic movements of Greene, rapidly operating over a wide extent of land, and inclining the inhabitants to favour a cause which was supported by so much cleverness and audacity, gradually broke down the energies of the Royal troops, and turned their very successes into fresh sources of embarrassment. The smallness of Greene's army was of less importance; for his good fortune depended more on quickness of movement over a large area than on actual fighting, while the British had at once to be triumphant in the open field, and to preserve a series of fortified positions. The Americans conquered by operating on the popular sympathies, and abiding their time.

The feeling of fierce antagonism between the two parties to the quarrel grew more intense every month, and led to some lamentable excesses. The British officers commanding at the various posts put to death several Americans as traitors to the Royal cause; and Greene, who in some respects showed an admirable superiority to passionate impulses, was remorseless against deserters, and in one day, while in the neighbourhood of Camden, hanged eight prisoners for having, after serving in the American army, gone over to the enemy. But, without any reference to the question of deserting, the Whigs and Tories of the South, as the opponents and supporters of the King's authority were respectively called, were prone to execute one another in cold blood for the mere difference of opinion. While before Ninety-six, in May, Greene wrote to Colonel Davies: "The animosity between the Whigs and Tories of this State renders their situation truly deplorable. There is not a day passes but there are more or less who fall a sacrifice to this savage disposition. The Whigs seem determined to extirpate the Tories, and the Tories the Whigs. Some thousands have fallen in this way in this quarter, and the evil rages with more violence than ever. If a stop cannot be soon put to these massacres, the country will be depopulated in a few months more, as neither Whig nor Tory can live." To General Pickens, on the 5th of June, Greene wrote:—"The inhabitants near Parker's Ford, on the Saluda, are in great distress from the savage conduct of a party of men belonging to Colonel Hammond's regiment. This party plunders without mercy, and murders the defenceless people just as private pique, prejudice, or personal resentments dictate. Principles of humanity, as well as policy, require that proper measures should be immediately taken to restrain these abuses, heal differences, and unite the people as much as possible. No violence should be offered to any of the inhabitants, unless found in arms. The idea of exterminating the Tories is no less barbarous than impolitic. I hope you will exert yourself to bring over the Tories to our interest, and check the growing enormities which prevail among the Whigs, in plundering as private avarice or a bloody disposition stimulates them."* Such was the testimony of one who was himself a Whig, or, in other words, a patriot.

One of the most conspicuous instances of the execution of military law by the English authorities was that of Colonel Hayne. This officer had served in the American militia during the siege of Charleston, and, on the capitulation, had determined, for prudential and family reasons, though with great personal reluctance, to subscribe a declaration of allegiance to the British Government. Previous to doing so, he had talked of his readiness to pay a fine in lieu of service in the British army; and, on the occasion of his signing, he expressly objected to the clause which required him to support the Royal Government with his arms. The commandant of the garrison, and the intendant of the British police, assured him that this would never be required, and added that when the regular forces could not defend the country without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be high time for the King's troops to quit it. More than once, however, at a subsequent date, Hayne was called on to take up arms against his countrymen, and he was at length threatened with close confinement if he continued to refuse. He regarded this as a breach of contract, and considered himself released from his engagement. Accordingly he accepted the command of a regiment of South Carolinian troops, and some time afterwards was captured by the English. Colonel Balfour, the chief British officer at Charleston, took a very bad view of his case, and determined that he should die without trial. Lord Rawdon, on arriving at Charleston, previous to embarking for England, was requested by a number of ladies to intercede on behalf of the unfortunate man, whose position, as a widower with a number of young children, rendered him an especial object of pity. Many years later (in 1813), Lord Rawdon, then become Earl of Moira, wrote to the American General Lee that, in ignorance of the complicated nature and extent of the crime committed by Hayne, he incautiously promised to do his best towards changing the intention of Colonel Balfour. That promise he fulfilled, though a more complete knowledge of the facts induced him entirely to acquiesce in the sentence of death. Hayne was executed on a gallows outside Charleston on the morning of August 4th, 1781. Like André, he petitioned in vain for death by the bullet; like André, he suffered with great dignity and firmness, and his hard fate excited very general sympathy. Whether the punishment was actually unjust, and not simply stern and rigorous, is a matter which has been much disputed. It seems, however, absurd to urge, as an argument against the Royal authorities, that Hayne very reluctantly consented to become a British subject, and did so only on account of his family. The authorities had nothing to do with his feelings or his motives. He subscribed the declaration of allegiance, and was bound by it, unless it was rendered invalid by some breach of faith or violation of contract on the other side. The American contention is that such violation actually took place; but it may be a question how far, as a matter of strict law, Colonel Balfour was bound by the loose and unwritten expressions of his subordinates.

Greene shortly afterwards issued a proclamation, threatening to make English officers the objects of retaliatory acts; but it does not appear that he really did so. The Battle of Eutaw Springs, fought on the 8th of September, was the only action of importance subsequent to the execution of Hayne; so that he had not many opportunities of executing his menace. Towards the end of November, however, the American commander appeared before the British post at Dorchester, and obliged its garrison to retire to the vicinity of Charleston. Both sides of the Ashley were then occupied by Greene, whose detachments completely covered the country from the Cooper to the Edisto. The Royal forces were now confined to Charleston Neck and the adjacent islands, while in Georgia they were concentrated at Savannah. The upshot of the campaign was the restoration of nearly the whole of South Carolina and its still more southern neighbour to the popular party. While the campaign between Greene and Lord Rawdon was being developed, an expedition was conducted by General Pickens against the Cherokees, who had been incited to declare war against the Republicans. The warriors of this tribe were so severely handled that they were glad to sue for peace; and thus another obstacle to the American Revolution was removed.

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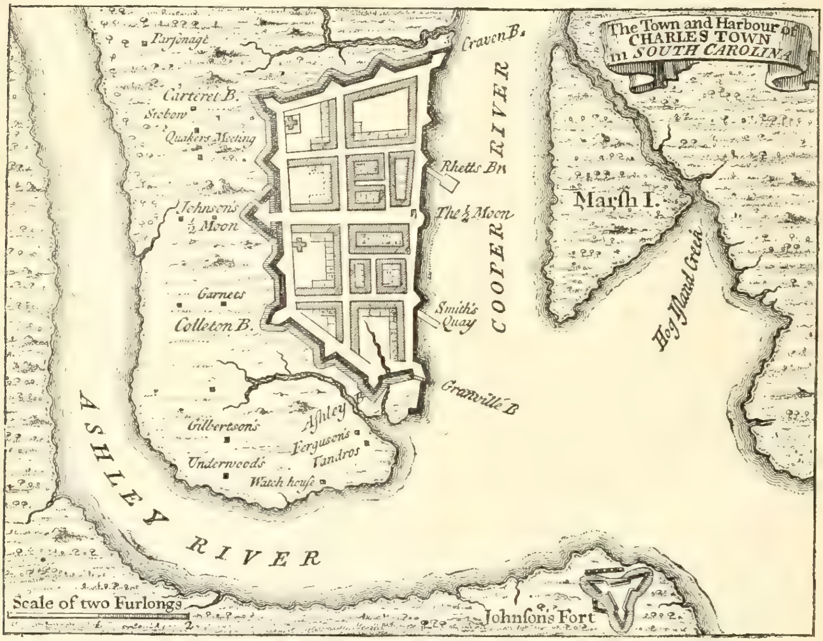
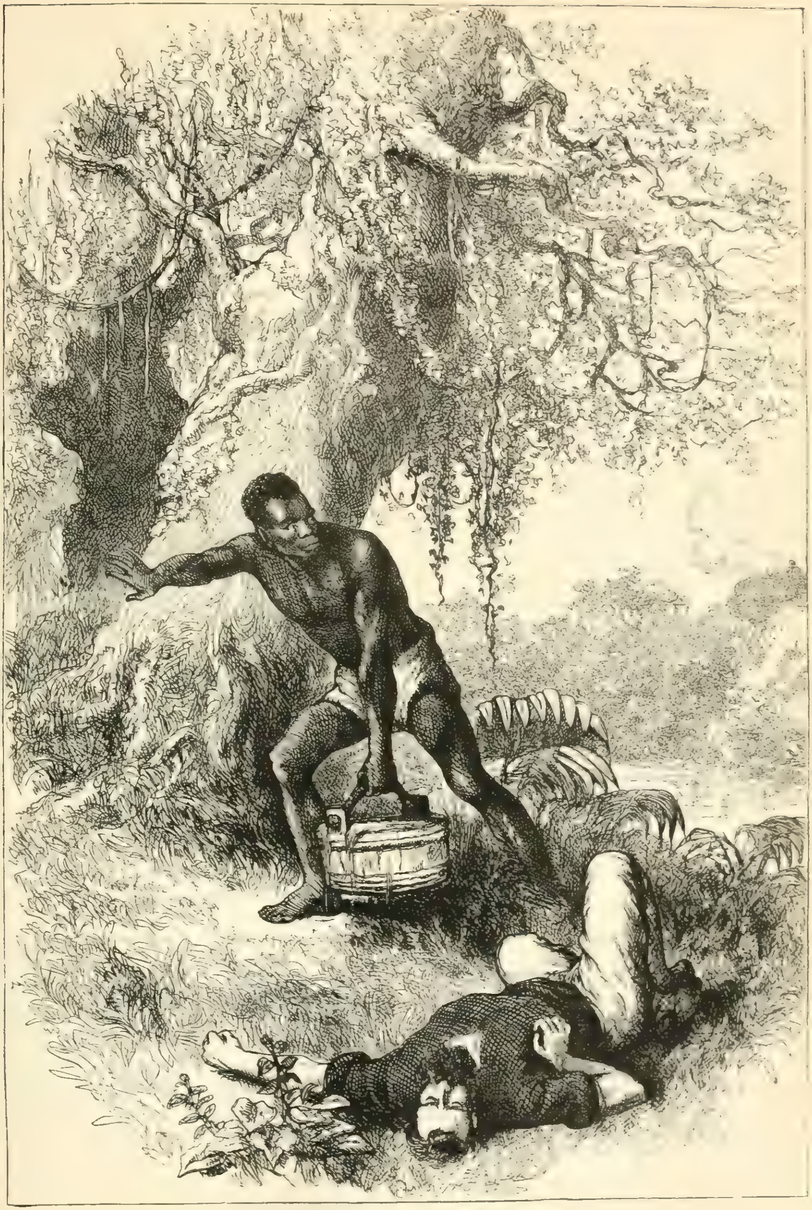
* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, Vol. IV., pp. 99-100.

In the North, matters were not going on favourably for the Americans. On the 1st of January, Congress had called for an army of thirty-seven thousand regular troops; but the people were getting so tired of the war that recruiting proceeded languidly. The several States sent in rather a proportion of what was required than the total amount. Even these contingents arrived in camp very late, and were found altogether wanting in a knowledge of their business as soldiers. The clothing of the men was disgraceful, and it was not at all clear how they were to be fed, or paid, or supplied with weapons. Congress had resolved to issue no more bills on the credit of the Union, and the States were to provide necessaries in kind. The collection of these was a slow matter, and very imperfectly performed. Thus, the army in the South was left in a meagre and feeble state, while in the North scarcely anything was done in the way of active operations. In the midst of other troubles, a danger of the most serious kind arose, and for a time threatened disastrous consequences. The Pennsylvanian troops, conceiving that they were oppressed by peculiar grievances, rose in mutiny against their officers and against Congress. They had for some time com-


The Town and Harbour of CHARLES TOWN in SOUTH CAROLINA
Parſonage
Craven B.
Carteret B.
Stobow
Quakers Meeting
Rhetts Bn
The ½ Moon
Johnson's ½ Moon
Garnets
Colleton B.
COOPER RIVER
Marſh I.
Hog Iſland Creek
Granville B
Ashley
Gilbertson's
Fergusons
Tandros
Underwoods
Watch houſe
ASHLEY RIVER
Scale of two Furlongs
Johnſon's Fort

PLAN OF CHARLESTON. (*From Popple's Atlas.*)



AN INCIDENT IN THE DEFENCE OF "NINETY-SIX."

plained to the Federal Legislature, but in vain, that they were left without pay, without clothing, and without food. In these respects they were doubtless not worse off than their comrades; but they also alleged that they were detained after their term of service had ended. They had been rather ambiguously engaged "for three years, or during the war." When the three years expired, the men contended that their term was over; but their officers replied that they were bound to serve until the restoration of peace. The first open act of mutiny was on the morning of New Year's Day, when, on a given signal, the greater part of the non-commissioned officers and privates paraded under arms, and declared that they would march to the seat of Congress, and either obtain a redress of grievances, or abandon the service. Their officers interposed, and in a scuffle which ensued a captain was killed, and several other persons were wounded. General Wayne then endeavoured to over-awe the malcontents; but, on presenting his pistols at some of them, several bayonets were immediately levelled at his breast, and he was told that, although his men respected and loved him, they would slay him on the spot if he dared to fire. They were not, they said, going over to the enemy; on the contrary, they would fight him, if he appeared, as resolutely as they had done before; but they were determined that the consideration of their wrongs should be no longer evaded. The mutineers afterwards elected officers of their own, and, to the number of thirteen hundred, with six field-pieces, marched from Morristown towards Philadelphia. So serious a rising created great anxiety in the mind of Washington, and filled Congress with alarm. A committee of that body, together with the Governor of Pennsylvania, and some members of the Executive Council of the State, set out from the seat of the Federal Government, to meet the insurgents on the road.

That the rioters were really inspired by nothing more than a determination to obtain what they conceived to be justice, and were not at all disposed to enter into treasonable terms with the enemy, is proved by their conduct towards certain spies who had been sent out by Sir Henry Clinton, in the hope of turning the movement to his own advantage, and who were seized by the Pennsylvanian troops, and delivered up to General Wayne for execution. At Trenton, which they reached on the 9th of January, they met the committee of Congress, and, by the 15th, terms of accommodation had been agreed upon, with which the committee returned to Philadelphia. Subject to the approval of the full body, it was promised that all who had enlisted "for three years, or during the war," should be discharged; that, in cases where the terms of enlistment could not be produced, the soldier's oath should be taken as evidence; that the men were to receive immediate certificates for the depreciation of their pay; and that their arrears were to be settled as soon as circumstances should permit. Congress ratified these concessions, and about half the Pennsylvanian troops obtained their discharge. It was afterwards discovered that many of them had made false declarations concerning the terms of their enlistment. Their success, however, encouraged a proportion of the Jersey brigade, quartered at Pompton, to complain of grievances similar to those of the Pennsylvanian force, and also to threaten violence if they were not at once remedied. But their numbers were so few that it was no difficult matter to act peremptorily. Washington accordingly sent General Howe against them, and, two of the ringleaders having been executed, the others were reduced to unconditional submission.

But, although the danger had for the moment been overcome, it was evident to Congress that the spirit of insubordination would spread, if something were not done to satisfy the just demands of the men. Accordingly, about three months' pay in specie was raised, and presented to the troops, whose sullenness was greatly mitigated by this treatment. Unfortunately, what pleased the army displeased the people. Complaints were made as to the heavy contributions levied on the public for the support of the troops. The enthusiastic feeling with which the several States had entered on the war, was by this time almost entirely exhausted. Peace at nearly any price was desired by many. A sense of despondency spread over the land, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the Federal authorities could obtain sufficient means to carry on the struggle. Had there been a more complete union of the States, the power of the whole would have been much better developed; but any movement to this effect was defeated by the jealous distrust of local patriotism. The want of money was a trouble of the most portentous kind, and, to meet it, Congress was obliged to go about begging for loans in the chief European States, with all the fervour of genuine distress. In the final days of 1780, Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, the former President of Congress, was appointed Special Minister at the Court of Versailles, with a view to raising funds. The elder Laurens having been captured by the English at sea, while on his way to Holland, and committed to the Tower, John Adams was commissioned, on the 1st of January, 1781, to be Minister Plenitentiary to the States General; and some months before he had been empowered to negotiate a loan.

Adams had arrived in Paris, in pursuance of his commission to open negotiations with Great Britain, on the 5th of February, 1780. He soon found himself at issue with the Count de Vergennes, the French Foreign Minister, on the claims of French creditors against the Government of the United States. Vergennes conceived that those creditors should be specially protected against the depreciation of the paper money; Adams, on the contrary, argued that the native and the foreign creditor should be treated alike, all contracts having been to some extent graduated to the current value. Such was the policy which Congress had adopted; such was the policy which Adams supported, in opposition to the Ministry of Louis XVI. Franklin favoured the views of Vergennes, and believed, or professed to believe, that Congress would act towards French creditors as the French Minister desired. As Adams had no representative position at Paris, but was there only in furtherance of his contemplated proposals to the English Government, he was not strictly called on to give utterance to his views on the question, and appears to have done so simply in prosecution of a correspondence with Vergennes which that statesman had himself solicited. The plan of opening negotiations with England came to nothing, owing to the opposition of the Count, who, in the development of a selfish national policy, was not desirous of re-establishing friendly relations between America and Great Britain, unless as forming part of a general pacification, contrived with a special view to French interests. Finding himself thus unable to carry out his original mission, Adams, on the 27th of July, 1780, quitted Paris for Amsterdam. It was while at the latter city, and after he had himself taken some unauthorised steps on the subject, that he was directed by Congress to endeavour to obtain a loan. The attempt, however, ended in failure. The English Government had discovered, from the papers seized with Henry Laurens, that certain irregular approaches towards a treaty between the United States and Holland were being made by persons of position in Amsterdam; and it had in consequence assumed so high and threatening a tone as to create the utmost alarm in the Dutch Government, which disavowed all complicity in the movement, and engaged to prosecute the persons concerned "according to the laws of the country." This put a stop to all monetary transactions between the Dutch and the Americans, though it did not long delay the breaking out of war between England and Holland. On receiving, in the early part of 1781, his powers as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United Provinces, Adams presented a memorial announcing that he was authorised by the United States to give in their accession to the Armed Neutrality. Not until the following year, however, could he obtain a recognition of his official character, and the signature of a treaty between the two Powers.

In July, 1781, Adams was recalled to Paris by the Count de Vergennes, that he might be consulted with regard to certain proposals for the holding of a Congress and the conclusion of a peace, which had been made by Austria and Russia. France had for a long time been getting impatient of the war. The French people grumbled at the heavy burdens that it entailed; and French diplomatists, thinking that the power of England was by this time sufficiently broken, were not disposed to continue the struggle simply for the sake of obtaining for the United States particular advantages, such as a share in the fisheries, or other matters which Americans supposed to be necessary to their well-being. Even a year earlier, France had made pacific overtures to the English Cabinet; and she now favoured the suggestions of the two Imperial Courts. But Adams was quick in discovering that Vergennes was not dealing frankly with him; that he was opposed to his assuming at the Congress a place as Minister Plenipotentiary of an independent sovereignty; that he desired to retain too much power in his own hands; and that it was part of his policy to put the United States in the position of a suppliant, endeavouring to make terms with a superior. For these reasons, Adams disapproved of the proposed negotiations, with their concomitant of an armed truce; though there can be no doubt that Vergennes would in any case have insisted upon the independence of the United States, as a necessary feature of his anti-Anglican policy. Congress was to some extent inclined to defer to Vergennes, for fear of risking the French Alliance; but the questions at issue were settled by the refusal of Great Britain to allow of any mediation between herself and her revolted colonies.*

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* Life of John Adams, by his Grandson. chap. 6.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Bad Political Administration of the Union—Creation of Four Government Departments—Selfish Policy of France—French Intrigues at Philadelphia—John Adams's Distrust of French Designs—Devotion of Franklin to French Policy—Unpopularity of the Alliance with France—Movements of Admiral Arbuthnot and Admiral Destouches—General Arnold in Virginia—Campaign of General Phillips in that State—Death of Phillips, and Arrival of Earl Cornwallis—Affairs in the North—Dissensions between Cornwallis and Clinton—Progress of the Virginian Campaign—Pursuit of Lafayette by Cornwallis—Surprise of Charlotteville—Flight of Steuben—Junction of Lafayette with Wayne—Lafayette foils Cornwallis—Retreat of the Latter—He retires to Portsmouth, and thence to Yorktown—France and the United States—Movements of Washington and Clinton—Financial Operations of Robert Morris—Determination of Washington to transfer the War to the South—The French Fleet in America reinforced by Count de Grasse—March of the Combined American and French Armies, and Entrance into Philadelphia.

Until the latter end of the year, when Greene had succeeded in rescuing nearly the whole of South Carolina and Georgia from the English, American affairs in 1781 were not looking prosperous. The power of the enemy was being vigorously displayed in many directions; the number of loyalists was increasing; and many, even of those who still adhered to the popular side, were getting out of heart, languid, and indifferent. To this feeling of apathy, nothing contributed so much as the maladministration of political affairs. Congress was discredited, and not without cause. Its best men had departed, either that they might serve in the local Legislatures of their particular States, or that the general cause of the Union might be advanced at foreign Courts. A petty spirit, parsimonious, intriguing, and sometimes factious, took the place of that devotion to great principles of statesmanship which had marked the earlier days of the struggle. An idle jealousy of the army, by which alone the independence of the country could be secured, fettered the hands of Washington, marred his best designs, and not seldom irritated even his serene spirit into moods of anger or impatience. The Republic, in short, was badly governed, and the fortunes of the rising nation were compromised by its rulers. A change at length became absolutely necessary. It was tardily discovered that affairs could not be properly administered by Committees of Congress, and in the course of 1781 four of these bodies were superseded by a Minister for Foreign Affairs, a Superintendent of Finance, a Secretary of War, and a Secretary of Marine. The change effected a concentration of power, and facilitated the working of the several departments. It had also the advantage of a more definite fixing of responsibility.

Much had been done, and something had been sacrificed, to obtain the friendship of France; and that friendship, after all, did not yield very valuable fruits. The policy of France was entirely and grossly selfish—selfish without the slightest mitigation of a regard for general principles of right. America was to be used as a means of ruining England. The great humiliation inflicted on the Bourbon Monarchy by the war of 1756–63 was to be revenged by the destruction of English dominion in the New World; for it was assumed with confidence that Great Britain, as a first-class Power, could not survive the loss of her colonies. Whatever diplomatic pretences may have been made to the Americans themselves, the French Ministers, in dealing with one another, never affected the slightest interest in the United States, or in the cause of freedom.[*] How could they possibly feel any such interest, when their whole natures were bound up in the maintenance of a despotic and feudal sovereignty, totally opposed to the political ideas which Anglo-Americans were undisguisedly working out? It was only when the American Congress, in 1777, directed their Commissioners at Paris to say that without an explicit declaration of France in their favour they could not answer for it that some reunion with the mother country would not be unavoidable in the future,—it was only then, fortified by the success of Gates over Burgoyne, and quickened by the fear of Lord Chatham's return to power with ample concessions to the rebels, that Louis XVI. and his Ministers resolved to give an open, as they had already given a secret, support to the new Federation in America. The paper in which, some months before the resolve was actually taken, the Count de Vergennes recommended the King to recognise the Government of the United States, shows with perfect clearness how treacherous was the pretended friendship of France—how completely that country was using America as a convenient tool for the accomplishment of her own purposes, with the deliberate intention of breaking, or at least of injuring, the tool, when it had done its work, lest it should become dangerous. The Count, desiring to

[*] Turgot was an exception; but Turgot was dismissed from office in May, 1776.

combat the objection that France was creating a Power which might in the end be formidable to herself, suggested to his Royal master that the clashing of interests, incidental to such a combination of distinct communities as that of the American States, would always be an obstacle to their rapid growth. A still more effective influence, operating to their disadvantage, would result from the introduction of European vices. If both these should fail, France, in the opinion of M. de Vergennes, could always check the growth and prosperity of the United States by favouring the retention of Canada and the adjacent provinces in the hands of Great Britain.[*] Thus, America was to be played off against England, and England against America. Hence the instructions to M. Gérard, when he was sent out to Philadelphia, to defeat all projects against Canada. Hence the refusals to aid any expedition having for its object the conquest of that province. Hence the earnest support of Spain in making her own support of the insurgents conditional upon their renunciation of the western territories, and of their claim to navigate the Mississippi. Hence the intrigues of M. Gérard to limit the success of the United States to the mere achieving of independence, exclusive of any particular advantages which they might have obtained of England by conceding to her a treaty of commerce with special privileges, leading, perhaps, to the formation of a kind of alliance between the mother country and her enfranchised, but no longer antagonistic, colonies. Hence the opposition of France to John Adams, when that eminent man, in 1779, was commissioned to open negotiations with Great Britain, with a view to the conclusion of peace and the establishment of a commercial league. And hence the determination to prevent, if possible, the assumption by Adams of any Ministerial character, in the event of those negotiations being really brought to pass.

Adams quickly saw through the motives and the designs of France. He was not liked, either by the French agent at Philadelphia, or by the French Ministers at Paris. As long as M. Gérard continued to represent his Government in America (which was until the second half of 1779), he regarded both the Adamses, and all who thought with them, as Tories in disguise—secret adherents of Great Britain, ready to countenance anything which would thwart the policy of the Tuileries. No view could be more absurd or baseless. It is doubtless perfectly true that John Adams would far rather have seen his country in alliance with England than in intimate association with France. He desired to base the institutions of the United States on those of England, consistently with the omission of the monarchical and aristocratic elements. But no man was more passionately in earnest in requiring the absolute independence of the American colonies; nor did one of the Revolutionary leaders do more towards effecting that result,—hardly any so much. The enmity of France, however, increased his difficulties when in Europe. Franklin, with all the shrewdness of his penetrating intellect, seems to have been blinded to the real character of French civilities, and to have fallen too much under the influence of the Count de Vergennes. The personal altercations into which he had been drawn while in London, and which were sometimes such as he might have avoided, had embittered his heart against his father's native land, and inclined him to an excess of cordiality with her ancient foe. It is to be feared that he now hated, not merely the injustice of England, but England herself. His devotion to France was carried to an extent that is not morally defensible. When (to anticipate a little) Thomas Grenville was in Paris, in 1782, to confer with the French Government regarding a peace, Vergennes solemnly declared that France had never given the least encouragement to America until long after the Declaration of Independence, and appealed to Franklin to contradict him if he did not speak the truth. It would, perhaps, be expecting too much, under all the circumstances, that Franklin should have compromised his country's ally by publicly stating the fact; but it is rather disconcerting to find that he records the circumstance in his journal without a word of comment.[†]

There can be no doubt that with many classes of the American people the alliance with France was not popular, however much it was submitted to as a necessity. It awakened painful memories of the time when French soldiers and French priests, in alliance with intoxicated or fanatical Indians, ravaged the eastern colonies, murdered women and children, and threatened the existence of whole communities. It aroused the sense of religious antagonism and sectarian apprehension. It furnished an excuse, and perhaps in reality an additional motive, for the treason of Arnold. Up to the early part of 1781, it had resulted in very little good to set against its numerous disadvantages. The French fleet, ever since its arrival in the previous summer, had been blockaded by the

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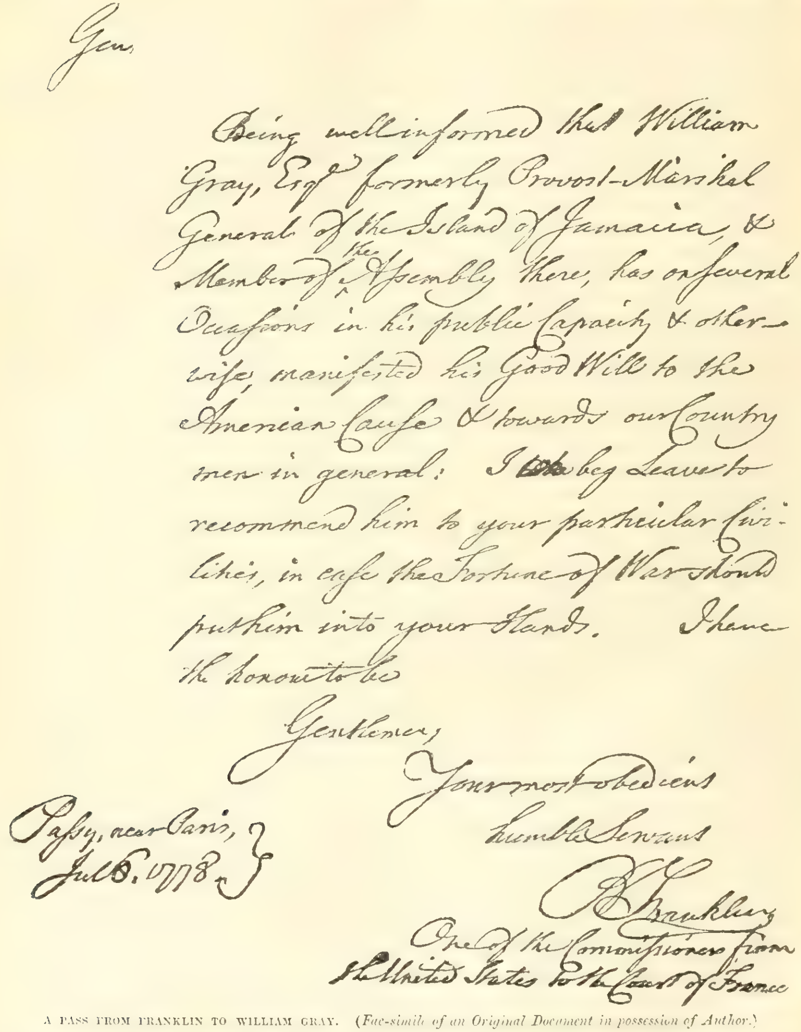
[*] Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 6.

[†] Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 6.

English at Newport, and the French army had remained in the same place to co-operate with the naval force. About the middle of January, 1781, however, the English fleet was so much damaged by a storm off the east end of Long Island as to give the French a superiority for the time. A small detachment was sent by Destouches, the French Admiral, to Virginia, but it speedily returned without accomplishing much. On the 6th of March, Washington had a conference at Newport with the French commanders. It was agreed that the whole fleet should immediately sail to the Chesapeake, with a body of troops on board; and on the evening of the 8th it left the harbour.



Gen,

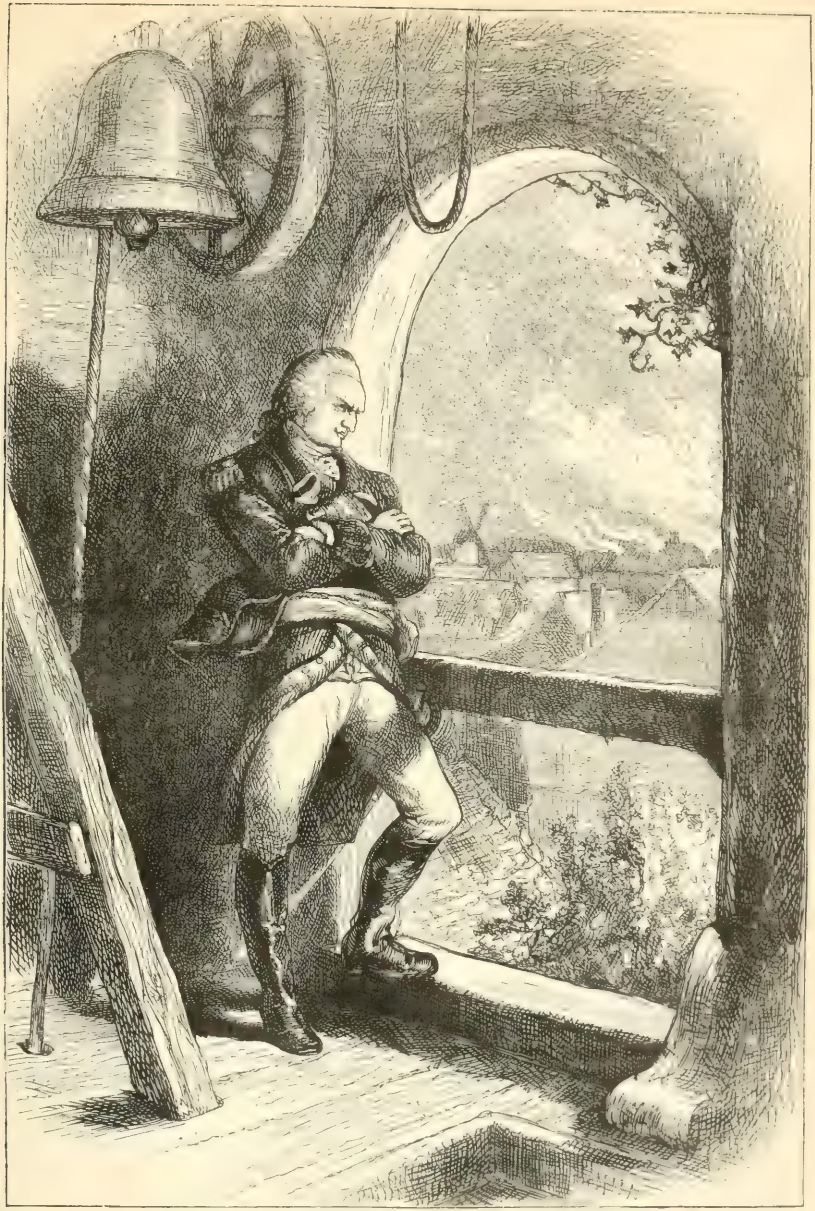
Being well informed that William Gray, Esqr formerly Provost-Marshal General of the Island of Jamaica, & Member of the Aſsembly there, has on ſeveral Occaſions in his public Capacity & otherwiſe, manifested his Good Will to the American Cauſe & towards our Country men in general: I [illegible] beg Leave to recommend him to your particular Civilities, in caſe the Fortune of War should put him into your Hands. I have the honour to be

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient
humble Servant
B Franklin
One of the Commiſsioners from
the United States to the Court of France

Paſsy, near Paris,
Jul 8. 1778.

A PASS FROM FRANKLIN TO WILLIAM GRAY. (*Fac-simile of an Original Document in possession of Author.*)



ARNOLD VIEWING THE DESTRUCTION OF NEW LONDON.

Notice of the expedition was sent to the American officers in Virginia; and Washington indulged the hope that he should be able to capture Arnold. In anticipation of such an event, he directed Lafayette (who had command of the expedition) to deal with him in the most summary way—which of course meant that he should be put to death at once. The sailing of the French fleet was somewhat delayed, and this gave Admiral Arbuthnot time to repair his damages, to pursue the enemy, and to overtake Destouches. An engagement occurred off the Capes of Virginia on the 16th of March. It was of so undecided a character that both sides claimed the victory; but the French expedition was frustrated, and Destouches felt it necessary to return to Newport.

The English forces in Virginia were consequently left undisturbed. They consisted of about one thousand six hundred troops, and were under the command of Benedict Arnold. This was Arnold's first active employment since the discovery of his treason; and he was instructed to consult on all occasions two officers who were sent with him—Colonels Dundas and Simcoe. The expedition started towards the end of 1780, and in the early part of 1781 was in full operation. Arnold, however, was able to do nothing more than ravage several places, and destroy a large amount of property. He then, on the 20th of January, in accordance with his instructions, went to Portsmouth, on the river Elizabeth, where he took post, and threw up entrenchments. Baron Steuben, who commanded the American forces opposed to Arnold, had not sufficient troops to take any decisive measures, and therefore contented himself with guarding the passes leading from Portsmouth into the open country. Arnold likewise was much shackled for want of men; and the campaign, if such it can be called, seemed as if it would end in little. In the middle of March, however, the English forces were increased by the arrival of General Phillips with two thousand picked men from New York. Phillips had served under Burgoyne as his second in command, and had of course shared his captivity at Saratoga. By the terms of the Convention, he ought to have been released on giving his parole not to serve again during the war; but, together with others, he was held a prisoner until he could be exchanged with an officer of equal rank. Being now set at liberty, in exchange for General Lincoln, taken at the surrender of Charleston, he was despatched by Clinton to Virginia, where, as being the senior officer, he assumed the chief command, relegating Arnold to the inferior place. His first work was to complete the fortifications of Portsmouth; his second, to march through the country, destroying all the public property he could find. The Virginians offered scarcely any resistance, and at the close of April the whole State appeared to be at the mercy of the two commanders.

The chief American command in Virginia was now held by the Marquis de Lafayette. His troops were far from good, and were disposed to complain at finding that their services would be required for a longer period than they at first supposed. The young French nobleman did his utmost to inspire them with his own lofty enthusiasm, and, that he might provide for their necessities, borrowed money on his personal credit from the merchants of Baltimore, to purchase shoes, linen, and other articles of clothing. He established his head-quarters behind the Chickahominy, and sent out small parties to watch the actions of the British, who were now returning down the James. General Phillips took up his station at Hog's Island, in that river, but had scarcely done so when he received a letter from Earl Cornwallis, intimating that he had begun to march from the Carolinas into Virginia, and appointing Petersburg as the place at which he should expect to meet the troops under Phillips. That officer accordingly once more ascended the James, and arrived at Petersburg on the 9th of May, surprising and capturing some of Lafayette's officers who had been sent there for the purpose of collecting boats to convey the American soldiers across the river. On his route, Phillips was seized with fever, and he died four days after his arrival at the appointed town. For about a week, the principal command was again in the hands of Arnold; but on the 20th of May, Lord Cornwallis reached Petersburg, and placed himself at the head of the united army.

In his march through Virginia, Cornwallis had found his chief impediments in the number of rivers to be crossed, and the other natural obstacles of the country. The people themselves declined to fight him, and the troops whom he was to encounter were mainly drawn from the Northern States. He had now a force of nearly seven thousand men at his disposal, and was animated by the most sanguine anticipations of victory. But the services of Arnold, such as they were, did not long remain to him. That renegade had recently written to Lord George Germaine that his former post at West Point might even then be reduced by a few days' regular attack. The idea was favoured by Lord George, and Clinton expressed a wish that Arnold should join him at New York, to consult on the project. Thither he went; but the plan was never carried out, or even attempted. Clinton, indeed, did not feel nearly strong enough to hazard so dangerous an exploit. He had barely eleven thousand troops at New York, and feared an attack on that city by the combined French and Americans. Washington, as Clinton was aware, had several times planned such an attack, but was always thwarted, on the brink of execution, by some unforeseen circumstance, or by some defect in his forces. It unfortunately happened at this time that considerable differences existed between Cornwallis and Clinton. Both were men of ability and courage; but their views of the manner in which the war should be prosecuted failed to cohere. The service necessarily suffered from want of unity in the command, and the disasters that ensued may perhaps be in part attributed to this cause.

Lafayette did not think at all well of his own prospects in Virginia. He was greatly outnumbered by Lord Cornwallis, and wrote to Washington that he was not strong enough even to get beaten. His situation was in truth very perilous. Cornwallis, on commencing operations, is said to have written home that "the boy" could not escape him. The phrase was afterwards used with great effect by the Americans, when matters turned out so differently. But for the moment it seemed as if the anticipation (if really formed) would be fulfilled. Unable to do anything else, Lafayette, with one thousand Continentals, two thousand militia, and sixty dragoons, took up a position at Richmond, and gave orders for removing the military stores to places of greater safety. On the 24th of May, Cornwallis left Petersburg, and, being joined by a reinforcement from New York, marched at the head of four thousand seasoned troops towards Richmond; but before he could reach that town the young Frenchman had left it, retiring to the back country in a north-westerly direction. His object was to form a junction with General Wayne, who was approaching with a reinforcement of eight hundred men. Cornwallis pursued his enemy as far as the upper part of Hanover county; then, finding it impossible to overtake the Marquis, or to prevent his junction with Wayne, turned back, destroying on his route a good deal of property, both public and private. His youthful antagonist had succeeded in escaping him; but the Earl was the more free to act in the absence of any opposing force.

Being insufficiently supplied with cavalry, he seized a number of horses from the stables of private gentlemen, and mounted several of his infantry. He was thus enabled to make very rapid marches, and now determined on attacking Charlotteville, to which the General Assembly of Virginia had removed from Richmond. He therefore sent against the former town a small force of cavalry and mounted infantry, commanded by Colonel Tarleton, who moved with such swiftness that the whole Legislative Body of the province were very nearly captured. Fortunately for them, a Mr. Janiette, perceiving the march of Tarleton's men, suspected their object, and, riding on a fleet horse along a shorter road than that which the troops were following, reached Charlotteville two hours before the English cavalry entered it. Even as it was, seven of the Assembly were captured; the rest escaped, including Thomas Jefferson, who was at that time Governor of the State. They re-assembled at Staunton, beyond the Blue Ridge; and Tarleton, having destroyed all the public stores at Charlotteville, while scrupulously respecting private property, made his way down the Rivanna to co-operate with Colonel Simcoe, who had been ordered to surprise Baron Steuben in the position he had taken up at the confluence of the Rivanna and Fluvanna rivers. Simcoe's expedition was so skilfully conducted that Steuben knew nothing about it until he saw the detachment approaching, when, believing it to be the van of the British army, he fled precipitately during the night, leaving behind him a part of his stores, and did not halt till he had reached a distance of thirty miles. Yet, despite these trifling successes, Cornwallis was not in a much better position than when he entered Virginia. Lafayette joined his forces to those of General Wayne at Racoon Ford on the 7th of June, and immediately afterwards re-passed the Rappahannock, and advanced towards the British.

The military stores of Virginia were at this period deposited at various places, but principally at Albemarle Old Court House, on the southern shore of the Fluvanna. To gain possession of them would be an advantage to the English, and a corresponding injury to the Americans. Resolved to make the attempt, Lord Cornwallis marched to the Court House; but Lafayette, by a rapid movement, arrived near the spot before his adversary, and, evading the British army by following a nearer and long-disused road, got between the Earl and the stores which he had come to seize. The position thus assumed by the Americans was so good that Cornwallis declined to attack, especially as he believed the enemy's forces to be more numerous than they really were. He commenced a retrograde movement, retreated upwards of fifty miles, and on the 17th of June entered Richmond. After remaining there three days, he continued his route to Williamsburgh, where the main body of his army arrived on the 25th. The forces of Lafayette, now strengthened by Steuben's detachment, followed cautiously. Some twenty miles separated the main bodies of the two armies; but the light parties of the Americans hung on the rear of the British, and a sharp encounter occurred near Williamsburgh, when Colonel Simcoe was so hard-pressed that it was necessary to send reinforcements to his relief before the assailants would retreat. At Williamsburgh, Lord Cornwallis made a temporary stand, and the Americans at the same time occupied a strong encampment twenty miles off, not venturing to run the risk of a general battle. The chief results of the campaign in Virginia were to be seen in the devastation spread far and wide by the invading forces. This had been greatly helped by the exertions of various ships of war, which sailed up the rivers, pillaged the farms, and committed an amount of havoc that was in many cases quite unjustifiable. The people were exasperated by these acts into a more vehement hatred of English rule, though but little was done to aid the northern army in resisting the Royal troops. Nevertheless, Virginia was not without its bands of loyalists, against whom General Morgan proceeded at the head of a few mounted riflemen, and soon reduced the malcontents to submission.

The forces under Lafayette were quite unable to encounter Cornwallis in the open field; but they were augmenting in numbers every day, and the French nobleman had managed so well that he had baffled all the movements of the English commander, and had caused him to retreat to Williamsburgh. Cornwallis was now still further embarrassed by a requisition from Sir Henry Clinton for part of the troops under his command, to aid in the defence of New York against one of those attacks which Washington was constantly threatening, but which in fact never took place. The Earl had no choice but to obey; and, conceiving that with diminished forces he would be unable to hold Williamsburgh any longer, he informed Sir Henry of his intention to pass the James, and retire to Portsmouth. The baggage and a portion of the troops crossed the river on the 5th and 6th of July, and the others, while still remaining on the northern bank, were attacked, on the afternoon of the latter of those days, by Lafayette, who, on the first movement of his antagonist, had rapidly crossed the Chickahominy. Believing that he had only a rear-guard to deal with—an impression which Cornwallis managed to strengthen by a clever disposition of his troops—the Marquis ordered General Wayne to advance against the enemy. Wayne soon found himself in front of the main body of the British army, drawn up in order of battle. He had himself no more than eight hundred men with him; but with these he engaged the adversary, and fought for some time with great determination. Upon Lafayette discovering his mistake, however, he ordered a retreat, which was made with so much haste that two pieces of cannon were left behind. As dusk was coming on, the Americans retired behind a morass, and Cornwallis, fearing an ambuscade, forbore from pursuit. The Royal army shortly afterwards proceeded to Portsmouth, where the troops required by Clinton were embarked; but, before they sailed, the order was countermanded. Clinton disapproved of abandoning the Chesapeake, and recommended the establishment of a defensive post, for the reception of ships of the line, either at Yorktown, on the river York, or at Point Comfort, in Hampton Roads. Cornwallis ordered surveys to be made, and in the end resolved on fortifying Yorktown and Gloucester, as the only points capable of receiving ships of the line in safety, and on evacuating Portsmouth. By the 22nd of August, the English army in Virginia was concentrated in the two selected positions upon opposite banks of York River.

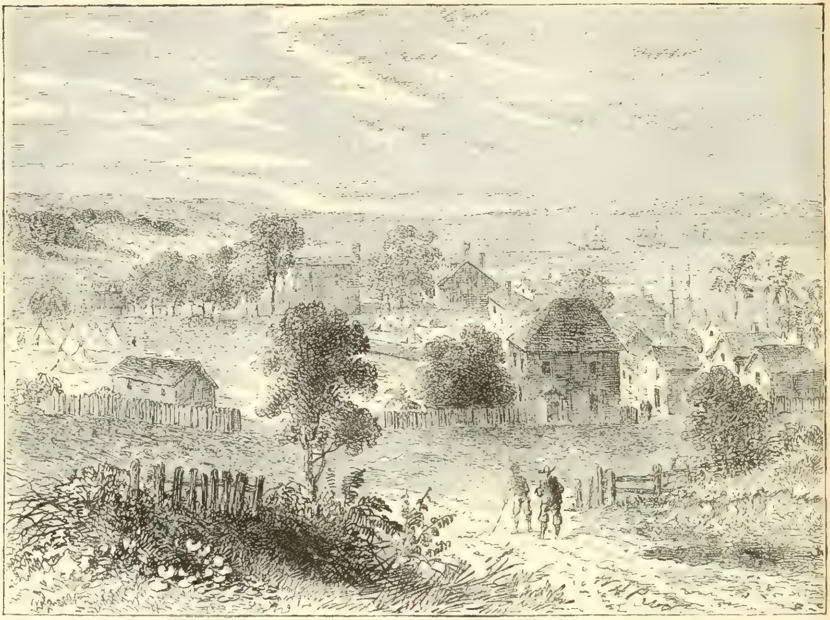
While these events were proceeding in the South, Washington, in the North, was consulting with his French allies as to what should be the future direction of the war. As the year advanced, it became evident that the enthusiasm in the cause of American independence which had formerly characterised the Ministers of Louis XVI. was beginning to slacken. The finances of France were in a delicate state, notwithstanding the able administration of Necker; the expenses of the war were almost overwhelming; and the difficulties of the Government became more serious with every year. The French King doubtless felt uneasy at the possible consequences of encouraging Republican revolutions; and, although he sent the Americans a present of six millions of livres, he made it known to Congress that that was the last campaign in which they were to expect either troops or ships from France, as it was doubtful whether the country would be able to continue its support, if the war should go on much longer. By means of an intercepted mail, Sir Henry Clinton knew of this resolve on the part of the French Government, and it very naturally had the effect of making him all the more desirous of holding his ground, in the hope that the American cause would presently collapse. Washington was desirous of striking an important blow while he could yet count on the assistance of his powerful friends. The plan most favoured was to unite the French and American armies on the

Hudson, and attack New York. Washington required of the New England States a body of six thousand militia; but reinforcements arrived so slowly that by the middle of June his army was still quite inadequate to such an enterprise. Clinton had by this time discovered the plan, and taken measures for defeating it, should any active operations occur. Towards the close of June, an attempt was made to surprise the British posts at the north end of New York Island, and a severe engagement ensued, during which Washington himself was in the field; but the movement ended in nothing but failure. Other demonstrations followed, without producing any other effect than to keep the English General on his guard; and when the latter received from England a reinforcement of three thousand troops, he sent word to Cornwallis that he should not need the regiments he had previously ordered. Washington had himself been reinforced by one thousand five hundred French soldiers, who arrived at the encampment at Dobbs's Ferry on the 6th of July.

A change had by this time taken place in the command both of the French and English fleets. About the month of May, the Count de Barras succeeded to Destouches in the former, and Admiral Graves to Admiral Arbuthnot in the latter. Arbuthnot had always been a very unwelcome colleague of Sir Henry Clinton, and his command of the naval force seems never to have been remarkable for vigour or enterprise.

The financial affairs of the Federation were now directed by an administrator of some ability. This was Mr. Robert Morris, a merchant and member of Congress for Pennsylvania, who, to the extent of half a million of dollars, pledged his personal credit for articles of necessity to the army. He also planned a national bank of 400,000 dollars, the notes of which were to be received as cash into the treasuries of the several States, and to be regarded as payment for the necessaries which the States were bound to provide for the army. His clever management helped greatly towards the restoration of public confidence, and mitigated the bad name which the United States Government had acquired in matters of finance. Morris lost a great deal of property during the war, a hundred and fifty of his vessels having been taken by the enemy; but, as others escaped and made large profits, the balance on the whole was not much against him. His services to the commonwealth, however, were such as to deserve an ample recompense. The removal of the army to Yorktown, when it was at length resolved to change the seat of war, could hardly have taken place without his munificent assistance; and even then it was necessary also to borrow money of Count Rochambeau. Morris was a merchant-prince, using his wealth for the advancement of public ends.

Washington was beginning to turn his thoughts to the South, as the most favourable field of operations; but it was impossible to move in that direction as long as the superior naval force of the English commanders enabled them to retain possession of the coast and of the great navigable rivers. To overcome this difficulty, Congress had besought of the French Government a large addition to their fleet in American waters. The application was granted, and early in March the Count de Grasse sailed from Brest with twenty-five ships of the line, twenty of which were destined for the West Indies. Arriving there, and effecting a junction with the force already on the spot, in spite of the opposition of Admirals Rodney and Hood, de Grasse found himself in possession of a fleet superior to that of the English. He sent word to the Americans that he would visit their coasts in August, but that he could not stay long. On receiving this despatch, Washington at once resolved to transfer the main operations of the war to Virginia. It was necessary, however, to conceal the design from the watchful scrutiny of Sir Henry Clinton, and this was done by sending a large body of the army across the Hudson in the direction of New York, so as to induce a belief that that city was about to be attacked. These movements took place in the latter days of August, and they had the effect of completely blinding the English General as to the intention of his opponent. A sudden change in the American march, followed by the crossing of the Delaware, at length revealed the fact that the combined armies were on their road to the South. On the 30th of August, they entered Philadelphia, amidst the ringing of bells, the firing of guns, and general demonstrations of delight. A new prospect was opening before the American cause, and the popular heart seemed to feel instinctively that a happy end was near.

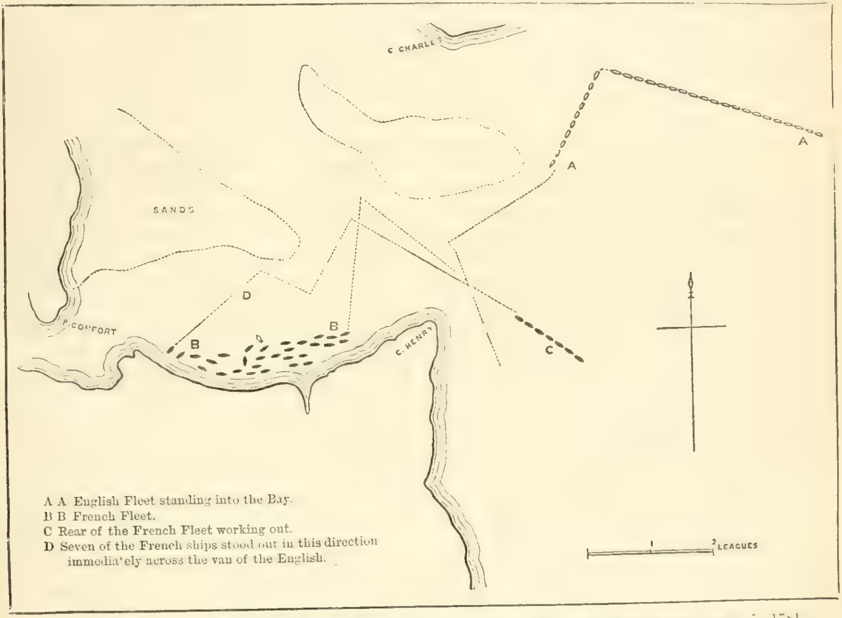


VIEW OF YORKTOWN.

CHAPTER XLIX.

Washington's Instructions to Lafayette—Expedition of Arnold against New London, in Connecticut—Burning of the Town—Continued March of Washington to the South—The Allied Armies arrive at Williamsburgh, Virginia (September 14th)—Arrival of Count de Grasse with a French Fleet—Operations of Admirals Hood and Graves—Interview between Washington and de Grasse—Necessity of striking a Decisive Blow—Situation of Yorktown—Earl Cornwallis establishes himself in that Position—Measures of Lafayette for enclosing him—Defensive Works of Cornwallis—Instructions from Sir Henry Clinton—Succour promised—Cornwallis withdraws within the Town—Progress of the Siege—Taking of Two Redoubts by the Americans and French—Anecdotes of Washington—Perilous Position of the English Forces—Despondent Views of Lord Cornwallis—Ineffectual Sortie—Plan for Escaping—Failure of the Attempt—Proposals for a Capitulation—Preliminary Discussions—Surrender of Yorktown and Gloucester by the English Commander—The Conditions finally settled—The British Troops lay down their Arms—Conduct of the Americans and of the French—The Climax of the Revolutionary War.

PREVIOUS to starting on his expedition to the South, Washington had written to Lafayette, informing him of the expected arrival of the Count de Grasse, and giving directions that, in combination with that event, he was to take up such a position as would best enable him to prevent the sudden retreat of the English through North Carolina, which he thought would be attempted directly they perceived so formidable an armament. Lafayette was to be particularly careful to conceal the expected appearance of de Grasse, because, if the enemy were not apprised of it, they would stay on board their transports in Chesapeake Bay, which, observed Washington, would be "the luckiest circumstance in the world." The date of this letter was the 15th of August. It was followed by another on the 21st, which contained the earliest information that the writer himself was on the march for Virginia. The Marquis was again urgently enjoined to make arrangements, by a combination of the land and sea forces, by which the English should be precluded from all possibility of escape. Not only was Clinton deceived as to the object of Washington's movements; the American troops themselves knew not whither they were bound until they were approaching Philadelphia. By an admirable piece of strategy, Washington had slipped away from one British General, and woven a net for another, which was destined to entangle him beyond his power to break through.


C CHARLES
SANDS
A
A
D
B
B
P. COMFORT
C. HENRY
C
LEAGUES
A A English Fleet standing into the Bay.
B B French Fleet.
C Rear of the French Fleet working out.
D Seven of the French ships stood out in this direction immediately across the van of the English.

PLAN OF THE POSITION OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH FLEETS IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE ACTION, SEPT. 5, 1781.
(From Stedman's History of the American War.)

It was now too late for Clinton to stop the march of the American army: he therefore determined to make a diversion, which might have the effect of bringing Washington back, and thus of saving Cornwallis. Arnold was placed at the head of a naval and military armament, and sent against New London, in Connecticut. On the 6th of September he appeared off the harbour, and prepared for the attack. The approach to the town, which stands on the west bank of the river Thames, was defended by two forts, stationed, about a mile off, on both sides of the stream. The western structure was entitled Fort Trumbull; the eastern, situated on Groton Hill, was known as Fort Griswold. Of these, the former was attacked by Arnold himself, who met with very little opposition. The militia who had charge of the works crossed the river to Fort Griswold, and Arnold pushed on, and took possession of the town. The eastern fort was manned by a hundred and fifty-seven men, commanded by Colonel William Ledyard, brother of the celebrated traveller. It was now attacked by Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, who was ordered by Arnold to take the position by assault. The latter afterwards discovered that the work was stronger than he had supposed, and consequently countermanded his first directions; but the attack had already commenced. Great courage and determination were shown on both sides. At length, the fort was carried at the point of the bayonet; yet the slaughter did not cease for some time after. It is said that the attacking force slew many of the defenders after they had laid down their arms, and that acts of wanton cruelty were committed. A large proportion of the assailants consisted of Hessians and American Royalists, and the rancour of the latter towards their countrymen seems to have been extreme. On the side of the Americans, eighty-five men were killed, and sixty wounded—for the most part, after all opposition was over. The British lost forty-eight killed, and a hundred and forty-three wounded. The commanders on both sides—Eyre and Ledyard—were amongst those who perished in the assault on Fort Griswold. New London itself was set on fire by order of Arnold, who, it has been related, stood in the belfry of a church, and witnessed the progress of the flames, though the place was almost within sight of the spot where he was born, and close to objects which must have been associated with his childhood and his youth.* Arnold's own account of the matter, in his official report, is that he simply fired the public stores, and that the explosion of the powder, followed by a change of wind, caused the flames to extend to the rest of the town, which, in spite of efforts to save it, was destroyed. Be this as it may, the catastrophe was lamentable, and it resulted in reducing many persons from affluence to beggary. On retreating to his boats, Arnold was followed by the yeomanry of the country, who killed and wounded several of his men, and would doubtless have hanged him on the nearest tree, had he not escaped their fury.

The operations against New London had simply added to the enmity and anger of the New Englanders: they had utterly failed to effect the purpose which Sir Henry Clinton hoped to serve. Washington was so convinced of the importance of proceeding against Cornwallis that he declined to turn back, and continued his march towards the South. On the day when the outrage took place, he had reached the head of the river Elk, whence, leaving the army for awhile, he pushed on to Baltimore. Arriving there on the 8th, he left on the 9th, accompanied only by Colonel Humphreys, being resolved to spend a short time at Mount Vernon, his paternal estate in Virginia, which he had not seen for six years and a half. There had been a temporary separation of the American and French armies, the latter remaining at Philadelphia a little longer than the former. At the head of the Elk, the provision for transporting the troops, ordnance, and stores by water was found to be insufficient, and it was arranged that a part should proceed by land. Washington himself reached the head-quarters of Lafayette, near Williamsburgh, on the 14th of September; and the army was re-united at the same place on the 25th.

Count de Grasse, with three thousand troops on board his fleet, had arrived in Chesapeake Bay towards the end of August, and the welcome news of his presence greeted the allied commanders during the early part of their march to Virginia. The French Admiral (who on his voyage had captured the packet from Charleston in which Lord Rawdon was returning to England) was immediately informed by Lafayette of the posture of affairs in that part of America, and of the plan of operations against the British army. De Grasse thereupon detached four ships of the line, and some frigates, to block up the entrance to York River, and convey the reinforcement of troops to Lafayette's camp. The rest of his fleet took up a station at the entrance to the bay. Admiral Hood, who had been detached by Rodney from the English fleet in the West Indies, with instructions to counteract the designs of de Grasse, arrived off the Capes of Virginia a few days before the French seaman, and, finding no enemy there, proceeded to Sandyhook. About the same period, de Barras sailed with his fleet from Newport, to join his countryman in Chesapeake Bay; and Admiral Graves started in pursuit on the 31st of August, with nineteen sail of the line. Reaching his place of destination on the 5th of September, before the arrival of Barras, Graves saw the French fleet of Count de Grasse, consisting of twenty-four vessels, lying at anchor between the Capes. De Grasse was taken by surprise, and, though stronger than his adversary by five ships, resolved to slip his cables, and depart with all speed. The hostile fleets actually passed one another, the one entering, the other leaving, the bay; but Graves at once tacked about, overtook the French, and gave them battle. The fight continued from four in the afternoon till nightfall, and much damage was received on both sides, without any decisive result. The fleets continued in sight of each other five days; but de Grasse evaded any renewal of the engagement, which Graves felt himself not sufficiently strong to force on his opponent. By the 11th of September, the French Admiral was again in Chesapeake Bay, where he found de Barras, who had in the meanwhile arrived from Newport with fourteen transports, laden with heavy artillery and other appliances for carrying on a siege. Graves followed de Grasse to the Chesapeake, when, seeing himself confronted by a force so greatly superior to his own, he abandoned all idea of further operations, and shortly afterwards left for New York.

The departure of the English fleet was followed, on the 19th of September, by an interview between Washington and de Grasse on board the Admiral's ship, the *Ville de Paris*, then lying off Cape Henry. The vessel, it may be stated in passing, is believed to have been the largest then afloat. It carried 106 guns; had been built at great cost and with much scientific exactness; and was presented by the citizens of Paris, at whose charge it had been constructed, to Louis XVI. Not long after, it was taken by Rodney, and, together with other prizes, foundered in a tempest while on its way to England. In visiting this ship, Washington was accompanied by Rochambeau, and the three chiefs consulted on the plan of their campaign. The assistance of de Grasse proved to be so bound by conditions that it was less valuable than had been anticipated. He gave his colleagues to understand that, in accordance with precise instructions from his Government, he could not continue on that station beyond the 1st of November. He also informed them that he had heard of the arrival at New York of Admiral Digby, with a reinforcement of six ships of the line, so that he expected to be presently attacked by a force little inferior to his own. Regarding the position he then held as unfavourable to a naval engagement, he was extremely desirous of leaving the bay at once, so as to encounter the enemy in the open sea. Washington had some difficulty in dissuading him from this purpose, the execution of which might have greatly prejudiced the combined operations against Lord Cornwallis. The American Commander-in-Chief was deeply impressed with the necessity of making an immediate attempt at some decisive action. It was most essential that the apathy which had been gradually creeping over the country should be powerfully aroused. The Eastern States, in particular, now that the war had rolled a long way from their own shores, were growing indifferent to the progress of military events. They were practically in the enjoyment of independence, and, in the absence of a common national feeling between New England and the South, were not very eager to make sacrifices for those whom they regarded as aliens. A happy combination of circumstances opened the way for a vigorous campaign, and the conference terminated in a general resolve to press the English Earl with unsparing energy.

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* Sparks's Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold. The watching of the flames from the belfry, however, is mentioned by Mr. Sparks as a mere tradition, and has a rather suspicious resemblance to the apocryphal anecdote of Nero.

Yorktown is a small village on the southern bank of York River—a stream in which ships of the line can ride with safety, and which empties itself into Chesapeake Bay. Eight miles to the south lies the James River, which also falls into that great receptacle of waters; and the two channels form between them a narrow peninsula, very ill-adapted for an army threatened by enemies, owing to the difficulty of retreating in case of the worst. Opposite Yorktown, on the northern shore of the York River, is Gloucester Point, which, projecting considerably into the stream, narrows it to the breadth of about a mile. Both these places were occupied by Lord Cornwallis, who proceeded to fortify them. Nevertheless, the Earl did not regard the locality as at all suited to defence against a powerful foe; but he conceived himself bound by the instructions of Clinton, who, however, afterwards declared that his orders were not compulsory, but only permissive. On their return to England, these two eminent Generals carried on a paper war on the first causes of the great disaster which occurred at Yorktown, but without convicting each other of more than errors of judgment under very perplexing circumstances. On the 16th of September, Cornwallis wrote to Clinton:—"This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must expect to hear the worst." The main body of Cornwallis's army was now encamped near Yorktown, under the protection of redoubts and field-works, while Colonel Tarleton, with six or seven hundred men, occupied Gloucester Point. The Earl hoped to have all his surrounding fortifications finished by the 1st of October, by which time Clinton proposed to recommence operations on the Chesapeake. As long as he had only Lafayette to guard against, Cornwallis thought himself secure in his position; but the French Marquis was taking measures to bring up troops from various points, so as to enclose his adversary on all sides but the sea. Even before the arrival of the allied forces under Washington and Rochambeau, and of the French fleet under de Grasse, the situation of Cornwallis was grave: at a later date, it became hopeless. The French Admiral, in his eagerness to return to the West Indies, proposed to Lafayette to make an attack on the British position with the American and French troops under his command, without waiting for the combined force from the vicinity of New York, and offered to aid him with marines and sailors from the ships. He was strongly of opinion that both Yorktown and Gloucester might be carried by storm; but Lafayette thought the loss of life would be too serious to justify the attempt.

Cornwallis had but seven thousand troops with which to encounter the vastly superior army that was being drawn about him. His only chance was in extending his defensive works, and thus making an assault almost impossible. By the latter end of September, he had erected at Yorktown seven redoubts and six batteries, connected by entrenchments, on the land side; along the river was another line of batteries; and on each flank of the town were the natural defences of deep ravines and creeks, the heads of which, in front of the town, and at the point of junction with York River, were about half a mile apart, while along their course the English General had planted redoubts, field-works, and felled trees, with their branches pointing outwards. The channel of York River was obstructed by sunken vessels; ships of war were stationed under protection of the guns of the forts; and Gloucester Point, on the opposite side of the river, was also strongly fortified. Such was the state of the defences when, on the 25th of September, the greater number of the French and American troops encamped near Williamsburgh. On the night of that day, Washington and his staff bivouacked on the ground in the open air. The Commander-in-Chief slept under a mulberry-tree, the projecting root of which served for his pillow. Next day, the allied armies took up positions on the two sides of Beaver Dam Creek; the Americans, who formed the right wing, occupying the east side,—the French, to the left, covering the western bank.

A letter from Sir Henry Clinton reached Cornwallis on the evening of the 26th. It informed him of the arrival of Admiral Digby, who with a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line, and above five thousand troops, would sail to his assistance about the 5th of October. A heavy firing would be made by them on arriving at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, and Cornwallis, if all went well at Yorktown, was to respond with three separate columns of smoke, or with four should he still possess the post at Gloucester Point. The Earl at once replied:—"I have ventured these last two days to look General Washington's whole force in the face, in the position on the outside of my works, and have the pleasure to assure your Excellency that there is but one wish throughout the army, which is that the enemy would advance. . . . . I shall retire this night within the works, and have no doubt, if relief arrives in any reasonable time, York and Gloucester will be both in the possession of his Majesty's troops. I believe your Excellency must depend more on the sound of our cannon than the signal of smokes for information; however, I will attempt it on the Gloucester side." The feeling of despondency had not then set in, or at least was not yet avowed, though, as we have seen, the General did not think his position a good one. That same night, Cornwallis abandoned his outworks, and drew his troops within the town—a step of very doubtful propriety, since it diminished the defences of the position, and confined the soldiers to very narrow quarters. The outworks were next day seized upon by detachments of American light infantry and French troops, and proved serviceable in covering the men employed in throwing up breastworks. Counting Americans and French, Washington had now at his disposal an army of full twelve thousand men, exclusive of the Virginian militia. On the night of the 28th of September, these combined forces encamped within two miles of Yorktown, and General de Choisy was sent across York River with a sufficient detachment to watch the enemy on the side of Gloucester Point. Very shortly the line of the besiegers (where the Americans still formed the right, and the French the left, wing) described a semicircle, each end of which rested on the river, thus completing the investment by land, while Count de Grasse kept guard towards the sea. On the 3rd of October, Choisy succeeded in cutting off all communication by land between Gloucester and the country.

The first parallel before Yorktown was commenced by General Lincoln on the 6th of October. It was within six hundred yards of the British lines, extending nearly two miles, and was begun during a very dark night with so much secrecy that Cornwallis's troops knew nothing about it until daylight. The fortifications then opened fire, but the men were by that time under cover, and continued working with great self-possession. In less than three days the parallel was completed, and on the afternoon of the 9th a few of the batteries were ready to fire upon the town. Washington himself put the first match to the first gun, and a furious discharge of cannon and mortars burst forth, producing a serious effect on the buildings against which it was directed. The batteries thus brought into play were soon aided by three others managed by the French; and the cannonade was kept up almost incessantly for three or four days. Many of the English guns were dismounted or silenced; several men were killed; and the fortifications suffered to a serious extent. All day, the air was laced by the black lines of shells crossing each other's paths; by night, the blackness changed into a brilliant and fiery red, filling the heavens with a glare as of innumerable meteors. The French batteries, which were to the north-west of the town, threw red-hot shot, and in this way set fire one night to a large English ship and three transports. The terrible explosions of the vessels, and the flames and bursting shells illuminating the darkness, produced a spectacle of the most impressive kind, but did not shake the confidence of the heroic defenders of Yorktown. They had, however, much to trouble them by this time. The cavalry were greatly distressed for want of forage for their horses, and many of the animals were slain, and sent floating down the river. Moreover, an epidemic had broken out in the town, and hundreds were stretched helpless on their pallets. British and Germans bore their hardships with great patience and courage, and everything was done that resolution and military knowledge could suggest. But the situation was desperate from the first, and it grew worse with time.

The second parallel was begun by Baron Steuben's division on the night of the 11th of October. It was not more than three hundred yards from the opposing works, and the British now made new embrasures, and for two or three days kept up a galling fire on the besiegers, who were still more seriously troubled by the flanking fire of two redoubts, which enfiladed the entrenchments, and were thought to command the communication between Yorktown and Gloucester. These it was resolved to storm on the night of the 14th; and, to avoid any jealousy between the two allied nationalities, it was arranged that the one farthest from the river should be attacked by a French detachment, and the other by a detachment of Americans under the command of Lafayette. The signal for the simultaneous assault was the sending up of rockets at eight o'clock in the evening. The Americans rushed up to the bastion they were to attack, pushed aside the *abatis* with their hands, and scrambled over the obstructions which stood in their way. With impetuous daring, the men mounted the parapet, and, without firing a musket, carried the work at the point of the bayonet. A New Hampshire captain of artillery would have taken the life of Major Campbell, who had command of the redoubt, in revenge for the death of a Colonel Scammel, who had been killed in a reconnoitring skirmish, but was restrained by his superior officer. It has been alleged that Lafayette, with the consent of Washington, ordered that no quarter should be given, but that the garrison should be killed, even after resistance had ceased, as an act of retaliation for cruelties said to have been committed by the English.* This statement, however, was denied by Lafayette, and also by Colonel Hamilton, who commanded the advanced corps. The French were equally successful with the other redoubt, which they attacked with all the precision of military science, and which was defended with much obstinacy. In the end, the position was carried, though not without considerable slaughter. The struggle at both these redoubts was viewed by Washington with great anxiety from the grand battery, together with Generals Knox and Lincoln and their staffs. Taking his stand at an embrasure, he was open to the danger of chance shots, and one of his aides-de-camp pointed out that the situation was much exposed. "If you think so," replied Washington, "you are at liberty to step back." A few minutes afterwards, a musket-ball came in at the opening, and fell close to the Commander-in-Chief. General Knox begged him to move; but he answered that it was merely a spent ball, and still remained at his post. When the redoubts were both taken, he drew a long breath of relief, and observing, "The work is done, and well done," called for his horse, and departed.

Howitzers were mounted next day on the two redoubts, and the works of the besiegers were thus strengthened, while those of the besieged were proportionately decreased. Lord Cornwallis, who had been losing heart for some time, now wrote to Clinton that his situation was very critical; that he dared not show a gun to the old batteries, and that he expected new ones would be opened on the following morning. Experience had proved that the earthworks newly thrown up did not resist the powerful artillery of the allies; "so that," said his Lordship, "we shall soon be exposed to an assault in ruined works, in a bad position, and with weakened numbers." The safety of the place was consequently so doubtful that he could not desire the fleet and army to run the risk of endeavouring to save them. The arrival of the promised fleet might, however, even then have turned the fortune of the day; but no sail appeared on the far-reaching waters that spread towards the Atlantic. In this extremity Cornwallis determined on making a sortie on the second parallel. A little before daybreak on the 16th of October, three hundred and fifty men attacked two of the enemy's batteries, spiked eleven of the guns, and killed or wounded a hundred of the French. But the cannon had been so hastily damaged that they were easily repaired, and by the evening of the same day the batteries of the second parallel were nearly ready. There was now (according to the English General's own account in his despatches) no part of the whole front on which the guns were not dismounted; and the shells of the besieged were almost wholly expended. Cornwallis had therefore only to choose between preparing to surrender next day, and endeavouring to get off with the greater part of his troops. He determined on the latter course.

His plan was to cross the river during the night with his effective troops; to leave behind him his sick, baggage, and other incumbrances; to attack the French officer who commanded on the Gloucester side; to mount his infantry, partly with the horses of the hostile cavalry, which he hoped to overcome, and partly with such animals as he might find by the way; to push on towards the fords of the great rivers in the upper country; and then, turning northward, to pass through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, and so join the army at New York. For the carrying out of this hazardous enterprise, sixteen large boats were secretly prepared, and ordered to be in readiness to receive troops on the night of that same day (the 16th of October), at ten o'clock. A detachment was appointed to remain behind, and conduct the capitulation for the townspeople, the sick, and the wounded; and a large number of the troops were transported to the northern bank of the river before midnight, without discovery. So far, the scheme had gone well; but, under the best of circumstances, it

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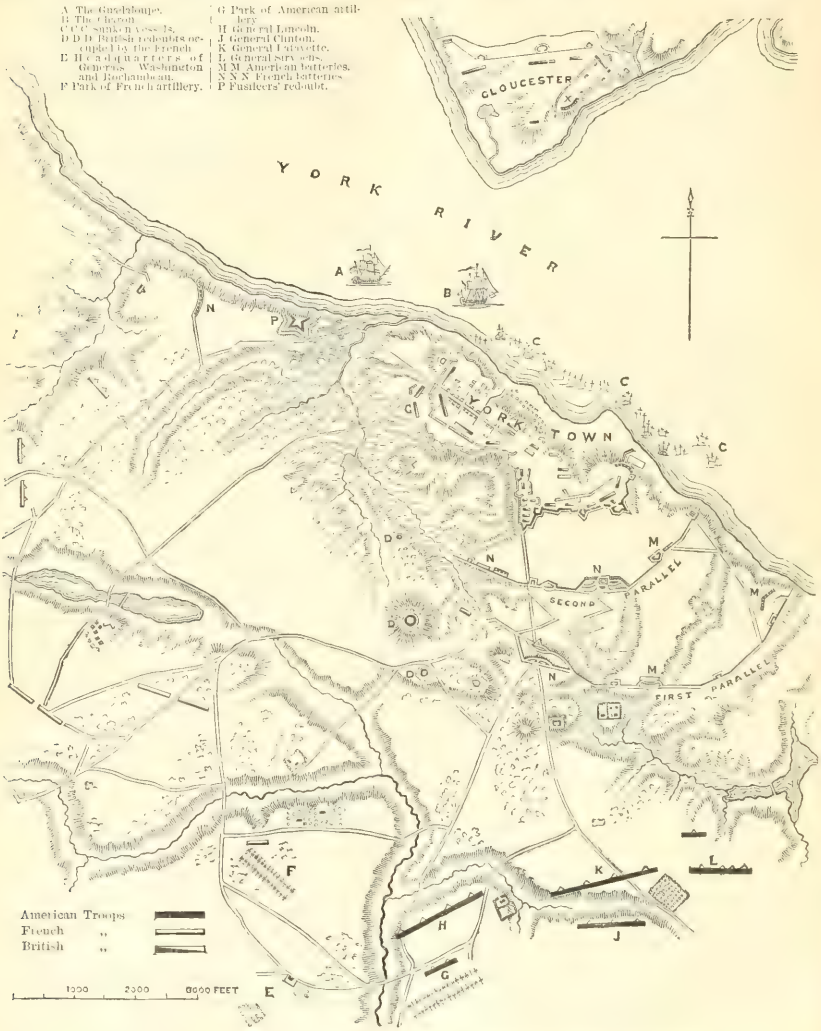
* Gordon's History, Vol. IV., p. 192.


A The Guadaloupe.
B The Charon
C C C sunken vessels.
D D D British redoubts occupied by the French
E Headquarters of Generals Washington and Rochambeau.
F Park of French artillery.
G Park of American artillery
H General Lincoln.
J General Clinton.
K General Lafayette.
L General Steuben.
M M American batteries.
N N N French batteries
P Fusileers' redoubt.
GLOUCESTER
YORK RIVER
YORK TOWN
SECOND PARALLEL
FIRST PARALLEL
A
B
C
C
C
C
D
D
D
D
E
F
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K
L
M
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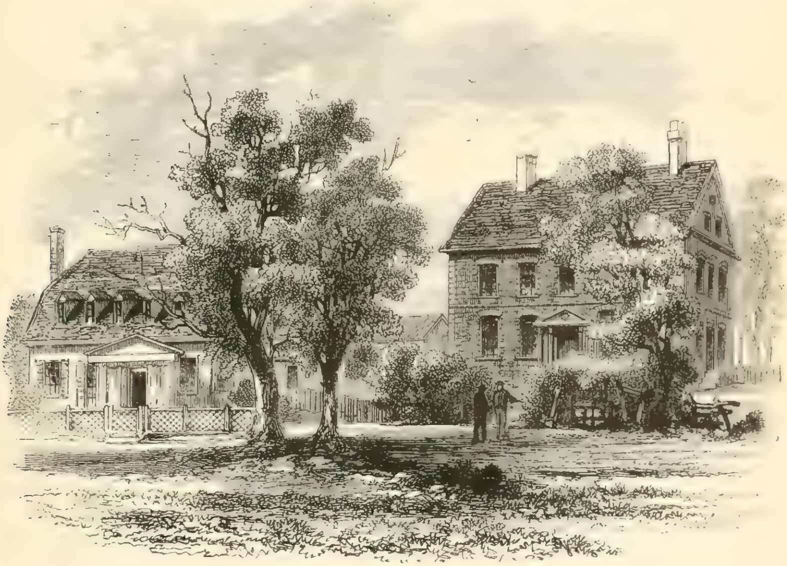
N
N
P
American Troops
French ,,
British ,,
1000 2000 3000 FEET

PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN. (*From Stedman's History of the American War.*)

seems very improbable that it should have succeeded. Between Yorktown and New York lay a wide extent of country; in the rear of the retreating army was an army greatly superior in number; and it is certain that the latter would have started in pursuit, and probable that it would have overtaken and defeated the fugitives, unless, as the English General anticipated, the allies had directed their steps towards the south. Cornwallis, however, felt his position to be so desperate, and the thought of capitulating was so bitter, that he resolved to dare the utmost dangers of an almost hopeless attempt at extrication, rather than agree to a surrender before every means of avoiding it had been exhausted.



THE HOUSE WHERE CORNWALLIS SURRENDERED.

Up to the time when the first detachment of the British troops had landed at Gloucester Point, the night was calm and fine; but a storm then arose, scattering the boats in which the second division had already embarked, driving them a long way down the river, and putting a stop to the further transportation of the army. The boats were afterwards brought together again with some difficulty; but it was then too late to proceed with the enterprise, and, on the morning of the 17th, the first detachment was conveyed back across the river, under a heavy fire from the American batteries. The guns of the second parallel were now playing in combination with those of the first. Great gaps were torn in the already crumbling defences of Yorktown; it was obvious that an assault would not be long delayed; and it could hardly be supposed that so small a garrison, exhausted by incessant labours, and many of them weakened by disease, could resist the onslaught of a numerous host. All hope, then, was at an end. The mortification of a surrender could no longer be avoided. The fate of Burgoyne was to be shared by Cornwallis. Both of them men of ability, honour, and courage, they had nevertheless placed themselves in positions from which escape was impossible; and to Cornwallis was reserved the additional misery of reflecting that so serious a blow, occurring a second time, would probably ruin the British cause in America beyond the possibility of redress.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 17th of October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis ordered a parley to be beaten, and despatched a flag with a letter to Washington, proposing a cessation of hostilities for four-and-twenty hours, and that two officers should be appointed by each side to meet and settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and

Gloucester. Washington replied that, previous to the meeting of commissioners, his Lordship's proposals should be transmitted in writing. For this purpose, a suspension of active operations for two hours would be granted. The English General then required that the garrisons of York and Gloucester, though laying down their arms as prisoners of war, should be sent home,—the British to Great Britain, and the Germans to Germany,—under an engagement not to serve against France, America, or their allies, until exchanged. These terms were declared by Washington to be inadmissible, and the Earl agreed to waive them. As it was evident that there would be no great difficulty in finally adjusting the conditions of capitulation, the suspension of hostilities was continued throughout the night. Washington then drew up a schedule of such terms as he would grant, and forwarded the document with an intimation that, if Lord Cornwallis approved of the proposals, commissioners might be at once appointed to reduce them to form. Accordingly, Viscount Noailles and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, then a prisoner in the Tower of London (of which fortress, by a singular coincidence, Cornwallis was at that time Constable), met Colonel Dundas and Major Ross, of the British army, at a house in the rear of the first parallel, on the 18th of October. It is remarkable, as regards the time of year, that this capitulation corresponds, almost to a day, with the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, four years earlier. The commissioners thus brought together prepared a rough draft, but were unable to arrange the terms definitively. It was agreed that the draft should be submitted to Lord Cornwallis; but Washington would not suffer any delay, and, having caused the articles to be transcribed, sent them, on the morning of the 19th, to the English General, with a letter expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven o'clock, and that the garrison would march out at two in the afternoon.

Cornwallis having no choice but to submit, the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester, with the artillery, military chest, public stores, &c., were that same day surrendered to General Washington, as Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies; and the ships of war, transports, and other vessels, to the Count de Grasse, as Admiral of the French fleet. In accordance with the terms previously shadowed forth by Washington, the articles (fourteen in number) provided that the garrison of Yorktown and Gloucester, including the officers of the navy, and seamen of every description, should surrender as prisoners of war; that the land forces should remain prisoners to the United States, and the sailors to the King of France; that the garrison should be allowed the same honours that had been granted to the garrison of Charleston when it surrendered to Sir Henry Clinton; that the officers and soldiers should be permitted to retain their private property; that the officers should have liberty to proceed upon parole, either to Europe or to any maritime post on the continent of America in possession of British troops; and that the private soldiers should be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations as the American soldiers. The officers were allowed to retain their side arms, and the baggage and papers were to be exempt from search. The *Bonetta* sloop-of-war was to be placed at the disposal of Lord Cornwallis, to convey an aide-de-camp with despatches to Sir Henry Clinton; and this gave an opportunity for overcoming a difficulty with regard to the native loyalists. Cornwallis had proposed, as the tenth article of capitulation, that these unfortunate men should not be punished on account of having joined the British army. Washington would not agree to any such stipulation; but the matter was compromised by permitting Lord Cornwallis to put on board the sloop, which was to be allowed to sail unsearched, as many soldiers as he pleased, provided only that the vessel should be returned, and the soldiers be accounted for as prisoners in a future exchange. In this way the American loyalists were safely conveyed to New York; but their fellow-countrymen and sympathisers in that city complained bitterly of any capitulation being signed after the tenth article was disallowed. Another matter of considerable delicacy had reference to the Virginian slaves who had joined the Royal forces. Washington was determined that they should be recovered; yet there was a harsh absurdity in a nation which professed to be struggling for its liberties stipulating for the return of men into slavery. The American Commander-in-Chief therefore added to the article on private effects the words — "It is understood that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these States, in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed." An ugly and unpleasant act was thus accomplished under a convenient cover.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th of October, the British troops marched out of Yorktown, with drums beating, muskets shouldered, and colours cased, to lay down their arms before the American and French army, drawn out in two lines (the Americans on the right side of the road, the French on the left), to the extent of more than a mile. Washington, with an honourable feeling of compassion for brave men in misfortune, ordered mere spectators to keep aloof from the ceremony (which, however, they do not seem to have done), and suppressed all public signs of exultation. Lord Cornwallis spoke well of both divisions of the army. In a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he wrote :—"The treatment in general that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper. But the kindness and attention that has been shown to us by the French officers in particular, their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every English officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them in our power."

When the British troops issued forth, they were headed by General O'Hara, riding on horseback, who, taking off his hat to Washington, apologised for the non-appearance of Lord Cornwallis, on account of indisposition. In reply, Washington informed him that to General Lincoln had been assigned the duty of receiving the submission of the garrison. Lincoln was the officer in command at Charleston when it surrendered to Clinton in the preceding year. By him, the British troops were now conducted into a field, where they were to ground their arms. Their march has been described by an American on-looker as careless and irregular, and their aspect as sullen. The order to "ground arms" was given by their platoon officers in a tone of great chagrin, and many of the soldiers threw down their muskets with a violence sufficient to break them—an outburst of temper which General Lincoln found it necessary to check. The ceremony being concluded, the men were conducted back to Yorktown, there to remain under guard until removed to their places of destination.* What proved to be in truth the climax of the Revolutionary War had been accomplished. The infant Hercules in his cradle, as Franklin afterwards expressed it, had strangled his second serpent,—the first being General Burgoyne. Peace was still distant, but to most Americans it seemed secure.

CHAPTER L.

Statistics of the Surrender at Yorktown—Results of the Capitulation—Delay in the Despatch of Reinforcements from New York to Cornwallis—Sir Henry Clinton on the Probabilities of an Attack on the French Fleet—Departure of Count de Grasse—Removal of the American Army—Washington on the Prospects of the War—Fighting in North Carolina and on the Mohawk—Reception by Lord North of the News of the Capitulation—The King's Letter on the Subject to Lord George Germaine—Franklin on the Crisis—Meeting of the British Parliament—The Speech from the Throne—Debates in the Lords and Commons—Speeches of Fox, Lord North, and Burke—Further Debates on the American Question—The Opposition gathering Strength—Statement of Lord North as to the Limitation of the American War—Address, Remonstrance, and Petition of the City of London to the King—Change in Popular Opinion with Regard to the Coercion of the Colonies—Meetings in London and Elsewhere—Resignation of Lord George Germaine—General Conway's Motions against the Government—The Ministerial Majority dwindles to a Minority—Resignation of Lord North, and Formation of a Ministry by the Marquis of Rockingham.

Exclusive of seamen, nearly seven thousand persons surrendered to General Washington at the capitulation of Yorktown. Of these, about four thousand were fit for duty, and many of the others would doubtless have been again available as fighting men in the course of a few months. During the siege the garrison had lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, five hundred and fifty-two men, and an army originally much too small was thus rendered still more incapable of coping with an enemy who numbered, when the militia were included, at least sixteen thousand. The misfortune which overtook Lord Cornwallis was by no means remarkable, considering the strength of the adversary, the situation of the town, and the absence of naval aid. Nor was it to be compared in magnitude with some of the capitulations of modern times; for it was, after all, only the surrender of a detachment of the British Army in America, leaving the main body untouched at New York. But it was the second capitulation that had occurred during the war; and it showed, taken in conjunction with the previous disaster, that there were special circumstances in the configuration of America, in the character of the people, and in the resources of the Government, which rendered success in such a war almost impossible, even to such a Power as England. In the open field, the Royal forces prevailed again and again; but no sooner had they retired from any one spot than the waves of rebellion closed once more over the land, and the work of conquest was instantly annulled. Success was scarcely better than failure, and the penalty of failure was ruin. In a country so abounding in wide deserts, in woods and morasses, in hills and valleys—so intersected by large rivers—so commanded by bays, creeks, and inland waters—an army which had once got into a false position found extreme difficulty in getting out of it. This was seen in the cases of Burgoyne and Cornwallis; and it was a fate which constantly overhung the British armies in America, directly they removed from the large cities and the more cultivated parts of the country. A considerable number of the people were in favour of British rule; but they had no organisation, the conduct of affairs was not in their hands, and the leading intellects of the country were all on the side of Independence. Nature herself aided the national cause, and the mistakes of British administrators did the rest.

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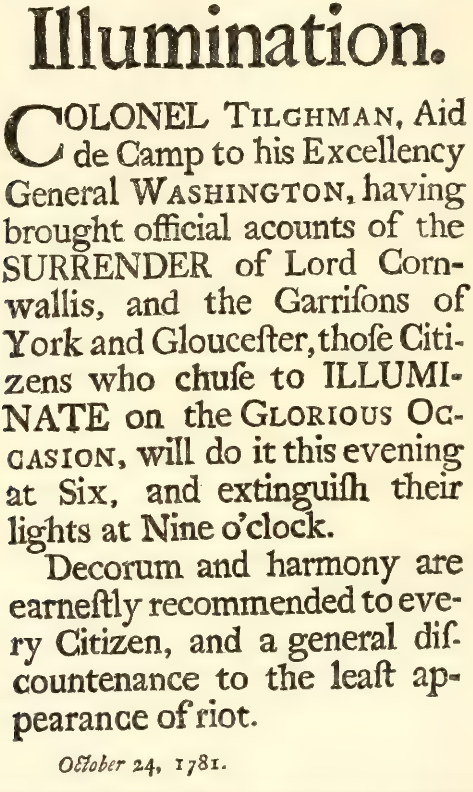
* Gordon's and Stedman's Histories of the War; Sparks's Washington, and Irving's Life of Washington; Earl Stanhope's History of England.



Illumination.

COLONEL Tilghman, Aid de Camp to his Excellency General Washington, having brought official acounts of the SURRENDER of Lord Cornwallis, and the Garriſons of York and Glouceſter, thoſe Citizens who chuſe to ILLUMINATE on the Glorious Occasion, will do it this evening at Six, and extinguiſh their lights at Nine o'clock.

Decorum and harmony are earneſtly recommended to every Citizen, and a general diſcountenance to the leaſt appearance of riot.

October 24, 1781.

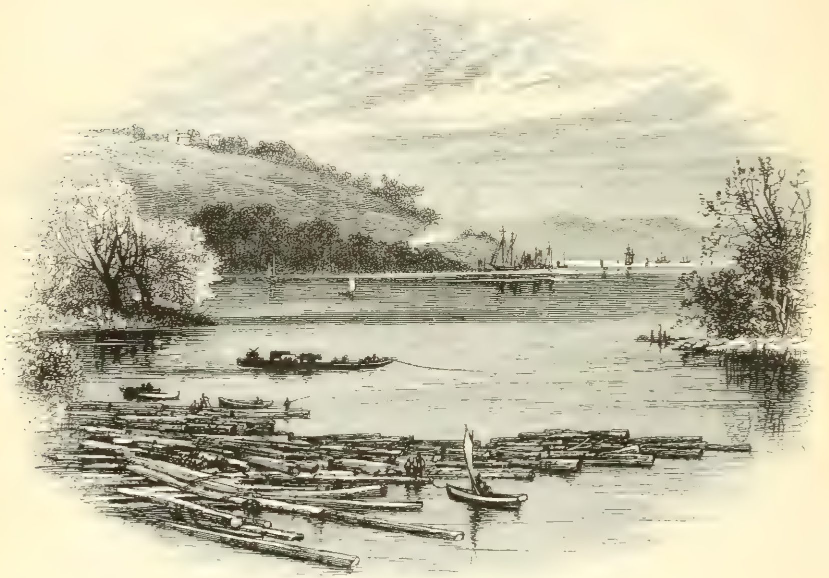
REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF THE PROCLAMATION RESPECTING ILLUMINATIONS ON THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

Had Clinton been enabled to despatch his reinforcements in time, the result would probably have been very different; but the fleet, which was to have sailed on or about the 5th of October, was delayed until long after. The soldiers were ready by the appointed date; but the ships were not prepared for such an expedition, and the land forces were compelled to wait while the vessels were making good the damages they had received in the recent action with de Grasse. "We had the misfortune," wrote the English General at New York, "to see almost every succeeding day produce some naval obstruction or other to protract our departure;" and it was the afternoon of the 19th of October—the very day of the capitulation—before the fleet was fairly at sea. It consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, two vessels of fifty guns each, and eight frigates; and it arrived off the Bay of Chesapeake on the 24th, when Sir Henry Clinton learned, to his deep mortification, the lamentable ending to Lord Cornwallis's campaign. He remained on the coast, however, until the 29th, to make sure that the news was correct, and then returned to New York. It is true that, had the fleet arrived earlier, it would have had to encounter a superior naval force; but this would not necessarily have ensured defeat. Sir Henry Clinton, in his unpublished Memoirs, quoted by Earl Stanhope, has said:—"The flag officers of the fleet, who were present when this matter was debated in council, were all clearly of opinion that thirty-six ships of the line could not, in the position the French fleet had taken between the Middle Ground and Horseshoe Flats, prevent even twenty-three from passing, with a leading wind and tide, into either York or James's River. The reasons given were, that, the enemy's ships being unable, from the violence of the tide and great swell of the sea that runs in that channel, to avail themselves of the springs upon their cables, their broadsides could not be brought to bear on ships approaching them end on; and, after a passage should be effected, they would not dare suddenly to weigh or cut, for the purpose of following, lest they should be driven on shore." While Sir Henry Clinton continued in the neighbourhood of Chesapeake Bay, the French fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, lay at anchor not far off, without making any hostile demonstration.

Count de Grasse soon after prepared for departure. Washington was very desirous that he should remain on the coasts of the Southern States, so that he might assist in the reduction of Charleston; but his orders did not leave him free to follow such a course, and he had already entered into engagements with the Spaniards, who, earlier in the year, had re-conquered the province of West Florida. He stayed in the Bay only long enough to cover the embarkation of the American troops and ordnance destined to be conveyed by water to the head of the river Elk, whither some of the other brigades proceeded by land, that they might be cantoned for the winter in the Jerseys and on the Hudson, and be ready for operations against New York or elsewhere in the ensuing spring. Another portion of the army marched to join Greene in South Carolina; and, while the French troops under Rochambeau remained in Virginia, as a convenient base for ulterior operations, whether in the South or in the North, those under St. Simon, who had arrived with de Grasse, sailed for the West Indies, with that commander, early in November. The British prisoners were marched to Winchester, in Virginia, and Frederickstown, in Maryland, while Lord Cornwallis and his principal officers sailed for New York on parole. A few weeks later, Lafayette returned to Europe. Immediately on the capitulation, Washington, in various general orders, congratulated the allied armies on their victory, awarded high praise to the officers and troops, both French and American, acknowledged the important services rendered by de Grasse and his fleet, appointed a thanksgiving service, and granted a pardon to all those of the army who were under arrest. He subsequently, after a brief visit to his home at Mount Vernon, proceeded to Philadelphia, where he arrived on the 27th of November. Congress did not forget to do him and his comrades honour, and the country generally was wild with delight at the signal triumph that had been achieved.

To the acute mind of Washington, this excess of delight had its dangers. He feared lest Congress and the country should regard the capitulation at Yorktown as a final and conclusive victory, and should fall into a state of languor and relaxation Enthusiasm never perverted his clear judgment, nor did he suffer his pride as an American to blind him to the fact that the great success of October 19th was due in a very large degree to the co-operation of the French. Replying to inquiries made by the Marquis de Lafayette as to his plans for the ensuing year, he remarked that everything would absolutely depend for success on the naval force to be employed; and of that force the States themselves could furnish only a very small proportion. "No land force," he wrote, "can act decisively unless it is accompanied by a maritime superiority; nor can more than negative advantages be expected without it. For proof of this, we have only to recur to the instances of the ease and facility with which the British shifted their ground as advantages were to be obtained at either extremity of the continent, and to their late heavy loss the moment they failed in their naval superiority. . . . A doubt did not exist, nor does it at this moment, in any man's mind, of the total extirpation of the British force in the Carolinas and Georgia, if the

Count de Grasse could have extended his co-operation two months longer."

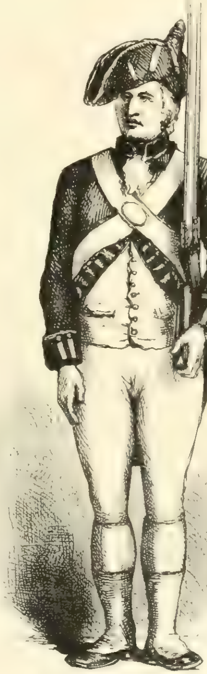


VIEW ON THE JAMES RIVER.

During the progress of the siege of Yorktown, and in the weeks immediately succeeding its surrender, a few military events, of a slight and not very important character, were taking place in other parts of the Union. The loyalists of North Carolina, under M'Neil and M'Dougall, made themselves masters of Hillsborough in the early autumn, and took several prisoners. In a subsequent encounter with the supporters of Congress, M'Neil and some of his followers were killed. M'Dougall was pursued, but escaped with several of his prisoners to Wilmington. These movements had no marked effect on the state of affairs in that part of the Union; nor did anything beyond a little desultory fighting result from an incursion by Major Ross into the country on the Mohawk, at the head of a mixed force of regulars, rangers, and Indians, to the number of five hundred. The invaders were met by an equal force under Colonel Willet, when the British retreated, and, being followed, were overtaken at a ford on Canada Creek. Here they were again defeated, and among the slain was Walter Butler, who had been the chief agent in the massacre at Cherry Valley. He begged for quarter, but was answered by a reference to his great crime, and by immediate death.

News of the capitulation of Yorktown reached London about noon on the 25th of November. It was received first by Lord George Germaine, the Colonial Secretary, who at once communicated the intelligence to Lord North, and, by letter, to the King. Mr. Wraxall (afterwards Sir Nathaniel Wraxall), whose "Historical Memoirs" of his own time have made us acquainted with a large amount of personal anecdote, was that day dining with Lord George, and he asked him how the Prime Minister took the communication. "As he would have taken a cannon-ball in the breast," replied his host. "He opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the room for a few minutes, 'Oh, God! it is all over!'—words which he repeated many times, under the deepest agitation and distress." This was the more remarkable, because Lord North was generally a man of imperturbable temperament, with a gaiety of manner like that of Lord Melbourne or Lord Palmerston. The King, in replying to Lord

George Germaine, which he did in the course of the afternoon, expressed himself deeply concerned, yet as resolved as ever to continue the struggle. The Colonial Minister, however, detected one little circumstance which seemed to betray an unusual degree of emotion on the part of the monarch. The King was in the habit of dating his letters with such scrupulous exactness that he marked the hour and even the minute of his writing. On this occasion he omitted to do so. But in other respects the letter seemed to be the composition of a man perfectly self-possessed, and entirely master of his feelings, thoughts and actions.



AMERICAN SOLDIER UNDER ARMS. *From a Print of the period.*

It is singular that Franklin, writing in Paris to Governor Pownall only three days before the arrival of the great news, had said:—"I wish most heartily with you that this accursed war was at an end; but I despair of seeing it finished in my time." On the 26th of November, the fact of Cornwallis's utter discomfiture was known in Paris; and Franklin then wrote to John Adams, in Holland, congratulating him on so splendid a success, and making use of his classical figure about the infant Hercules, which he afterwards caused to be pictorially represented on a medal commemorative of the event. This remarkable change in Franklin's views, occurring within three days, was not without a sufficient explanation in the aspect of the facts. To a distant observer, it might well have seemed, previous to the news of Yorktown, that the struggle between the colonies and the mother country would still be indefinitely prolonged. After that news, it was evident that one of the great turning points of history had been reached. There was still another serpent to be strangled; but everything indicated the probability of a termination to the war such as the leading minds of America desired. The French alliance had at length enabled the supporters of Independence to obtain that position of indisputable predominance which for several years they had been labouring to reach.

The session of the British Parliament opened on the 27th of November. As the Royal Speech had been composed before the Virginian disaster was known in England, it became necessary, in the two intervening days, to re-cast a good deal of what had been said as to the progress of American affairs. In the Speech as finally settled, the King, after expressing his sorrow at the sad reverse which had occurred, declared that he could not consent to sacrifice, either to his own desire for peace, or to the temporary ease and relief of his subjects, those essential rights and permanent interests on which the strength and security of Great Britain must always principally depend. He retained a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the justice of his cause; and he called for the concurrence and support of Parliament, together with a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of his people. In the Upper House, Lord Shelburne moved an amendment to the Address, implying censure on the Government, and criticised the whole policy of Ministers with great severity. He was supported by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Camden, and Lord Rockingham; but his motion was rejected by 75 peers against 31. The amendment in the Commons was moved by Fox, who attacked the Government in a speech of considerable power, full of fierce and venomous invective. Replying to an assertion on behalf of the Ministry, that all the calamities of the nation had been caused by the conduct of the Opposition, he exclaimed:—"Oh, miserable and unfortunate Ministers! blind and incapable men!—whose measures are framed with so little foresight, and executed with so little firmness, that they crumble to pieces, and bring ruin on the country, merely because a rash, weak, or wicked man in the House of Commons makes a speech against them! Retrospective measures are deprecated; but Ministers must bear to hear them from the representatives of an abused people. I will not say they are actually in the pay of France, for I cannot prove the fact; but I will venture to say that they have worked for the aggrandisement of the Grand Monarque more faithfully and successfully than any Ministers of his own have ever done." The clause which Fox concluded by moving, as an amendment, pledged the Commons to apply themselves with united hearts to propose and adjust such counsels as might, in that crisis, excite the efforts, point the arms, and by a total change of system command the confidence, of all his Majesty's subjects.

Lord North replied to Fox, and expressed great indignation at the suggestion that Ministers were in the pay of France—a philippic, however, which was hardly worth noticing, since it is tolerably certain that Fox did not believe it himself. The American war, he maintained, was prosecuted, not with the design of aggrandising the Crown, but with the wish to preserve unbroken the venerable fabric of the Empire. The quarrel had been begun by Parliament, not by the King, and by a Ministry formed out of that party which constituted the existing Opposition. A melancholy disaster had occurred in Virginia; but were they on that account to lie down and die? Rather it should rouse them to vigorous action, since by united exertions everything might be saved, while by dejection and despair everything would be lost. Ministers had been threatened by Fox (using a licence now happily abandoned even by the most extreme partisans) with impeachment and the scaffold; but Lord North declared that that should not deter him from striving to preserve the rights and legislative authority of Parliament. The war had been unfortunate, but not unjust: it was founded in right, and dictated by necessity. He had always thought so, and should continue to think so, at whatever risk. At the present day, we know that Lord North had, privately, considerable doubt as to the justice and expediency of the war; and in bringing forward his conciliatory proposals he almost conceded the point of right to the colonists. But now, driven to bay by the Opposition, he again asserted with fervour the predominance of the mother country over its dependencies.

The most striking speech of the evening was that of Burke. "Good God, Mr. Speaker!" he exclaimed, "are we yet to be told of the rights for which we went to war? Oh, excellent rights! Oh, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. Oh, valuable rights, that have cost England thirteen provinces, four islands, a hundred thousand men, and more than seventy millions of money! Oh, wonderful rights, that have lost to Great Britain her empire on the ocean,—her boasted grand and substantial superiority, which made the world bend before her! Oh, inestimable rights, that have taken from us our rank among nations, our importance abroad, and our happiness at home; that have taken from us our trade, our manufactures, and our commerce; that have reduced us from the most flourishing Empire in the world to be one of the most compact, unenviable Powers on the face of the globe! Oh, wonderful rights, that are likely to take from us all that yet remains! We had a right to tax America, says the noble Lord, and, as we had a right, we must do it. . . . . . Oh, miserable and infatuated men! miserable and undone country! not to know that right signifies nothing without might; that the right without the power of enforcing it is nugatory and idle in the copyhold of rival States, or of immense bodies. 'Oh,' says a silly man, full of his prerogative of dominion over a few beasts of the field, 'there is excellent wool on the back of a wolf, and therefore he must be sheared.' What! shear a wolf? 'Yes.' But will he comply? have you considered the trouble? how will you get this wool? 'Oh, I have considered nothing, and I will consider nothing, but my right: a wolf is an animal that has wool; all animals that have wool are to be shorn; and therefore I will shear the wolf.'" Notwithstanding this telling speech, and others on the same side, the Address was carried by 218 votes, against only 129 for the amendment. The eloquence was almost entirely with the Opposition, who had, indeed, no small amount of reason likewise on their side; but it was probably felt that they exaggerated their case, and compromised truth itself by the spirit of faction.

The debate was resumed when the Report on the Address was brought up. On that occasion, the younger William Pitt, who had but recently entered Parliament, delivered a speech which was admired on all sides. He pronounced strongly against the war, and asserted that no two members on the Treasury Bench agreed in sentiment on the subject, or were in heart sincere friends. Burke spoke with horror of the omission from the articles of capitulation of any clause protecting the American loyalists from the vengeance of their countrymen. Alluding to the fact of the young Prince William (afterwards William IV.) being at that time, in his capacity as a naval officer, on the coast of America, he said that he must frequently behold the faithful adherents of his father hanging in quarters on every headland. This, however, was not owing to the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, who had by indirect means managed to provide for the safety of the loyalists of Yorktown and its neighbourhood. One of the most striking features of the later debate was the speech of the Lord Advocate, Henry Dundas, who, notwithstanding his official position, expressed opinions not very dissimilar from those of Fox, Pitt, and Burke, hinted at disunion in the Cabinet, and obscurely blamed some who in Council did not deliver their sincere opinions. The Report was adopted by 131 votes against 54; but the troubles of Government were not yet over. On the 12th of December, Sir James Lowther moved a resolution declaring that the war carried on in the colonies of North America had been ineffectual for its avowed purposes, and that all further attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force must be injurious to Great Britain, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies. The motion was seconded by Mr. Powys, afterwards Lord Lilford, who, as a leading member of what has been called the party of the country gentlemen (usually supporters of Lord North's Government), was regarded as a very important accession to the side of the Opposition. He drew with him the votes of more than twenty of the ordinary adherents of Government; yet the motion was negatived by 220 to 179.

In the course of the debate, Lord North made an important statement, which was to the effect that it would no longer be right to proceed with the American war on the method previously followed—that was to say, by sending armies to conduct active operations throughout the country. He said he would have withheld this intimation, as a kind of signal or notice to the national enemies, had it not been plainly declared by the moderation of the Estimates which had been laid on the table. It was not intended to send out a fresh army to supply the place of that which surrendered at Yorktown; but it was necessary to retain certain posts in America, if it were only for the convenience of carrying on the war with France and Spain. England could not do without ports and harbours in that part of the world, such as would enable her to act upon the seas; and British trade must be protected against American privateers. Thus was the war of coercion virtually given up. It was evident from the Premier's speech that he intended to do no more than hold certain positions as a means of protection against external enemies, and at the general peace to acknowledge the independence of the colonies. The House was greatly agitated at such a declaration, and Burke made a speech which Horace Walpole has described as wild and passionate.

The great question of the day was again discussed on the 14th of December, when an attempt—defeated by a large majority—was made to delay the supplies. Pitt again spoke, and declared that the Ministry were intent only on one thing, and that was the destruction of the Empire. "God grant," he exclaimed, "that their punishment be not so long delayed as to involve a great and innocent family, who, though they share not the guilt, will most likely participate in the atonement." Shortly afterwards, a debate occurred on the subject of the imprisonment of Henry Laurens in the Tower, when Burke (who had presented a petition from him) gave notice of a motion on his behalf. It soon became unnecessary to take any further steps in the matter, as Laurens was discharged on the 31st of December, in exchange for General Burgoyne, who had been in England on parole since the Convention of Saratoga. Amongst other indications of public opinion in that closing month of 1781, was an address, remonstrance, and petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London to the King, which his Majesty declined to receive in any other way than at a levee, and which was consequently not presented at all. The document was published, however, and produced a great effect. "It is with inexpressible concern," said the promoters of this petition, "that we have heard your Majesty declare, in your Speech to both Houses of Parliament, your intention of persevering in a system of measures which has proved so disastrous to this country. Your Majesty's Ministers have, by false assertions and fallacious suggestions, deluded your Majesty and the nation into the present unnatural and unfortunate war. The consequences of this delusion have been, that the trade of this country has suffered irreparable losses; the landed property through the kingdom has been depreciated to the most alarming degree; the property of your Majesty's subjects, vested in the public funds, has lost above one-third of its value; private credit has been almost wholly annihilated by the enormous interest given in the public loans, superior to that which is allowed by law in any private contract; your Majesty's fleets have lost their wonted superiority; your armies have been captured; your dominions have been lost; and your Majesty's faithful subjects have been loaded with a burden of taxes, which, even if our victories had been as splendid as our defeats have been disgraceful, if our accession of dominion had been as fortunate as the dismemberment of the Empire has been cruel and disastrous, could not in itself be considered but as a great and grievous calamity. We beseech your Majesty no longer to continue in a delusion from which the nation has awakened, and that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to relinquish entirely and for ever the plan of reducing our brethren in America to obedience by force." The petition concluded with a prayer that his Majesty would dismiss from his councils all the advisers, both public and secret, of the measures which the petitioners regarded with so much disfavour.

A very strong feeling against the war was undoubtedly growing up in many quarters. The West India merchants declared, at a meeting which they held, that their total ruin must result from a further continuance of hostilities with America. The electors of Westminster had a political gathering, at which Fox delivered a vehement speech, and proposed several resolutions, which were carried. Similar meetings, with similar results, were held in Southwark, and for the counties of Middlesex and Surrey; indeed, the country generally was growing sick of a contest so fruitful in disaster, so barren of fortunate results, so inordinately expensive, and so void even of the most meagre hope. This feeling was enhanced in no slight degree during the Christmas recess of Parliament; and when the two Houses met again, at the latter end of January, 1782, the Opposition felt themselves far stronger than before the adjournment. Their influence was augmented by the equivocal position of Lord North and his colleagues. Ministers would not frankly declare themselves in favour of peace, yet it was plain that they were not heartily in favour of war. Their first act was to get rid of Lord George Germaine, who was still eager for the subjugation of the Americans. He had declared, in the debate on Sir James Lowther's motion, that, be the consequences what they might, he would never be the Minister to sign any treaty which gave independence to the colonies. It was accordingly arranged that he should resign, and at the same time be raised to the peerage, under the title of Viscount Sackville. His dismissal—for such, in fact, it was—showed the growing weakness of Government, who endeavoured to conciliate the Opposition, and succeeded only in discrediting themselves.

Ill-success and mismanagement in other quarters besides America increased in a still greater degree the unpopularity of Ministers, and gave point and force to the attacks of their enemies. Their majorities grew less and less, and it was evident that the end could not be long delayed. On the 22nd of February, General Conway—who several years before had proposed the repeal of the Stamp Act, and who had always been one of the sincerest English friends of America—moved an address to the King, entreating his Majesty not to pursue any further the existing war in the colonies, "for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants to obedience." The reply of the new Colonial Secretary, Mr. Welbore Ellis, was considered unsatisfactory and ambiguous, and the motion was defeated by a bare majority of one. This was so nearly a triumph for General Conway, that on the 27th of the same month he brought forward another motion to the same effect, but taking the form of a resolution against any further attempts to reduce the insurgent colonists. Lord North did not venture on any direct resistance to this motion, but simply asked for a short delay, in order to convince the House that Ministers were sincere in their intention not to recruit the army in America; and the Attorney-General professed his readiness to introduce a Bill enabling the Government to treat with the colonies on the basis of a truce. But the Opposition, conscious of their strength, would listen to no compromise whatever. A motion that the debate should be adjourned was lost by a majority of 19, and Conway's resolution was carried by 234 against 215. An address was accordingly sent up to the King, to which his Majesty returned an answer expressing assent, but in cold, guarded, and somewhat vague language. Conway then moved, on the 4th of March, a new address, setting forth that the House would consider as enemies to the Sovereign and the country all those who should advise the continued prosecution of the war in North America. The motion was carried without a division, and on the following day the Attorney-General introduced his Bill for effecting a truce. The hours of the Ministry, however, were numbered, and the final blow soon came.

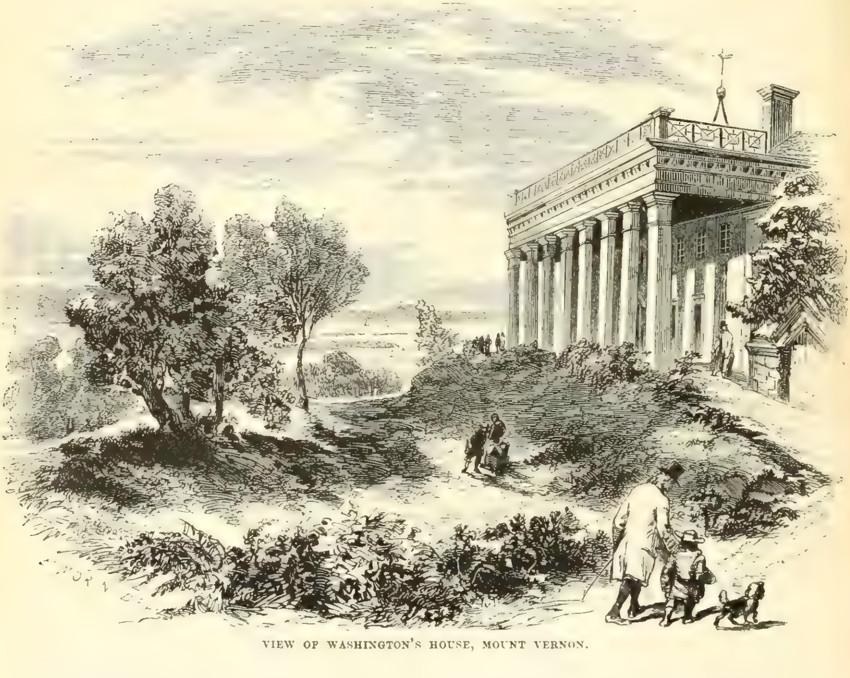
Nevertheless, there was a temporary rally. On the 8th of March, Lord John Cavendish brought forward a number of resolutions, the last of which declared that the chief cause of all the national misfortunes was want of foresight and ability in the members of the Administration. A majority of ten on the side of Government defeated this attempt. On the 15th, Sir John Rous, one of the members for Suffolk, a Tory in politics, and formerly a supporter of Lord North, moved that the House could no longer repose confidence in Ministers. The motion was lost by a majority of nine. But with such small and such uncertain majorities it was evident that the Premier and his friends could not continue to hold office. Before the Earl of Surrey could bring forward a motion of the same nature, of which he had given notice, Lord North had resolved to escape by a voluntary act from the turmoil wherein he had become involved. On the 19th of March, he sent a message to the King, intimating the necessity of his immediately resigning. On the following day he had an interview with his Majesty at St. James's Palace, when his resignation was accepted. He then rode direct to the House of Commons, and, interposing when the Earl of Surrey was about to speak, said that, as the object of the intended motion was the removal of his Majesty's Ministers, such a motion had become unnecessary, as the Administration was no more. Before sitting down, he moved an adjournment for five days, to allow time for new arrangements; and to this the House agreed. The Ministry of Lord North had lasted twelve years. They had been years of great difficulty and trouble, and it cannot be said that this statesman's conduct of affairs had been at all successful, or marked by any large share of political wisdom. Yet Lord North was a man of ability, readiness, and tact, and, more than that, he was an honest man. He left office poorer than he entered it, and would probably have been seriously embarrassed had not George III. secured to him the post of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

The Ministry of Lord Rockingham, which succeeded to that of Lord North, was composed of those men who had for so many years supported the cause of the Americans. It included Lord Shelburne, Charles James Fox, Lord Camden, the Duke of Grafton, Lord John Cavendish, General Conway, Mr. Dunning (now created Lord Ashburton), the Duke of Richmond, Burke, Sheridan, and Colonel Barré. The combination was not a happy one. The Cabinet was divided into two parties—that of Rockingham himself, and that of Shelburne; and they represented somewhat different views. Shelburne, as a follower of Chatham, was disinclined to the entire independence of America; Rockingham was willing to grant the complete separation of the colonies from the mother country. The latter had held office in the early days of the quarrel, and had not distinguished himself as an administrator, being in truth a man of very moderate capacity. He was now to try what he could do for the pacification of a deadly feud which had cost both the antagonists an amount of blood and treasure which no one could contemplate without dismay.

CHAPTER LI.

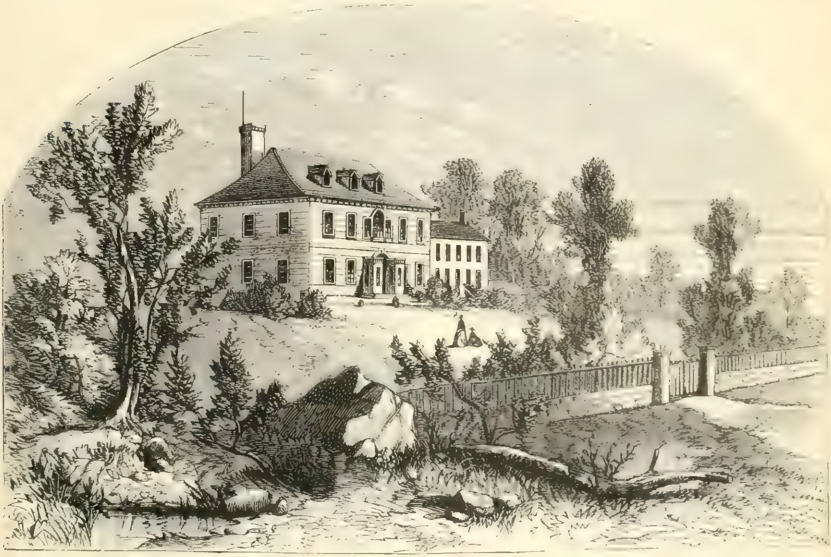
Washington in Philadelphia—Plot for the Seizure of Prince William Henry at New York—The Law of Retaliation—Hanging of Captain Huddy by the New York Loyalists—Washington's Demand for the giving up of the Offender—The Case of Captain Asgill—Sir Guy Carleton succeeds Sir Henry Clinton in the Command of the British Forces in America—Disorganised and Miserable Condition of the American Army—Proposal to Washington that he should assume the Title of King—His indignant Reply—Pacific Overtures of Sir Guy Carleton—Cessation of Warlike Operations in the North—Washington's Advice that the Country should continue prepared for War—Occasional Skirmishing in the South—The British evacuate Georgia—Proceedings at Charleston—Death of Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens—Agitation and Distress of George III. at being compelled to entrust the Government to Lord Rockingham—Principles of the Rockingham and Shelburne Sections of the Cabinet—Measures of Shelburne and Fox towards the Restoration of Peace—Negotiations for Peace in Paris—Rodney's great Naval Victory over de Grasse—Differences between Fox and Shelburne—Death of Lord Rockingham, and its Consequences.

On arriving at Philadelphia, towards the end of November, 1781, Washington had many consultations with the Military Committee of Congress, and with the Secretaries of War and Finance. His advice as to the campaign of the ensuing year was in accordance with those principles which he had before unfolded to Greene and Lafayette; and the exposition of his views produced a great impression on the political rulers of the country. It was resolved to push the war with vigour, and not, as Washington had feared, to rest content with the success obtained at Yorktown, and relax all further efforts. On the 10th of December, resolutions were passed in Congress for requisitions of men and money from the several States, and Washington himself wrote to the Governors, urging them to do their utmost in this respect, and with as little delay as possible. At Paris, Franklin used all his influence to induce the King to continue his aid, and the prospects of the Federation were placed in the brightest colours before the eyes of Louis and his Ministers. In America, the exertions of Congress and of Washington produced but slight results. The States responded grudgingly to the demand for troops and funds, and the popular sentiment fully supported them in this hesitation and parsimony. The Americans were as tired of the war as the English. To the latter, it appeared that a prolongation of the struggle was hopeless; to the former, it seemed idle to make further sacrifices for an end which was already virtually obtained. Thus, two very opposite feelings conduced to the same effect.



VIEW OF WASHINGTON'S HOUSE, MOUNT VERNON.

Washington quitted Philadelphia in March, 1782, and, on reaching Morristown, in New Jersey, on the 28th of that month, was requested by Colonel Matthias Ogden to sanction a scheme of a bold and adventurous character. Prince William Henry, the King's third son, was at that time serving as a midshipman on board one of Admiral Digby's ships, and was staying at New York with his principal commander. Ogden's idea was to surprise the Prince and the Admiral at their quarters in the city, and carry them off. He proposed that he himself, a captain, a subaltern, three sergeants, and thirty-six men—in all, forty-two—should embark from the Jersey shore on a rainy night in four whale-boats, rowed with muffled oars, and should land in New York at half-past nine, at a wharf not far from Hanover Square, where the objects of the plot were residing. Part of the men were to guard the boats, while Colonel Ogden should proceed with the others to the house, force open the doors, and capture the two chief occupants. In returning to the boats, one detachment of the men was to precede the prisoners with bayonets fixed, and another to follow at some little distance, so as to keep in check any persons who might pursue in the hope of effecting a rescue. It was a desperate project, but, supposing it to be successfully carried out, it might fairly be expected to hasten the conclusion of peace. To Washington it seemed feasible, and he accordingly gave it his sanction, but only on condition that no insult or indignity should be offered to the young Prince or to the Admiral. They were to be treated with all respect, and without delay to be conveyed to Congress. The attempt, however, appears never to have been made. Great apprehensions of an impending American attack were felt at that time in New York, and some inkling of the plot, with accompanying exaggerations, had been obtained by the citizens. A number of flat-bottomed boats had been discovered by a sentinel on the banks of the Hudson, and were supposed to be intended as a means of firing the suburbs, during the confusion resulting from which, a descent on the lower part of the city was to be made, with a view to carrying off Sir Henry Clinton, Prince William Henry, and several other illustrious personages. In consequence of these rumours, unusual precautions were taken for the security of those gentlemen, by augmenting their guards; and it was probably felt that the attempt would be too hazardous. At any rate, as far as can be ascertained, the scheme never passed out of the limbo of mere speculation ; and it can hardly be doubted that, had it done so, it would have failed.



VIEW OF WASHINGTON'S QUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN.

The attention of Washington (whose head-quarters were now established at Newburgh, on the Hudson) was at this period engaged by a matter of much greater importance. One of those cases had arisen in which the perplexed and painful question of the right to retaliate, and the limits by which that asserted right is bound, were involved. Not long before, Washington, writing to General Greene, had said :—"Of all laws, it [the law of retaliation] is the most difficult to execute where you have not the transgressor himself in your possession. Humanity will ever interfere, and plead strongly against the sacrifice of an innocent person for the guilt of another." Three or four months after the American Commander-in-Chief had given expression to this humane and reasonable sentiment, Philip White, one of the New York loyalists (or refugees, as they were called), engaged in marauding expeditions in New Jersey, was captured by the people of that province, and killed in attempting to escape from the custody of those who were conducting him to the jail at Monmouth. His fellow-loyalists in New York determined on revenge. They had in their possession one Captain Joseph Huddy, who had been seized while defending a blockhouse. This unfortunate person was now taken out of his prison in New York, conducted into New Jersey, and hanged, with a label affixed to his breast, bearing an inscription which concluded with the words, "We determine to hang man for man while there is a refugee existing. Up goes Huddy for Philip White!" Sir Henry Clinton, who justly regarded this act as a murder—though it was in some degree palliated by the frequent cruelties practised on the loyalists by the Republicans—ordered the arrest of Lippencott, the leader of the gang who had put Huddy to death, and prepared to bring him to trial. Washington, however, desired to get the offender into his own hands, and, after taking the opinion of a board of general and field officers, who supported his view of the case, wrote to Clinton, demanding that Lippencott, or any other officer who commanded the execution of Captain Huddy, should be given up for execution, or, if the perpetrator of the crime were inferior in rank, so many of the offenders as would, according to the tariff of exchange, be an equivalent. In the event of this being refused, retaliation was plainly hinted at. Clinton adhered to his original determination to bring Lippencott to trial himself; and Washington, being countenanced in his resolves by Congress, ordered a selection to be made by lot from among the British officers who were then imprisoned at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. The fatal chance fell on Captain Charles Asgill, of the Guards, a youth of nineteen, whose character was such as to enlist the sympathies of all very powerfully in his favour. As Clinton had promised to bring the offender to trial, it would seem that Washington should at least have waited for the result of that investigation before threatening the life of any person; but the time was not one in which the animosities of men suffered much to stand in their way.

While this matter was pending, Sir Henry Clinton, who had long solicited his recall, was succeeded in his command by Sir Guy Carleton, who had been appointed to that position just before the resignation of Lord North, and who arrived at New York in the beginning of May. That gallant officer and humane gentleman did his utmost to ward off the menaced fate of Captain Asgill, who bore the burden of his hard sentence with great fortitude; but his representations were not favourably received. On Lippencott being brought to trial, it was found that he was not mainly answerable for the crime, having acted in conformity with what he believed to be his orders from the Board of Associated Loyalists sitting at New York, under the presidency of William Franklin, the son of Dr. Franklin. This miscarriage had the natural effect of jeopardising the life of Asgill still more; and for several months his fate hung in suspense. The Board of Loyalists was broken up by Sir Guy Carleton, as a mark of his disapproval of its practices; but the American authorities long refused to listen to any plea for the young officer who had been cast for death. Washington, indeed, relented after awhile; admitted Captain Asgill (who had always been treated with much consideration) to parole; and conveyed to the Secretary of War his private opinion that, after the action taken by the new British commander with respect to the loyalists, the prisoner should be set free. But the majority in Congress were strongly disinclined to any merciful interpretation of their duties, and it seemed as if Asgill would have shared the fate of André. What finally procured his release was the interposition of France. Lady Asgill, the mother of the anticipated victim—whose husband was at that time on the point of death, and whose daughter was seized with a fever and delirium at the prospect of her brother's execution—wrote a touching letter to the Count de Vergennes, the French Foreign Minister, imploring his intercession. The letter was shown to the King and Queen, and by their direction the Count wrote to Washington on the 29th of July. "Captain Asgill," he observed, "is doubtless your prisoner; but he is among those whom the arms of the King, my master, contributed to put into your hands at Yorktown." And he added:—"In seeking to deliver Mr. Asgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to select another victim: the pardon, to be perfectly satisfactory, must be entire." Washington, who seems to have sincerely pitied the youth, and to have really desired his safety after the first feeling of anger had passed away, sent the letter of Vergennes to Congress, and pressed for a favourable decision. On the 7th of November, the Legislative Body came to a vote that Captain Asgill should be released.

In confirming Sir Guy Carleton in his command of the British army in America, the Rockingham Ministry instructed that General to adopt the most conciliatory policy towards the Americans, and associated him with Admiral Digby as joint Commissioners for negotiating a peace independently of France. Many circumstances operated to the furtherance of such a design. To the best-informed among the Americans, the necessity of bringing the war to a speedy close was painfully apparent. The resources of Government were exhausted; the credit of the country was at an end. The people were visibly shrinking from further sacrifices, and openly murmuring at the burdens they had to bear.

The army was on the verge of revolt, and could only be restrained by acts of great severity. Those brave men who had fought the battles of Independence found themselves creditors for large arrears of pay, and were in the meanwhile deprived of the sheer necessaries of life. They were often as nearly naked as men could be, short of being reduced to the actual state of nature; they were frequently left without bread or meat, and were so entirely devoid of medicines and surgical appliances that the sick and wounded had very little chance of recovery. This was especially the case with that detachment of the army which had been fighting in the South. Greene's soldiers were constrained to cover themselves with a ragged cloth about their loins, or a few tufts of moss across their shoulders. Many were so ashamed of their condition that they would not issue out of their tents; and even the others were, in the expressive phrase of Greene, as ragged as wolves. Large numbers gave in their resignations in a body, and were with difficulty induced to remain; and a portion of the army entered into a secret correspondence with the British, for the purpose of delivering Greene himself into their power—a conspiracy which was discovered in time, when the ringleader was shot, and the other principals fled. This state was in some degree mitigated as the summer advanced; but the army was still far from being in a condition to meet the enemy. In the North, matters were only a few degrees better. On the 28th of May, Washington had expressed alarm for the safety of his positions, feeling very doubtful whether his starved and enfeebled army would be able to resist a vigorous assault by the British.

The discontent existing amongst the military, as a consequence of these prolonged sufferings and of the incapacity of the Government, led to a remarkable proposal, which, had Washington been a man of strong personal ambition, might have occasioned a complete revolution in the political constitution of the country. Among the officers serving immediately under the American Commander-in-Chief was a certain Colonel Lewis Nicola, an elderly man of respectable character, who had formerly been in command of Fort Mifflin, and who was now on terms of great intimacy with Washington. He appears to have been consulted by the other officers, and to have been made by them the medium for submitting to their superior those grievances which they had so much occasion to allege against the Government. Washington had listened to these complaints with many expressions of sympathy for the sufferers, and with promises that no exertion of his should be wanting towards a redress of all wrongs. His friendly words induced Nicola, in the month of May, to approach the General in a communication of a startling nature. Having in the first instance remarked on the deplorable condition of the army, and the little hope that could be entertained of any proper rewards from Congress, he went on to a political disquisition on the characteristics of various forms of government, with a view to showing that Republics are the least adapted to secure the liberty of communities, or the property of individuals. America, he believed, would never prosper, or become a nation, under such a mode of rule. The English Constitution he regarded as the most successful experiment of the kind that had ever been tried. Alluding to the financial embarrassments of the country, and to the multiplied and increasing burdens which pressed so heavily on the people, he continued:—"This must have shown to all, and to military men in particular, the weakness of Republics, and the exertions the army have been able to make by being under a proper head. Therefore, I little doubt that, when the benefits of a mixed government are pointed out and duly considered, such will be readily adopted. In this case it will, I believe, be uncontroverted that the same abilities which have led us through difficulties, apparently insurmountable by human power, to victory and glory, those qualities that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army, would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the ideas of tyranny and monarchy as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may therefore be requisite to give the head of such a constitution as I propose some title apparently more moderate; but, if all other things were once adjusted, I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title of KING, which I conceive would be attended with some material advantages."

To this letter, Washington, on the 22nd of May, returned an answer, in which he expressed (and doubtless with perfect sincerity) the most painful astonishment at learning that such ideas existed in the army—ideas which he viewed with abhorrence, and reprehended with severity. He was at a loss to conceive what part of his conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to him seemed big with the greatest mischiefs that could befall the country. The writer could not have found a person to whom his schemes would be more disagreeable, though he (Washington) would employ his utmost influence, in a constitutional way, to secure ample justice to the army. He concluded with the earnest entreaty,—"Let me conjure you, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature." This dignified rebuke put a stop to any renewed proposals. Washington promised to keep the communication to himself, unless some further agitation of the matter should make a disclosure necessary; and this hint probably helped to repress the desires of those for whom Nicola acted as a mouthpiece. Yet it would seem that there existed, not only at that time, but for some time after, a very considerable party in the army, including some men of influential character, who were disposed to support a monarchical form of government, as that which was most likely to secure the permanent well-being of the nation.* The Republic had certainly done little up to that date to inspire general confidence; yet a Monarchy is so much the creation of a feudal and military form of society that it would have been wholly out of place in the English colonies of America.

Acting in accordance with the instructions of his Government, Sir Guy Carleton, on the 7th of May, informed Washington of the powers to negotiate which had been conferred on him. He likewise transmitted printed copies of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 4th of March, when the address to the King in favour of peace was, on the motion of General Conway, affirmed without a division; also a copy of a Bill reported in consequence of that motion, authorising the King to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted provinces of North America. A similar letter was written by Sir Guy Carleton to Congress, and he now requested of Washington a passport for the person who was to deliver it. The American Commander-in-Chief forwarded the communication to Congress himself; but the passport was refused. This refusal was based on the considerations that no assurance had been given of the Commissioners being empowered to offer any other terms than those which had already been rejected; that the members of Congress were suspicious of the offers being merely intended to amuse and put them off their guard, when they might be successfully attacked in a moment of fancied security; and that they were resolved to enter into no treaty without the agreement of France. The state of war, however, now existed at the North in little more than the name. Sir Guy Carleton took no military measures beyond those of mere defence, and Washington felt that he was not strong enough to attack New York. An informal truce existed on the Hudson, and every one looked with confidence to the actual conclusion of peace.

Washington, nevertheless, always kept strictly in view the necessity of being ready for a continuance of the war, should the better prospects of the hour be clouded over. He still counselled the rulers of his country to hold their arms firmly in their hands, and to take advantage of every favourable opportunity until their wishes were fully obtained; and he bade them remember that no nation ever suffered in treaty by preparing, even in the moment of negotiation, for vigorous operations in the field. Precaution, he urged, could at any rate do no harm, whereas too much confidence and supineness might be pernicious in the extreme. These views were fully shared by General Greene, who did all he could towards strengthening his war-worn and almost naked regiments. He was reinforced to some slight extent by the troops from Yorktown, under General St. Clair; yet these did little more than fill up vacancies caused by the departure of those soldiers who were entitled to their discharge. Greene, however, finding himself in a rather better position after their arrival, detached General Wayne across the Santee, to provide for the safety of Georgia. General Clarke, who commanded the British forces in that province, then withdrew into Savannah. Some skirmishes ensued between the troops of General Wayne and the outposts before the town; and on the 11th of July the garrison evacuated Savannah, and retired from the whole province. On the 7th of August, General Leslie, who held Charleston, announced to his troops that that city would speedily be evacuated; but the movement did not really take place until the 14th of December. In the meanwhile, some skirmishes occurred, owing to the determination of Greene not to accept the suspension of arms which Leslie proposed. The English General even offered full payment for all provisions sent into the town, while at the same time threatening to take them without compensation if withheld. The American commander suspected that his adversary intended to collect a large quantity of rice in Charleston, with which to victual the army while it acted against the French in the West Indies. He therefore declined to accede to the proposal, and the British made some foraging incursions into the country, and occasionally came into collision with the enemy. During one of these frays, Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens was killed, to the great regret of his countrymen, who knew and respected his many virtues. He was the son of Henry Laurens (at one time President of Congress), and early in the previous year had acted as special Minister to France with a view to obtaining the assistance of money and a fleet—a double object which he very successfully accomplished.

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* Sparks's Washington, Vol. VIII., pp. 300 1 2.

Political affairs in England were now undergoing several fluctuations. The King desired as much as ever to proceed with the war; but the pacific party had become too strong for him. On the resignation of Lord North, he had, on finding the terms of Lord Rockingham too hard, sent for Lord Shelburne, as representing the more moderate section of the Whig party. The Premiership being declined by Shelburne, George would not at once revert to Lord Rockingham, who, as the nominal leader of the more extreme section, was greatly disliked at Court, but made overtures to Lord Gower. That nobleman, however, did not feel himself able to undertake such a charge, and it was then that the distracted monarch (who seems, in moments of irritation, to have regarded Lord North's unavoidable resignation as a desertion of the Throne) was compelled to commit the direction of affairs to the men whom he most abhorred. The renewed communications with Lord Rockingham were made through the medium of Lord Shelburne, and they resulted in the formation of a Government. There can be little doubt that the mind of the King was at this time somewhat unhinged by the prolonged excitement and bitter disappointments of the American war, and by the attacks of the Opposition in Parliament. It is said that he actually contemplated abandoning his British dominions, and retiring to Hanover, and that he talked, with a strange degree of emphasis and particularity at such a crisis, of the dresses and liveries he should take with him. His situation was indeed most painful and mortifying. Only a few months before, he had declared that nothing should induce him to consent to a peace at the expense of relinquishing the colonies; only a few days before, he had expressed his determination not to throw himself into the hands of the Opposition.* Yet he was now compelled by the force of circumstances to do both.

The Marquis of Rockingham had for his chief Parliamentary supporters the Duke of Richmond, Lord John Cavendish, Charles James Fox, Edmund Burke, and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and was pledged to a complete satisfaction of the American demands. The Earl of Shelburne (afterwards first Marquis of Lansdowne) was the acknowledged head of that division of the Whigs which counted amongst its most distinguished members Lord Camden, the Duke of Grafton, General Conway, Colonel Barré, and John Dunning, now created Lord Ashburton. He had adopted, and he still professed, the political views of the late Lord Chatham, and was therefore unwilling to grant the independence of America, though desirous of redressing all grievances. Shelburne was a person of far superior abilities to Rockingham. He was a most effective speaker, an adroit tactician, a man of large administrative experience, an authority in foreign affairs, an admirable financier, and one of the earliest exponents of the great principles of Free Trade. He has, however, been charged with systematic duplicity, amounting to a kind of political Jesuitism; and, whether owing to this imputation, or to some other, was not in a position of Parliamentary command. The first place in the Government, therefore, fell to Lord Rockingham; but the Cabinet was equally divided between the adherents of both leaders. On the one hand were Lord Rockingham, Lord John Cavendish, Admiral Keppel, the Duke of Richmond, and Fox,—on the other, Lord Shelburne, Lord Camden, the Duke of Grafton, General Conway, and Lord Ashburton; with a kind of centre in the person of the Tory Lord Thurlow, who retained the post of Lord Chancellor which he had held under Lord North. It was well known by the King that Rockingham would mitigate nothing of his policy; nor did he. He demanded, amongst his conditions of taking office, peace with the Americans, the acknowledgment of their independence, and the diminution of the influence of the Crown. The potion was bitter; yet George III. had no choice but to accept it with as much grace as he could assume.

In the new Government, the Secretaryship for the Colonies was abolished, for indeed England had now but few colonies to govern. The two other Secretaryships, instead of being divided, as formerly, into what were called the Northern and Southern Departments, were for the first time distinguished as the Foreign and the Home Secretaryships—a much more natural and reasonable arrangement. The charge of the colonies was attached to the Home Office, to which Lord Shelburne was appointed; and to Lord Shelburne, therefore, appertained the special duty of dealing with the United States, which, until their independence should be acknowledged, were still colonies in the eye of the mother country. Fox was the Foreign Secretary, and was responsible for any arrangement which might be made with France, Spain, and Holland, the belligerent Powers of the Continent. This division of authority, with respect to the final adjustment of the quarrel, led to some complications in the Cabinet. On the 19th of June,

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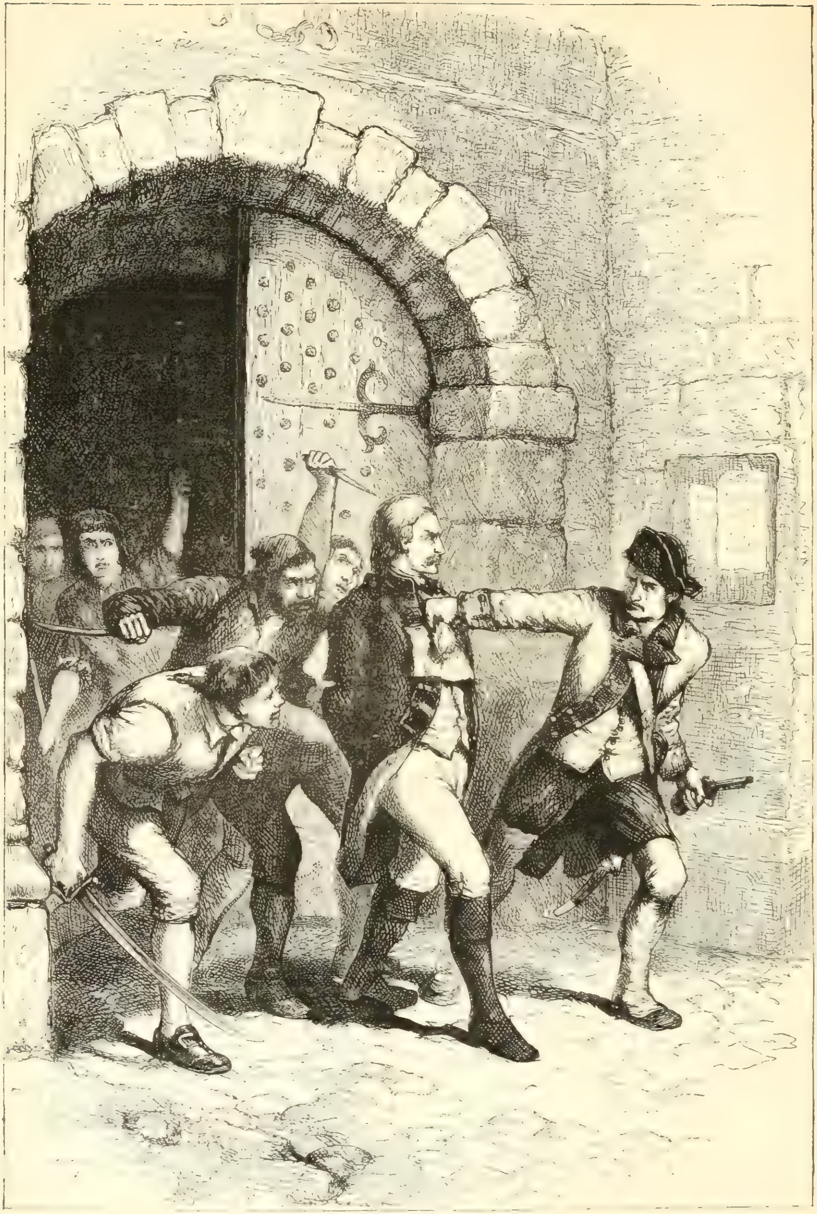
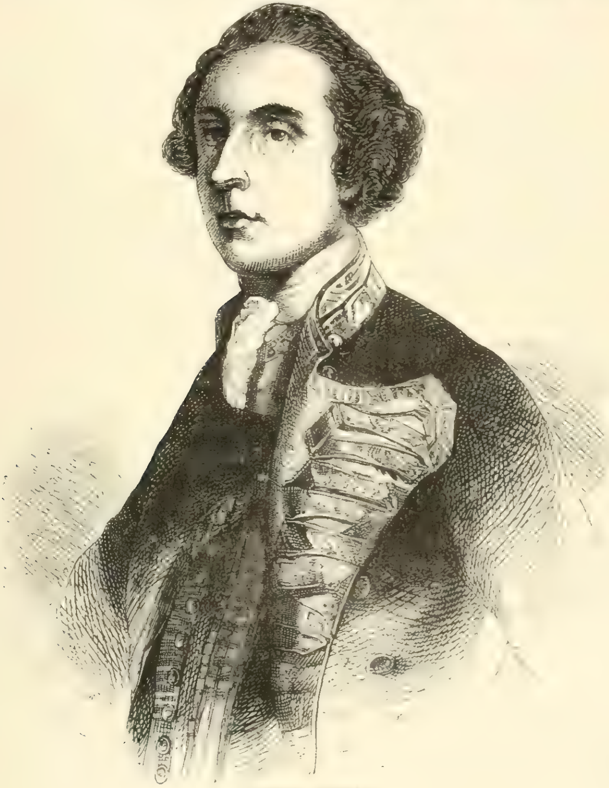
* Letters to Lord North.



HUDDY LED FROM PRISON TO BE HANGED.

the Royal assent was given to the Bill—introduced by the former, and carried through by the existing, Government—for concluding either a peace or a truce with the insurgent colonies, "any law or Act of Parliament to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." Shelburne wished to enter into separate negotiations with the Americans, and, as we have seen, instructed Sir Guy Carleton to that effect. Fox was no sooner in office than he sought to establish a distinct understanding with Holland through the medium of Russia. The attempt ended in failure, though Fox was thought to have carried his overtures to the point of humiliation. A certain disposition to offer their services to England in the interests of peace was manifested by Russia, Austria, and Prussia; but their good intentions in this respect came to nothing. Affairs took a more direct turn towards the desired end. Franklin, a little before the appointment of the new Government, had placed himself in communication with Shelburne; and that nobleman, when he became Home Secretary, sent to Paris, as a sort of private agent, Mr. Richard Oswald, a London merchant known to be well acquainted with American affairs, who carried with him, not only a letter from Shelburne, but a note of recommendation from Henry Laurens, now liberated on parole. The result of the personal consultations between Franklin and Oswald was that Franklin drew up a paper, suggesting that, in order to produce a thorough reconciliation between England and the United States, and to shut out the probability of future quarrels, the former should cede to the latter the province of Canada, besides acknowledging the



ADMIRAL RODNEY

independence of the old colonies. Mr. Oswald seems to have thought this an excellent arrangement, and it was certainly one which had for a long while been greatly desired by Franklin, though, when he visited Canada during the American expedition of 1775–6, as one of the Commissioners from Congress, he reported that the people were very generally opposed to the invasion, and that a speedy retreat was desirable. But the eminent American Minister at Paris could hardly have imagined that England would voluntarily relinquish a large and important dependency, which had been mainly won by her blood and treasure, which the Americans had proved their inability to conquer, and which was not at all inclined to join the Federation. On returning to England, Mr. Oswald found that in this respect he had entirely misapprehended the probabilities of the situation; and he was again sent to Paris with instructions which most distinctly excluded the discussion of any such matter. According to these instructions, the Independence of the United States was to be admitted; but all other things were to remain as they stood at the Peace of 1763. A second agent was likewise despatched to Paris, to treat, on the same basis, with the Count de Vergennes; and the person so chosen by Fox was Mr. Thomas Grenville.

The dissensions which, almost immediately after the formation of the Government, had arisen between Fox and Lord Shelburne, owing to their divided and somewhat clashing offices and their divergent opinions, were repeated in their representatives at the French capital. Shelburne accused Fox of encroaching on his department; Fox retorted that he rather endeavoured to encroach on *his*. The two agents in Paris speedily developed conflicting views, and the negotiations did not make very hopeful progress. While matters were in abeyance, news arrived from the West Indies of a magnificent naval victory gained by Admiral Rodney over Count de Grasse. The French commander had for some time been pursuing a very successful career in that part of the world, and in the spring of 1782 he made preparations for conquering Jamaica. Rodney, who was in command of the English fleet, was resolved to foil this design, and, hearing on the 8th of April that the French had put to sea from Port Royal, he sailed out from St. Lucia, and sought the enemy, whom, after an indecisive collision on the 9th, he brought to a more serious engagement on the 12th. The number of the opposing ships was about equal, but the French were greatly superior in weight of metal. Throughout the whole of that day did the tremendous conflict continue, with scarcely a minute's pause in the firing; but the result was a most signal triumph for the arms of England. Not only were the French utterly defeated with terrible slaughter, but several of their ships were taken, including the Admiral's flag-ship, the celebrated *Ville de Paris*, with the Admiral himself on board. Rodney became, as he deserved to be, the great naval hero of the day; but, some time before news of this action arrived, orders had been sent out for his recall—for Rodney was a Tory, and, in those days, even naval and military affairs were brought within the circle of party politics. When the Ministry received Rodney's despatches announcing the victory, they sent out an express to bring back the newly-appointed officer; but the latter arrived at his post before he could be overtaken, and Rodney returned to England, where he was raised to the Peerage as Baron Rodney, and received an addition of £2,000 a year to a former pension.

This splendid achievement saved the British West Indies. It also, together with other successes obtained about the same period, placed England in a better position for making terms when the peace should be finally arranged. The Ministry were elated by it, though all they had done with regard to Rodney was, not to send him out, but to bring him back. Mr. Oswald, at Paris, told Franklin that he feared some of them would be unduly influenced by their satisfaction, and would perhaps develope a warlike spirit. Such, however, did not prove to be the case. The Government continued in favour of peace, and the negotiations at Paris still went on, although languidly, and without any decisive result. The split in the Cabinet, which grew wider every day, necessarily weakened the counsels of England, and another difficulty soon arose in the illness of Lord Rockingham. The Premier, though only fifty-two years of age, had for some time been declining in health, and the fatigues and anxieties of office had sorely taxed what little strength yet remained. Dropsy on the chest now supervened, and an attack of influenza —a malady which had made its first appearance in England about fifteen years earlier—still further reduced his vital powers. He took part in a debate in the House of Lords on the 3rd of June, but he was so ill as to be at times not in entire possession of himself. Towards the end of the month, his condition was such as to excite the gravest apprehensions; and on the 1st of July he expired. The day before, Fox, at a Cabinet Council, earnestly, and for the second time, begged of his colleagues to concede the independence of America freely and at once, without waiting for a treaty of peace. The majority, however, dissented from this view, and desired to associate the surrender of the colonies with a general peace, though willing to put forward the proposed arrangement as a basis on which to treat. Fox then declared, with many expressions of regret, that he should resign his office, and that in fact he held it for the present solely in consideration of the Premier's illness.

The point for which Fox contended was but slight, and it is not easy to escape the conclusion that he was acting with personal aims. He probably hoped to obtain the Premiership himself, if, by embarrassing his colleagues, he could break up the Government; or, at any rate, to place at the head of affairs one who would agree with him in every respect. Shelburne, however, was the Minister appointed by the King to succeed Lord Rockingham; and with Shelburne, Fox would not agree. The Earl made very liberal overtures towards the distinguished commoner, and even offered to let him have his own way as to the immediate and unconditional recognition of American Independence; but Fox was not to be satisfied. He and his friends held a meeting, at which they agreed to recommend the Duke of Portland to his Majesty as the most fitting successor to Lord Rockingham. But the matter was already settled, and accordingly Fox, Lord John Cavendish, the Duke of Portland, and some of the subordinates not in the Cabinet, such as Burke and Sheridan, resigned their offices. The King was heartily glad to be rid of them, or at any rate to be rid of Fox. He disliked that brilliant and, in many respects, admirable politician, for the democratic freedom of his views, for the bitter attacks he had made on himself, for the debauchery of his private life, and for the evil influence he was supposed to exercise over the young Prince of Wales. On the other hand, he was beginning to like Lord Shelburne, and it was with some satisfaction that he committed the State to his guidance.

CHAPTER LII.

The Government of Lord Shelburne—General Condemnation of Fox's Abandonment of the Ministry—Mr. Thomas Grenville in Paris—He is succeeded by Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert—Progress of the Negotiations—Franklin's Statement of the Conditions of Peace—Lord Shelburne's Exposition of his Views—Sincerity of George III.—Communications with John Adams at Amsterdam—Desire of the English Government to treat separately with the Belligerents—The American Commissioners disposed to follow this Course—Adams's Distrust of the European Powers—The Feeling shared by Jay—Self-seeking Policy of France and Spain—A Punctilious Objection to Oswald's Commission raised by Jay—His Adherence to his own Ideas—Interviews between Lord Shelburne and M. de Rayneval—Their Friendly Interchange of Opinions—France inimical to some of the American Claims—Issue of a New Commission to Mr. Oswald, the English Agent in Paris—Partial Recognition by England of the Independence of the United States—Despatch of a Second English Representative to the French Capital—The Claims of the American Loyalists—Mutual Distrust of France and America—Position of Spain—France tired of the War, and of subsidising the United States.

In the new Government of Lord Shelburne, the Home Secretaryship was conferred on Thomas Townshend; that of Foreign Affairs on Lord Grantham. These were the two appointments which, next to the Premiership, most concerned America; and they were filled in a manner that augured well for a speedy conclusion of the war on liberal terms. Townshend, in particular, was known to have been always opposed to those despotic principles of colonial rule which had brought England into collision with her American dependencies. Shelburne himself, it is true, was personally averse from the separation of the colonies from the mother country; but he was a man of the world, and could understand the teaching of events. The policy of the Rockingham Cabinet was continued by the new Ministry, and it became only too obvious, even to many of his own followers, that the conduct of Fox, in abandoning his colleagues, and going once more into Opposition, was incapable of defence or excuse. It seems not improbable that this remarkable man's love of riotous indulgence was one of the motives which determined his course. During his few months of power, he had, indeed, applied himself to business with the most admirable assiduity; but it is doubtful whether he could long have persevered in the painful drudgeries of office. On the very day that he resigned the seals, he entertained the Prince of Wales at dinner, drank deeply, proceeded to Brooks's, where he stayed till four o'clock in the morning, and then went to White's, where the carouse was kept up to a still later hour. Fox found it necessary to vindicate his political consistency in the House of Commons; but he did not succeed in persuading many that he had acted properly. His uncle, the Duke of Richmond, was highly offended with him; Horace Walpole, his ardent admirer, thought him much to blame; so also did Lord Temple. These were his own followers and supporters—men who regarded him as the greatest politician of the day, the Prime Minister of the future by right of genius and of a large and liberal insight into affairs. Others were still more severe; and unfortunately he gave them the means of making effective assaults.

Fox's agent at Paris, Mr. Thomas Grenville, was a young man of twenty-seven, and was no match for an old and experienced politician like Vergennes. The French Minister asked the extent of his powers, as France could not treat except in conjunction with her allies. Mr. Grenville's commission, however, empowered him to deal only with the Court of Versailles. Vergennes said that this was a barrier to his treating, but he was willing to listen, in an informal way, to anything his visitor might have to state. The young Englishman mentioned the fact that his Government was prepared to grant the independence of the colonies; but Vergennes replied that many other concessions might be required of Great Britain before the conclusion of a peace. A further conference took place next day, when the Spanish Minister, Count d'Aranda, was also present. Grenville wrote home to solicit an extension of his powers, and it appears to have been the intention of the Government to grant his request; but, owing to some blunder, the new commission was substantially the same as the old. Shortly afterwards, Oswald, in a conversation with Grenville, casually divulged the fact, which he had been charged to conceal, that Franklin had suggested to the English Ministry the desirability of ceding Canada to the United States —a plan which France did not favour. Shelburne, then the Home Secretary, had replied evasively by waiving all consideration of the subject until a later stage, though, as we have seen, his new instructions to Oswald excluded any such proposal; and Grenville, inferring (though no doubt quite wrongly) that Shelburne rather approved the idea, wrote to Fox, desiring to be relieved of a mission in which he considered himself hampered by secret negotiations. This was one of Fox's reasons for quarrelling with Shelburne.

The negotiations at Paris were necessarily hindered for awhile by the change of Government; but Shelburne speedily removed any doubts that might have been entertained as to his policy, by reiterating the most pacific assurances, and by sending to Paris, in place of Mr. Grenville, a gentleman then known as Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, but afterwards as Lord St. Helen's. It was the business of Mr. Fitzherbert to treat with the French Government. Oswald still remained as the agent who was to consult with Franklin on matters specially affecting the United States. On the 10th of July, Franklin and Oswald had an interview, at which the former proposed to the latter the American conditions of peace. These were—the entire independence of the thirteen States; the withdrawal of all British troops; for boundaries, the Mississippi towards the west, and, in the direction of Canada, those which existed previous to the Quebec Act of 1774; finally, the freedom of fishing off Newfoundland and elsewhere, as in times past. With respect to the American loyalists, Franklin said that the estates of those men had been confiscated by laws of the particular States to which they belonged, which Congress had no power to repeal; that the British in the Carolinas had set an example of severity by confiscating and selling the lands and property of all patriots; and that the American Commissioners for peace could not allow compensation of refugees to form any part of the treaty. He even hinted at the possibility of a claim being made for indemnity on account of the destruction of American property by British troops. In conclusion, Franklin gave Mr. Oswald to understand that he should be ready to sign the preliminary articles of the treaty as soon as they could be agreed upon.

Shelburne was prepared to accept the ultimatum of Franklin, with but slight modifications; and in writing to Mr. Oswald, on the 27th of July, he observed:—"You very well know I have never made a secret of the deep concern I feel in the separation of countries united by blood, by principles, habits, and every tie short of territorial proximity. But I have long since given it up, decidedly, though reluctantly; and the same motives which made me perhaps the last to give up all hope of re-union make me most anxious, if it is given up, that it shall be done so as to avoid all future risk of enmity, and lay the foundation of a new connection, better adapted to the temper and interest of both countries. In this view I go further with Dr. Franklin, perhaps, than he is aware of, and further, perhaps, than the professed advocates of Independence are prepared to admit. I consider myself as pledged to the contents of this letter. You will find the Ministry united, in full possession of the King's confidence, and thoroughly disposed to peace, if it can be attained upon reasonable terms." Parliament had adjourned several days before the date of this letter, viz., on the 11th of July; but it had conferred on the King ample power to conduct negotiations. In the commission to Oswald, which followed shortly on the Earl's letter, his Majesty pledged himself to ratify and confirm whatever might be concluded between Oswald and the American Commissioners; "our earnest wish for peace," said this document, "disposing us to purchase it at the price of acceding to the complete independence of the thirteen States." Those words must have cost George III. a world of bitter regret; but, having made up his mind to yield, he did so fully, and acted throughout with the good faith of an honourable nature.

Franklin was ultimately assisted in the conduct of the negotiations by three other American Commissioners—by John Jay, who reached Paris from Spain, by John Adams, who came from Holland, and by Henry Laurens, who arrived from London. An attempt to open irregular communications with Adams, while still in Holland, had been made by Lord North at the period of his resignation, with the knowledge and consent of Lord Shelburne, General Conway, and some of the other leaders of the Opposition, who, there was every reason to believe, would soon be in power, as in fact they were. The agent thus selected was a person of the name of Digges, who had an interview with Adams at Amsterdam, on the 20th of March. The American representative, however, would not consent to any such interview without first stipulating that a witness should be present, and that he should be at liberty to communicate all that might pass to Franklin and Vergennes. As the desire of those by whom Digges was sent out was to conclude a separate negotiation with the Americans, and thus detach them from the French alliance, the agent, feeling himself fettered by the second of these conditions, made no great progress with his mission, and soon returned to London. It would appear that at the same time overtures were addressed to France for a separate treaty with her also; but this proposal, which originated with Lord North, was not known to the Whigs. An American writer has alleged—but on authority which is either insufficient, or insufficiently stated—that the restoration of Canada was offered as the price of a separate peace, and refused by Vergennes, partly because he doubted whether the proposal was made in good faith, partly because France preferred that Canada should remain in English hands, as a check on the United States.* It is not likely, however, that any English Minister would have had the audacity to make such a proposal to Parliament, or that Parliament would have sanctioned it, had it been made.

The desire of the English Government to treat separately with the several belligerents was natural enough, for it was hoped in this way to isolate and weaken each, and thus obtain better terms. Several events occurred in the course of 1782 to confirm the desirability of this method of procedure. The defeat of de Grasse, and some other naval successes, materially improved the position of England towards France; the triumphant defence of Gibraltar gave her the command over Spain; and every day made it still more clear that Holland was no longer, as in the previous century, a match for the sea-forces of Great Britain. Yet, if these Powers, in combination with the United States, were free, in the negotiation of a treaty of peace, to throw all their resources and elements of strength into a common stock, against which England could only oppose her own unaided might, it was obvious that the latter would treat at a great disadvantage. Hence the desire to treat separately. But, as regarded France and the United States, this was barred by the treaty of alliance between the two nations, which provided that neither party should conclude a peace or truce with England unless with the consent of the other. The Americans, however, had temptations to break that understanding. The substantial objects of the war had been gained, and its continuance, simply to oblige France and Spain, and enable them to recover from their discomfitures, would have been highly unpopular, since the Federated States were already almost ruined by the long and arduous struggle. The distrust of France, whether justified by facts or not, was extending every week. It had always been strongly felt by John Adams; towards the close of 1782 it was felt by him more than ever; and he then included other Powers as well in this sentiment of suspicion. Mr. Oswald said to him, one day in November, "You are afraid of being made the tools of the Powers of Europe?" "Indeed I am," replied Adams. "What Powers?" asked Oswald. "All of them," rejoined the New Englander. And he did not stand alone among the American Commissioners at Paris. Jay, who, previous to his leaving the United States as Commissioner to the Spanish Court, had been an enthusiastic supporter of France and all her views, as far as he then knew them, was converted to very different opinions on his voyage from America to Europe. He travelled with M. Gérard, the first French representative at Philadelphia; and it would appear, from writings left by Jay, that something was said by his companion—it is not known precisely what—which created a suspicion of France in the mind of the American envoy. What he observed at Madrid, where he was frequently in communication with the French Minister, confirmed this impression, and induced him to think that Louis XVI. and his advisers were not incapable, if occasion arose, of sacrificing some of the objects of American policy to their own more immediate interests. At the same time he became equally distrustful of Spain, from which, in spite of many promises to the contrary, he was never able to procure the pecuniary aid he was sent to ask.

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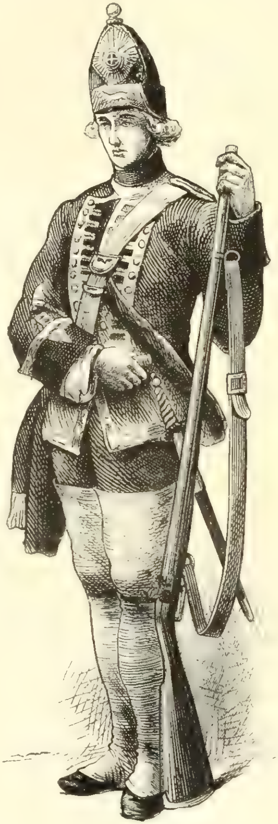
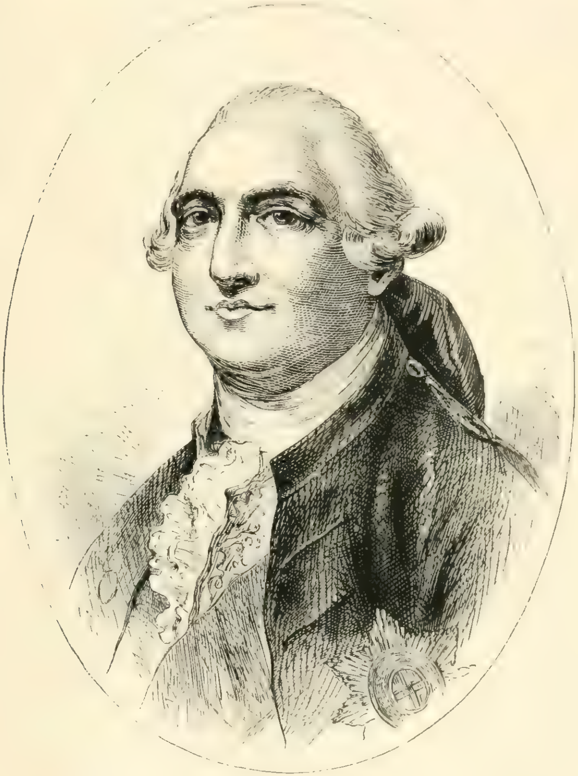
* This statement is contained in the Life of John Adams by his Grandson, Charles Francis Adams (chap. 7, p. 357). It is admitted, however, that no mention is made of the offer in a letter written two days later by Vergennes to the French envoy at Madrid, concerning the substance of the conference with the English agent; and that [illegible] in the communication of the overture made by the Count's order to Congress. Mr. C. F. Adams does not reveal his authority for so strange an assertion, but only says it comes "from elsewhere."

When Jay arrived in Paris, he found the French Minister eager to press on him an acceptance of the Spanish claims to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, and to the vast territories watered by that river, previously, even, to the recognition by Spain of the independence of America. Such a course made him all the less inclined to identify the interests of his country with those of either Spain or France; and a separate treaty with England found in him an advocate and a secret supporter. Even Franklin came in time to think the arrangement desirable. In the month of July, Oswald wrote privately to Lord Shelburne that the Commissioners had shown a wish to treat on a separate footing from the other Powers. This was exactly what Shelburne wanted; but negotiations of any kind, whether separate or joint, were for awhile stopped by a point of form raised by Jay. The King's order, directed to the Attorney-General on the 25th of July, to prepare a commission for Mr. Oswald, spoke of the American communities as colonies, not as sovereign States; and this authority was issued through the Home instead of the Foreign Department. Jay contended that, before treating for peace, the independence of the United States should be acknowledged by Act of Parliament, and the British troops be withdrawn from America. Parliament, however, was not sitting, and Jay then suggested as an alternative that they should require a proclamation of American independence under the Great Seal. Franklin and Jay laid before the Count de Vergennes a copy of Mr. Oswald's commission with which they had been furnished, and requested his advice. The Count thought the terms sufficient, and that the point mooted by Jay was immaterial; and he pertinently observed—so far, however, regarding the matter rather from an English than either a French or an American point of view—that it was not to be expected that the effect, independence, should precede its cause, the treaty. Franklin (the only other American Commissioner at that time in Paris) supported this reasoning; but Jay was still dissatisfied, and declined to proceed.


A BRITISH GRENADIER.

The objection of Jay was certainly captious. Vergennes very fairly argued that the acceptance by Great Britain of the powers of the American representatives, wherein they were styled, by their Government, Commissioners from the United States of America, was a tacit confession of the independence of those States. But Jay had a more positive guarantee than this. On the 1st of September, Oswald communicated to the Americans a part of his instructions, and a letter from the Home Secretary, promising, in the King's name, to grant to America "full, complete, and unconditional independence, in the most explicit manner, as an article of treaty." Jay's obstinacy threatened to bring everything to a dead lock. It is difficult to imagine any other motive for such punctilios than a desire to humiliate England by forcing her to accept even the most frivolous exactions. Adams had not then left the Hague; but, on Jay communicating to him by letter his views on the subject, he replied by suggesting a middle course, which he thought might remove the difficulty. If Oswald's commission could be so altered as to confer authority to treat with the Ministers of "the United States of America," that, in the opinion of Adams, would be sufficient. Jay at length brought himself to accept this view, which was also accepted by Oswald, and submitted by him to the English Ministers, together with a copy of Jay's argument. Lord Shelburne had at that time a private agent in Paris, named Benjamin Vaughan. This gentleman, after consulting with Jay (who does not seem to have been aware of his semi-official character), earnestly begged of his principal to grant what was required, and on the 11th of September left Paris to urge his views personally. The day before his departure, a secret and confidential despatch, addressed by Barbé de Marbois, secretary to the French Legation at Philadelphia, to Count de Vergennes, which had been intercepted by the English, was put into the



LORD SHELBURNE.

hands of Jay. It referred to the Eastern States in general, and to Samuel Adams in particular, as setting up unreasonable pretensions to the fisheries, and revealed a strong leaning to the Southern States, as being more in harmony with France. The English Ministers probably thought that the communication of this despatch would induce Jay to relinquish his objections to immediate negotiation, by demonstrating to him how little cause he had to depend upon the disinterested friendship of Louis XVI. But it had no such effect. Jay still insisted, and Vaughan supported his views in London.

As a reason why the British Cabinet ought to accede to his desires, Jay, for once adopting a conciliatory tone, suggested, through the medium of Vaughan, that it was the obvious interest of England to cut the cords which tied the Americans to France. Franklin also urged on the Government of Lord Shelburne a compliance with the demand of a new commission for Oswald. But the matter was not immediately settled. The attention of the Prime Minister was now greatly occupied by the opening of negotiations in England with M. de Rayneval, an agent of Vergennes, whose confidence he possessed in no small degree. The action of this agent was to be entirely secret, and he travelled under a fictitious name; but Jay came to a knowledge of the fact the day before that on which he had been informed of the despatch from Marbois. De Rayneval's mission is involved in some obscurity; but it seems to have arisen out of a desire on the part of the French Government to sound the real designs of the English Premier, whose reputation for duplicity had pursued him even to Paris, where, at this date, it was suspected that he was pursuing some underhand design. The French diplomatist, after obtaining explanations which quieted his immediate doubts, proceeded, according to his instructions, to discuss the chief questions incidental to a peace.

The earlier interviews took place at Lord Shelburne's country seat at Bowood Park, Wiltshire, in the month of September, and, on the whole, they facilitated the desired end by bringing out the points on which the French and English Ministers approximated, together with those whence they diverged. Rayneval spoke for Spain as well as for France, and strongly represented the desire of the Spanish monarch to recover Gibraltar, which, he said, was as dear to him as his life. Shelburne replied that he dared not submit such a proposal to Parliament; but, as regarded Florida, he evinced a disposition to be conciliatory. With respect to the United States, he confessed his personal disinclination to acknowledge their independence; but, having made up his mind to the necessity of such a course, he was resolved to concede it without any reservation. "As to the question of boundaries and fisheries," observed Rayneval, "I do not doubt the earnest purpose of the King [Louis] to do everything in his power to restrain the Americans within the limits of justice and reason. Be their pretensions to the fisheries what they may, it seems to me that there is one sure principle to follow on that subject; namely, that the fishery on the high seas is *res nullius*, the property of no one, and that the fishery on the coast belongs of right to the proprietaries of the coasts, unless there have been derogations founded upon treaties. As to boundaries, the British Minister will find in the negotiations of 1754, relative to the Ohio, the boundaries which England, then the sovereign of the thirteen United States, thought proper to assign them."*

On the 15th of September, Shelburne and Rayneval came up to London, where, on the 16th, Rayneval had an interview with Lord Grantham, the Foreign Secretary. To him, as previously to Shelburne, he broached the subject of Gibraltar, but met with as much discouragement as before. Next day, the French envoy took his leave, and, in parting from him, Lord Shelburne used some remarkable words. "I have been deeply touched," he observed, "by everything you have said to me about the character of the King of France; his principles of justice and moderation, and his love of peace. I wish, not only to re-establish peace between the two nations and the two Sovereigns, but to bring them to a cordiality which will constitute their reciprocal happiness. Not only are they not natural enemies, as men have thought till now; they have interests which ought to bring them nearer together. We have each lost consideration in our furious desire to do each other harm. Let us change principles that are so erroneous. Let us re-unite, and we shall stop all revolutions in Europe." By revolutions (an American historian remarks) he meant the division of Poland, the encroachments on Turkey, and the attempt of the Court of Vienna to bring Italy under its control by seizing the harbours of Dalmatia.†

Another subject on which Shelburne expressed himself with great liberality was that of Free Trade. He desired, he said, to effect the destruction of monopoly in commerce; and, while admitting that the English nation was tainted with that vice more than any other, he flattered himself that he should be able to come to an understanding with the French Court on the subject. He added that he had spoken to his King on all topics likely to arise between the two Courts, and he had reason to believe that, when they had made peace, the most frank cordiality would be established between the Sovereigns of France and England. Rayneval replied, "Your principles on trade accord exactly with those of France. Count de Vergennes thinks that freedom is the soul of commerce." And thus they parted. The general result of the conversations between Shelburne and the French envoy—though the statements of the latter were very guarded—was to create in the English Premier a belief that France would not support the United States in their demands for a share in the fisheries and for extensive boundaries, and that in fact she was only interested in securing the independence of those communities. So it ultimately proved.

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* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 29.

† Ibid.

Ere Rayneval left London, the Government had determined to issue a new commission to Oswald, empowering him to conclude a peace or truce with Commissioners from the thirteen United States of America, which were enumerated one by one. The amended commission bears date September 21st, and the concession is thought to have been in some degree brought about by the representations of Rayneval and of Mr. Vaughan. It was not made, however, until Ministers had consulted Lord Ashburton, as a great law authority, and been assured by him that the proposed change would do no hurt. Thus the matter ended in a compromise. Jay's demands received a partial gratification; yet the English position was not entirely given up, for the direct acknowledgment of independence was still reserved to form the first article of the treaty. The negotiations now proceeded for awhile without further obstructions. The American diplomatists were Franklin and Jay: Adams and Laurens had not yet arrived. Jay, at the request of Franklin, drew up the articles of peace, and included in them clauses relating to the boundaries and the fisheries, together with a provision for reciprocal freedom of commerce, and a concession to the British of the free navigation of the Mississippi. He was very desirous that West Florida, which had been taken by the Spaniards, should be restored to England, for Spain was now the great object of his dislike. It was not long, however, before new causes of dissension arose. The English Ministry thought that Mr. Jay was demanding too much, and that Mr. Oswald was too compliant. They therefore despatched to the assistance of their envoy, but in fact with a view to over-ruling him, Mr. Henry Strachey, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs—a gentleman more skilled in the ways of diplomacy. He was to insist on indemnity to the refugees or loyalists, to narrow the line of boundaries, and to oppose the reciprocity of the fisheries and of trade. The question with regard to the loyalists was one which specially concerned the honour of England. They had suffered cruelly, and in many ways, for their devotion to the Royal cause; and it would have been simply shameful for England to abandon them without at any rate an effort to obtain some favourable terms. The point had been mooted at Paris before the arrival of Strachey. Lord Shelburne had hoped to retain a property in the yet ungranted lands of the western territory, and to derive from the sale of those lands some compensation for the wretched objects of his care—a very considerable body numerically, it must always be recollected. Jay stoutly denied that any such right of property remained to the King. Oswald thought that the refugees should at least be restored to their civil rights; but Jay replied, as Franklin had done before, that the case was one for the decision, not of Congress, but of the individual States, against whose laws the loyalists had offended. The reply was a clever evasion of all responsibility in the matter; for England was dealing with the Federal Union as a whole, and knew nothing of the individual States. The unfortunate people, who were smarting for their love of principle, and for a too lively faith in the power of Royalty, were thus withdrawn from all protection; but Oswald yielded the point, as he would doubtless have yielded any other that had been asked of him by his astute opponents.

Of the development of these negotiations, Vergennes had no exact knowledge. The American representatives did not even communicate to him the new commission of Oswald, and the Count afterwards wrote to the French Minister at Philadelphia that they cautiously kept themselves at a distance from him, and, whenever he inquired briefly respecting the progress of the discussions, answered simply with vague generalities, giving him to understand that nothing was being done, and that they had no confidence in the sincerity of the British Ministry. M. de Vergennes was a good deal hurt at this conduct; but the American Commissioners probably found their justification in the fact that France—as Jay discovered in a conference with Rayneval after the return of the latter to Paris—was opposed to the claims of the United States as regarded the fisheries and the boundaries. To this extent, therefore, France appeared rather as the ally of the English than of the Americans. The Spanish Minister, moreover, was exhibiting an unfriendly spirit; was pressing on Jay the acceptance of those boundaries which Spain desired, and bringing into view the fact that his Sovereign had not yet acknowledged the independence of the American States. As the year advanced, France became more urgently desirous of a speedy peace; and the defeat of the combined French and Spanish fleets before Gibraltar rendered this desire so strong as to over-ride pretty nearly every other consideration. The American Congress, on the 3rd of October, renewed a former resolution to hearken to no propositions for peace except through Franklin; and, shortly before, that Minister was instructed to use his utmost endeavours to obtain from France a loan of four millions of dollars. But the day for such things had passed. On the 14th of October, the Count de Vergennes wrote to M. de la Luzerne at Philadelphia:—

"If we are so happy as to make peace, the King must then cease to subsidise the American army, which will be as useless as it has been habitually inactive. We are astonished at the demands which continue to be made upon us while the Americans obstinately refuse the payment of taxes. It seems to us much more natural for them to raise upon themselves, rather than upon the subjects of the King, the funds which the defence of their cause exacts. You know," he continued, "our system with regard to Canada. Everything which shall prevent the conquest of that country will agree essentially with our views. But this way of thinking ought to be an impenetrable secret for the Americans. Moreover, I do not see by what title the Americans can form pretensions to lands on Lake Ontario. Those lands belong to the savages, or are a dependency of Canada. In either case, the United States have no right to them whatever. It has been pretty nearly demonstrated that to the south of the Ohio their limits are the mountains following the shed of the waters, and that everything to the north of the mountain range, especially the lakes, formerly made a part of Canada. These notions are for you alone; you will take care not to appear to be informed about them, because we so much the less wish to intervene in the discussions between the Count d'Aranda and Mr. Jay, as both parties claim countries to which neither of them has a right, and as it will be almost impossible to reconcile them."

Such was the feeling of the French Government when, on the 26th of October, John Adams arrived in Paris from Holland.

CHAPTER LIII.

Arrival of John Adams in Paris—His Relations towards Franklin and Jay—Discussion as to the Boundaries to be assigned to the United States towards the North east—The Claims of British Subjects—Indemnity required for the American Loyalists—The Question of the Fisheries—Adams's Arguments on Behalf of granting Equal Rights to American Fishermen on the Coasts of the British Possessions—Paper on the Subject by Mr. Oswald—The Americans not supported in their Contention by the French—Letter from Vergennes to Luzerne—Concessions to the American Loyalists—Final Discussion of the Fisheries Question—The American Demands granted—Signing of the Preliminaries of Peace (Nov. 30th)—Views of the Count de Vergennes—His Complaints against the Americans—Outline of the Preliminary Articles of Peace—Meeting of the British Parliament—The King on the Separation of the Colonies from the Empire—Attacks of the Opposition—Shelburne's Defence of his Political Measures—Adjournment of the Two Houses for the Christmas Recess.

ADAMS was not regarded with favour by either the French or the English. By the latter he was classed among the most stubborn and unmanageable of the rebels; by the former he was held in distrust as one who disliked France, and entertained the worst opinion of her designs towards the United States. Benjamin Vaughan, Lord Shelburne's secret agent at Paris, had begged of the Minister to push forward his negotiations with all despatch, in order to get rid of them before Adams came. Rayneval told Jay that he feared the ambitious and restless designs of that enterprising politician. It was indeed pretty certain that, whatever view of the situation he might take, it would not be a French view. The feeling of antagonism to France on the part of Adams was so great that, on reaching Paris, he kept his presence there secret from Vergennes, and left him to find it out by the agency of the police. Having called on his colleagues, he announced his intention of supporting the views of Jay with regard to carrying on the negotiations without the knowledge of the French Ministers. After some hesitation, Franklin signified his readiness to go with the others in that resolve. It was in great part owing to the influence of Adams that the American Ministers disregarded throughout the instructions of their own Government to the effect that they were not to make an *ultimatum* of anything but independence. At one time, Adams almost determined to resign, on finding his hands thus tied in deference to French views; but he soon perceived that he might do better by remaining. In one respect, however, he could not get Franklin to agree with him. Lord Shelburne had demanded that British merchants should be guaranteed the right to collect debts due to them in the United States; but Franklin had resisted the claim on the ground that the Royal armies had in many instances robbed the American debtors of the very goods for which the debts were incurred, and had wantonly, and in a manner contrary to the laws of war, destroyed a large amount of property from which the means of payment might have been derived. Adams, during an interview with Strachey at the residence of Jay, gave his assent to the claim which Franklin had all along disputed. Having once taken this position, he would not recede from it; but the consent of Franklin was refused.

The three Commissioners met Strachey and Oswald on the 30th of October, and upon that and subsequent occasions the several points in question were closely debated. One great matter of contention had reference to the north-eastern boundaries of the Federated States, which the English Ministers were desirous of pushing back to the Penobscot, if not to the Kennebec, or even the Piscataqua, in the last of which cases the whole of Maine would have been reserved to Great Britain. On this subject Adams was fortified by authenticated copies, obtained from the Council of Massachusetts, of every document relating to the question. Franklin and Jay had left these boundaries to be settled by commissioners after the conclusion of peace—an arrangement for which there were precedents, but one which generally leads to a great deal of prolonged disputation and heart-burning. It was now arranged in the treaty itself, chiefly by the interposition of Adams, that the line should be drawn at the St. Croix and the highlands, the original limits of Nova Scotia in that direction. The point was not conceded without a long and animated fight, during which a gentleman was sent over from the Board of Trade and Plantations, with divers old volumes which were relied on for showing that the province of Maine was never any part of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and therefore could not be considered a portion of the American Confederacy. Against these ancient records, Adams produced the official documents which he had procured before leaving America, and which he regarded as conclusive evidence to the contrary. The relative positions of Maine and Massachusetts were in contention from an early period, as the reader will recollect, and the decision of English lawyers had certainly been against the claims of the chief New England settlement. Ultimately, however, Maine was given up by the British Commissioners; and it cannot be questioned that the people of that district were opposed to the Royal cause during the War of Independence. On the north-west of the Federation, it was agreed that the line should be drawn through the centre of the water communications of the great lakes to the Lake of the Woods.

As regards the claims of indemnity, Adams and Jay, uniting against Franklin on the 4th of November, carried the concession to England that the treaty should recognise the validity of debts to British subjects contracted before the war, and that the American courts should be opened to the full recovery of them. Strachey was so pleased with this triumph (which had been mainly won by his perseverance) that he believed Adams and Jay would likewise assent to the indemnification of the loyalists. Franklin, however, persuaded his colleagues to join with him in letters to Oswald and Strachey, expressing, though in a conciliatory manner, their unanimous opinion that an amnesty more extensive than what had already been agreed to could not be granted to the refugees. At this time, the Shelburne Government was in a very insecure state, owing to the half-hearted support of some of its members; but Shelburne himself, Townshend, and Pitt, agreed to a new set of articles, one of which conceded that all the British posts on the Penobscot, at Niagara, at Detroit, at New York, and in the Carolinas, were to be given up to the United States. On the other hand, the article on the fisheries was so fashioned that the Americans were not to take fish within fifteen leagues of Cape Breton, or within three leagues of any other British isle on the coast of America. Moreover, indemnity was to be claimed for the estates of the refugees, and also for the proprietary rights and estates of the Penns and of the heirs of Lord Baltimore. "If," wrote Townshend to his representative at Paris, on the 19th of November, "they [the American Commissioners] insist on the plea of want of power to treat of these subjects, you will intimate to them, in a proper manner, that they are driving us to a necessity of applying directly to those who are allowed to have the power"—in other words, to the States individually. Shelburne hinted at the subject of the refugees being submitted to Parliament, if the Commissioners proved intractable; and it is not unlikely that Parliament would have been less disposed than Ministers to adopt a moderate policy. The two Houses were to have met on the 26th of November; but they were further prorogued to the 5th of December, in the hope that peace might by that time be provisionally concluded.

The greatest struggle was with reference to the fisheries. When, on the 25th of November, the conferences were resumed, after a brief visit of Strachey to London, a very warm and vehement debate ensued, in which Adams particularly distinguished himself. The discussion was continued on several succeeding days, when the two English agents were assisted by Mr. Fitzherbert, the Minister charged with the negotiations with France, and the three Americans by Henry Laurens, who arrived from London. Adams told Oswald that the New England States had no staple without the fisheries; that the fisheries entered into all their trade; that if they were excluded from them, the British would not be benefited by it, for the French would get the trade; that England would have nothing to fear from a number of American sailors at such a distance, whatever they might have from the French, who were near; and that the fishermen would break through such limits, whatever care might be used to prevent it, which might prove a bone of contention, and bring on another war after a few years. Oswald made a great difficulty about acknowledging the *right* of the Americans to the fisheries, and desired to insert the word "liberty." After awhile, Adams said, "They have a *right* every way. The banks are only so many leagues from the Americans, but they are so many from the Europeans: if the latter have a right by nature, certainly the former have. We have fought together with the English in their wars for the enjoyment of them, and with them we have possessed them; therefore, we have a full right." *

The British Commissioners proposed to sign the preliminaries of peace while leaving this particular question to be adjusted at the definitive treaty. But Adams, in whose nature a conciliatory disposition was not conspicuous, refused to consent to such an arrangement. He declared that, when first commissioned as a negotiator with Great Britain, his country had ordered him to make no peace without a clear acknowledgment of the right to the fisheries; and by that direction he would stand. No preliminaries should have his signature without it. He then appealed to Laurens, who was in Congress at the time when the first commission (that of September 27th, 1779, which came to nothing) was issued. Laurens supported Adams with much warmth; and Jay, though in a more guarded and temperate manner, spoke to the same general effect. In taking this position so decidedly, Adams, although acting from a sentiment of patriotism, laid himself open to a charge which even so partial and admiring a biographer as his grandson cannot escape. "For," says Mr. Charles Francis Adams, "the powers to treat on commerce, in which the instructions referred to were inserted, had in the interval been revoked by Congress, and the right to the fisheries, although adhered to in argument, had been abandoned as an ultimatum." It was not even insisted on in the instructions in question, though put forward as a thing desirable to be obtained.

Mr. Oswald, in a paper on the subject which he drew up some weeks later, observed:—"One of these gentlemen [the American Commissioners] said, that if we insisted on keeping their people at a distance of three leagues from our shores, we could not complain if they also forbad our ships from coming within the like distance of the coasts of the thirteen provinces. With respect to drying their fish, the same gentleman said he thought, if we would not allow of their landing upon the unsettled parts of our shore, at a certain season in the year, they would justly deny us the same privilege in all parts of their country. Another of these Commissioners (who had all along expressed himself with great resentment at their people being thus unfavourably distinguished from the French) declared that it was a matter of indifference to them as to what prohibitions we should put their people under, since they would easily make reprisals in another way to their advantage, by an act of navigation, that should exclude English ships for ever from any participation in the American trade, either inwards or outwards."† This paper seems to have been prepared by Oswald for the use of Strachey, in case any justification as to the concession of a share in the fisheries, which was ultimately made, should be required in Parliament. The best justification, said Oswald, was, that without giving way on this point there would have been no provisional treaty at all. "That," he added emphatically, "is very certain."

In the matter of the fisheries, the Americans were clearly without the support of France. Before

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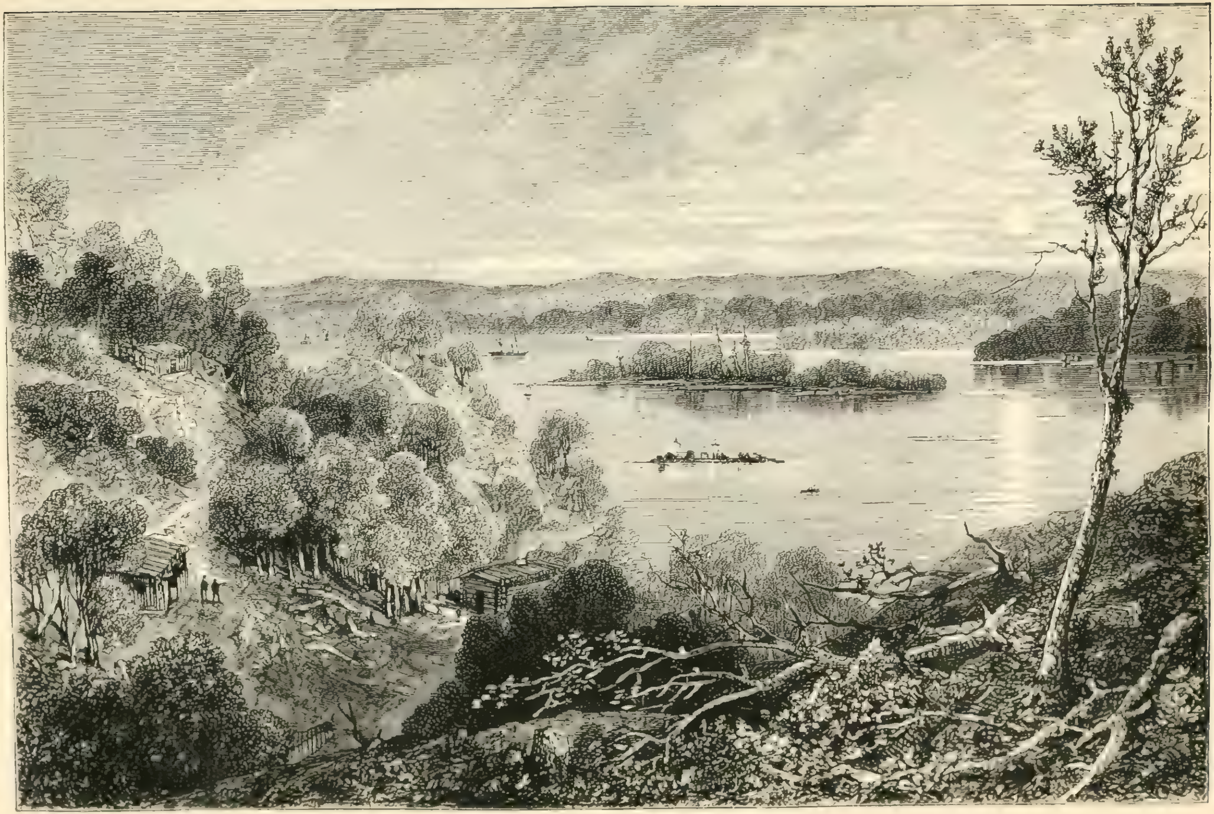
* Gordon's History of the War of Independence, Vol. IV., p. 339.

† Life of Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 7.



VIEW ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

the discussion on the subject between the American and English Commissioners, M. de Rayneval had suggested to the former the impolicy of opposing England too much in this respect. He observed that it was natural for France to wish better to the United States than to England, but that, as the fisheries were a great nursery for seamen, they might suppose England would be disinclined to let others share in them, and that for his part he wished there might be as few obstacles to a peace as possible. On the 23rd of November, Vergennes wrote to Luzerne:—"There exists in our treaties no condition which obliges the King to prolong the war in order to sustain the ambitious pretensions which the United States may form in reference to the fisheries, or to the extent of boundaries. . . . In spite of all the cajoleries which the English Ministers lavish on the Americans, I do not promise myself they will show themselves ready to yield, either in regard to the fisheries, or in regard to the boundaries, as the American Commissioners understood them. This last subject may be arranged by mutual sacrifices and compensations. But as to the first, in order to form a settled judgment on its probable issue, it would be necessary to know what the Americans understand by the fisheries. If it is the drift-fishery on banks remote from the coast, it seems to me a natural right; but if they pretend to the fisheries as they exercised them by the title of English subjects, do they, in the name of justice, think to obtain rights attached to the condition of subjects which they renounce?"*

The decision on the fisheries was arrived at on the 29th of November. The other important question, concerning the refugees, was discussed at the same time. As touching the latter, the American Commissioners agreed that there should be no future confiscations, nor prosecution of loyalists; that all pending prosecutions should be discontinued; and that Congress should recommend to the several States, and to their Legislatures, an amnesty, and the restitution of their confiscated property, to such persons as could be proved to be real British subjects, and such Americans as had not borne arms against the United States. The British Government had contended for more than this—namely, for compensation to the loyalists for the losses they had sustained; and for awhile it seemed as if the negotiations might have broken off on that one point. Franklin at length put the English Commissioners in an embarrassing position by saying that he would allow for the losses which the loyalists had suffered, provided another account were opened, of the mischief they had done, the slaves they had carried off, and the houses they had burned; new Commissioners to be appointed to strike a balance between the two computations. This foreshadowed such an appalling chapter of vague and angry discussions that the representatives of England gave way as regarded the claim for compensation.

The article with respect to the fisheries was now reduced to the form in which it appears in the treaty, granting to the United States equal rights with British fishermen to take fish on the coast of Newfoundland, and on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other British dominions in America. Strachey and Fitzherbert here suggested that it would be necessary to consult the Government at home. Adams had no objection to a reference; but Franklin saw that this would have the effect of bringing the whole matter into Parliament, which would meet in a few days, and that Parliament might raise difficulties which would be fatal to the entire agreement. He therefore observed that, if any further delay should be made, the clause insuring to the subjects of Great Britain the right of recovering their debts in the United States must also be reconsidered. Hereupon, Strachey, fearing the loss of this clause, on which he justly prided himself, withdrew his support from the suggestion that the article on the fisheries should be submitted to the Government, and Fitzherbert presently followed his example. The several points in contention being thus settled, the negotiators, on the 30th of November, signed and sealed fair copies of the preliminary articles of peace. These were made contingent on the general pacification; but the signature took place without the French Government receiving any previous intimation of the fact—a circumstance of which the Count de Vergennes, shortly afterwards, rather bitterly complained. "Judge of my surprise," he wrote to Luzerne on the 19th of December, "when, on the 30th of November, Dr. Franklin informed me that the articles were signed. The reservation retained on our account does not save the infraction of the promise which we have made to each other not to sign except conjointly. . . . This negotiation is not yet so far advanced in regard to ourselves as that of the United States; not but what the King, if he had shown as little delicacy in his proceedings as the American Commissioners, might have signed articles with England long before them." On the other hand, the Americans accused the French of acting with secrecy towards them. The truth appears to be that each distrusted the other. Adams, however, in an informal way, told Vergennes from time to time of the progress of the negotiations; and Vergennes himself, in writing to

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* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 29.

Luzerne as far back as the 9th of April, had said that France was willing that the American Plenipotentiaries in Europe should treat directly with those from the Court of London without the intervention of the French, while the latter should be engaged in a negotiation on their own part,—provided that the two negotiations should proceed together throughout, that the two treaties should be signed at the same time, and that neither should take effect without the other. But, even at this early period, France was suspicious of the intentions of the United States. In a letter to Luzerne, of the 23rd of March, Vergennes hinted his fears that Congress would listen to the desire of the British Government to conclude a separate peace, and dwelt much on the fact that his Sovereign had refused a similar offer from England.* Later in the year, it was believed in France (but quite erroneously) that the Rockingham Whigs and King George were disposed to form an alliance with the United States, and, in conjunction with them, to carry on the war with France. This belief may have been the reason why the French Government, as appears to have been the case, desired to procure for America, not an acknowledgment of independence and a permanent peace, but a twenty years' truce, and a tacit acknowledgment, like that which Spain granted to the United Provinces of Holland in the seventeenth century. Jay is said to have been the person by whose vigorous interposition this plan was defeated.

It would seem from the statements of Franklin that, on his mentioning the conclusion of the preliminaries to Vergennes, on the same day that the signatures were appended, that Minister expressed no dissatisfaction, but, on the contrary, commended the management of the Commissioners, and signified his opinion that the greatest difficulty in the way of a general peace, the acknowledgment of American Independence, had been removed. Fifteen days later, he gave decided expression to very different emotions. Franklin having informed him of his intention to despatch a vessel to the United States with intelligence of what had been transacted, and having offered him the use of that vessel for sending any despatches of his own, Vergennes replied by an indignant remonstrance against the proceeding, as a breach of the agreement between the two countries. He particularly complained of the haste with which the Commissioners had sent home an account of their own acts, before assuring themselves of the conclusion of the French negotiation. The Count, at this date, was again under the impression that a secret understanding existed, or was being negotiated, between England and the United States, with a view to the isolation of France, and possibly to a joint prosecution of the war against her. A few weeks sufficed to show that this supposition was wholly incorrect; but for the moment the anger and suspicion of the Count were great. It was by the American vessel that he sent his letter to Luzerne complaining of the conduct of the United States Commissioners—rather a discourteous advantage to take of Franklin's civility.

The principal points of the several articles now agreed to have been made apparent in the foregoing narrative of the negotiations; but it will be convenient here to append an outline of the whole document. By the first article, his Britannic Majesty acknowledged the thirteen States to be free, sovereign, and independent, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquished all claims to the government and to the proprietary and territorial rights of the same, and of every part thereof. The second article fixed the boundaries of the Republic in accordance with what the Commissioners had claimed as belonging naturally, or by long-established custom, to the several States. (These boundaries were marked, on copies of the map of North America, by a strongly-drawn line.) The third article set forth that the people of the United States should continue to enjoy, unmolested, the right to take fish of every kind on all the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any previous time to fish, and on the coasts and in the bays and creeks of all other British dominions in America; but the American fishermen were not to have the right of drying or curing fish in any part of the King's settled dominions in America (unless by special agreement), though such right was to be enjoyed in any of the unsettled parts as long as they remained unsettled. By the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, it was understood that no impediment should be put in the way of recovering *bonâ fide* debts; that Congress should earnestly recommend to the several Legislatures to provide for the restitution of all estates belonging to real British subjects who had not borne arms against them; that all other persons were to be at liberty to go to any of the provinces, and remain there for twelve months, so as to wind up their affairs; that Congress should also recommend to the several States the restitution of the confiscated property of loyalists, on their repayment of the sums for which it had been sold; that no further prosecutions should be commenced, and no further confiscations be made; and that all persons in prison on political charges should be set at liberty. The seventh article stipulated that there should be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said States; that all prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty; that his Britannic Majesty should, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States; and that he should order the restitution of all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said States, or their citizens, which in the course of the war might have fallen into the hands of his officers. By the eighth article, it was agreed that the navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, should for ever remain free and open, both to the subjects of Great Britain and to the citizens of the United States. The ninth and last article provided that, supposing it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain or the United States should be conquered by the arms of either from the other before the arrival of the preliminary articles in America, the same should be restored without difficulty, and without compensation being required. To these provisions was added a secret article respecting the limits of West Florida, in case, at the close of the war, that province should be, or should be put, in possession of Great Britain. The clause prohibiting the carrying away of "negroes or other property" was interlined, on the demand of Laurens (a South Carolinian), after the preliminaries had been drawn up. The principle of slavery was thus recognised in the very document which secured the liberty of the United States; but it was understood that free negroes were to be regarded among the citizens of the young Republic.

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* Sparks's Washington, Vol. VIII., pp. 294-5 (*note*).

The English Ministry were at one time not without hope that they would be able to lay before Parliament, on its assembling, the French and Spanish preliminary articles, as well as the American. But the prolonged diplomatic struggle made by Spain for the restitution of Gibraltar, in which for awhile she was supported by France, thwarted this hope; so that in the Speech from the Throne the King could refer only to the provisional agreement with his sometime colonies. The two Houses met on the 5th of December, when his Majesty announced that he had gone the full length of the powers vested in him by the Legislature, and had offered to declare the colonies of North America free and independent States. "In thus admitting their separation from the Crown of these kingdoms," continued the King, in words which, coming from the source they did, were both natural and affecting, "I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the Empire; and that America may be free from the calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections, may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries. To this end, neither attention nor disposition on my part shall be wanting." A painful duty was never more gracefully performed.

No amendment to the Address was moved in either House; but several members of the Opposition attacked the Government with great vehemence. The Provisional Treaty was not yet laid before Parliament, yet its bare announcement provoked many expressions of dissatisfaction. Fox again contended, as he had always done, that the acknowledgment of independence should have preceded the negotiations; which was equivalent to saying that England should have deprived herself, at the outset, of every means of resisting extreme demands on the part of the Americans. But he found very little support in this view; and Lord North, his ancient enemy, with whom he was shortly to form a coalition, gave it as his opinion that the renunciation by England of her sovereignty over the colonies could not have been justified unless by making it the price of peace. Burke, on the Report of the Address being brought up, described the King's Speech as a medley of hypocrisy and nonsense. Fox said that he detested and despised it; and both taunted Shelburne with having formerly contended that to give up the colonies would be the ruin of England. The Premier replied—and nothing could be more fair or reasonable than such an answer—that his opinion was unchanged, but that he yielded to absolute necessity; and half a year before he had expressed his belief that the country would in time recover even from this great calamity. On the 23rd of December the two Houses adjourned for a month; and Government hoped in the meanwhile to conclude preliminaries of peace with France and Spain.

CHAPTER LIV.

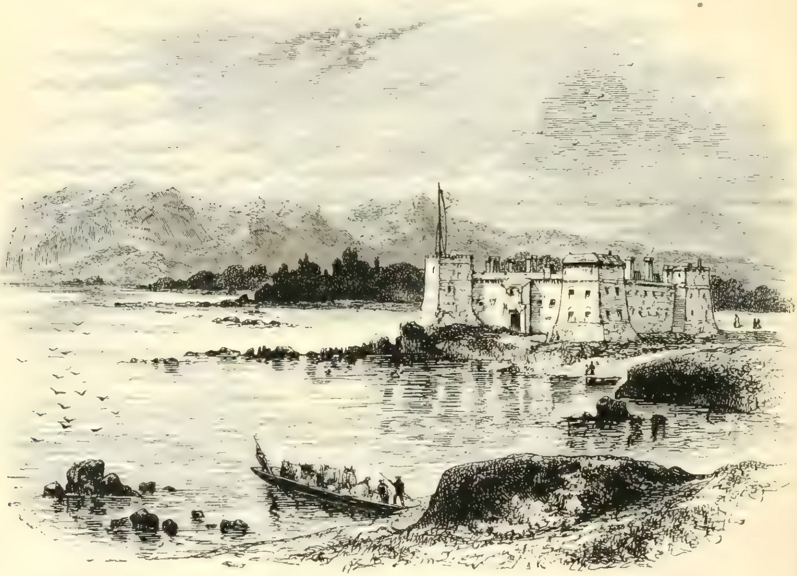
Movements of the French Army in the United States—Acts of Violence committed by American Partisans of England—Severities of Delancey—Atrocities of David Fanning—Conciliatory Policy adopted by Sir Guy Carleton—Financial Measures of Robert Morris—Establishment of a National Bank—Desperate Condition of the Union for Want of Funds—Failure of Several of the States to furnish their Quotas of Taxes—State of the South—Condition of the Paper Currency in 1782—Morris's Proposals—Suggestions for Federal Reform—Washington and Greene on the Necessity of greater Federal Powers—Utter Poverty of the National Government—Peace Negotiations of England with France and Spain—Difficulties raised by the latter Power—Conclusion of Preliminary Treaties—Articles affecting America—Debates in Parliament, and Fall of the Shelburne Ministry—Coalition between Fox and Lord North—Factious Conduct of Fox—Re-arrangement of Commercial Intercourse between England and America—Provision for the Refugees—Increase of the National Debt—The Moral of the War.

ALTHOUGH there could be little doubt, as the year 1782 progressed, that a peace would be speedily concluded, it was held by the Americans and their allies to be but prudent to keep themselves prepared for the worst. The policy now favoured by the British Parliament, and adopted by Government, of maintaining nothing more than a posture of defence, relieved the Americans of any immediate apprehensions; but the French thought that Clinton might consider himself free to send a portion of his troops to the West Indies, to act there against the possessions of France. In course of the summer, Washington wrote to Rochambeau, advising him to march his regiments to the banks of the Hudson, and form a junction with the forces of the United States. The counsel was accepted, and, about the middle of September, the French crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry to Verplank's Point, whence they afterwards removed to the neighbourhood of Crompond, some ten miles off. Washington concentrated his army at his former encampment about Newburgh, where he established his head-quarters for the winter. Near the end of October, the French troops marched towards the North-eastern States, under pretence of wintering there, but in reality with the design of embarking for the West Indies. They arrived at Boston in the first week of December, and on the 29th of that month sailed in the fleet of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for their place of destination.

Acts of violence continued to be perpetrated in various directions; but they were mainly due to the American partisans of British rule. These men were sometimes persons of the worst character, who acted with the ferocity of brigands; and their rage and cruelty were experienced in all parts of the Union. The neighbourhood of New York, as the reader is aware, suffered terribly from the lawless devastations of irregular partisans on both sides; and the loyalist, Captain James Delancey, of West Chester, here earned an evil renown by his unsparing severities. Delancey succeeded André as Adjutant-General of the British army; and it was he who, on the 13th of May, 1781, commanded in an attack on Croton Bridge, which resulted in the death, under circumstances of great barbarity, of Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, a relative of General Nathaniel Greene, and himself an officer who had acquired distinction in the Canadian campaign of 1775, and on subsequent occasions. In April, 1782, Delancey caused three rebels to be publicly executed within the British lines; but for this he seems to have had some excuse in the cruelties practised by the revolutionary Americans on their loyalist fellow-countrymen. It was in the South, however, that these excesses mainly took place during the year 1782. A ruffian named David Fanning, who held a British commission as colonel of the loyal militia in Randolph and Chatham counties, North Carolina, with authority to grant commissions to others as captains and subalterns, committed, on his own showing, many acts of the utmost atrocity.

On the 12th of March, this man set out with his companions, to give the rebels what he called "a small scourge." The first place they visited was the plantation of Andrew Balfour, of Randolph county, formerly of the State Legislature, and now an officer of the militia. Having broken into the house of this person, they fired twice at him, in the presence of his sister and daughter, seriously wounding him both times. They then burned the houses of several rebels, ravaged a plantation, and shot an officer who was escaping under cover of darkness. Proceeding to the house of another officer, Fanning told him that if he would come out he would grant him parole; but he refused. "With that," writes this scoundrel in his Journal, "I ordered the house to be set on fire. As soon as he saw the flames increasing, he called out to me to spare his house for his wife's and children's sake, and he would walk out with his arms in his hands. I answered him that, if he would walk out, his house should be spared for his wife and children. When he came out, he said, 'Here I am;' with that he received two balls through his body. I proceeded on to one Major Dugin's plantation, and I destroyed all his property, and all the rebel officers' property in the settlement, for the distance of forty miles. On our way, I catched a commissary from Salisbury, and delivered him up to some of my men whom he had treated ill when prisoners, and they immediately hung him. On the 18th of April, I set out for Chatham, where I learned that a wedding was to be that day. We surrounded the house, and drove all out, one by one. I found one concealed upstairs. Having my pistols in my hand, I discharged them both at his breast; he fell, and that night expired."* Such were the acts which turned even the loyalists of the South into enemies of the British Government; yet, after the war, this murderous wretch was recommended by the office of American Claims as a proper person to be put upon the half pay list.

With the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton at New York, and the prospect of peace negotiations, a conciliatory policy was adopted by the British in the North. Carleton desired that hostilities might be stayed, treated his prisoners with great consideration, and set several of them free. Some Carolinians had been exiled from Charleston at the fall of that city, though the capitulation was understood to protect them against such treatment. These men were now, on the request of Washington, sent back to their own homes at the expense of the British Government, and Carleton said that everything should be done to make them forget the hardships they had suffered. A projected raid into the State of New York by a party of Indians was forbidden by the English commander, and, under his immediate eye, the two nations were virtually at peace. The South, as the reader is aware, was not so entirely free from warlike operations; but even there a species of truce set in before the end of the year. The people, however, could not forget the villanies committed by such men as Fanning; and when the Assembly of South Carolina met, under writs issued by Governor Rutledge, laws were passed, banishing the partisans of England, and confiscating their estates—an act of severity which punished many conscientious


FORT CHAMBLY, FRONTIERS OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

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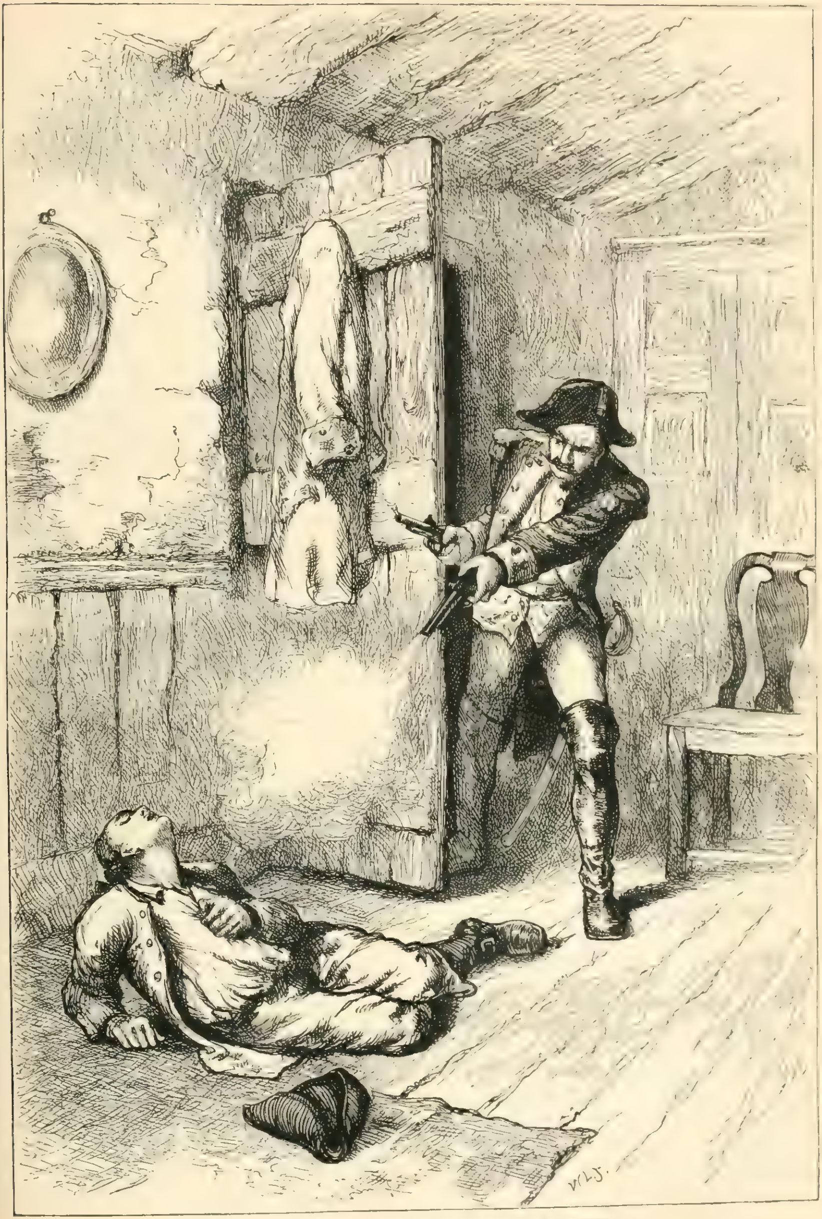
* MS. copy of Fanning's Journal, quoted by Bancroft in his History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 28.



FANNING'S ATROCITY: MURDER OF AN AMERICAN PLANTER.

adherents of the unsuccessful cause for the misdeeds of some.

The monetary affairs of the Union continued to give much trouble, and even the skill of Robert Morris, the Finance Minister of the Federation, could not prevent a considerable degree of embarrassment. This gentleman, who was not an American, but a native of England, had a great idea of the benefit of a public debt—a benefit which the citizens of the United States did not seem inclined to appreciate. His project for a National Bank received the assent of only seven out of the thirteen States, and doubts were expressed as to whether the Federation had the power to incorporate such an institution. Congress, however, had already pledged its word. As a compromise, the corporation was forbidden to exercise its powers in any one of the States in a manner repugnant to the laws or constitution of such State; and the local Assemblies were recommended to give to the incorporating ordinance its full operation. The business of the bank commenced on the 7th of January, 1782, and its transactions proved very profitable to the Federal Government. The notes, though payable at Philadelphia in specie, did not command public confidence at a distance, and the corporation was able to buy up its own promises at from ten to fifteen per cent. discount.* Without the assistance of this bank, it is not easy to see how the affairs of the nation could have gone on at all. The public funds were exhausted; not a dollar remained in the treasury; and Morris, up to the early spring of 1782, had received no money whatever from any State in the Union. The States were half a million of dollars in debt on the year's taxes, which had been raised by anticipation on the system of credit created by this clever financier. On the 14th of May, Morris wrote to John Hancock, formerly President of Congress, and now Governor of Massachusetts, his native State:—"On the 1st of January, 1782, with a heavy arrearage for 1781, unpaid on the face of the requisitions of Congress, I had to provide for a three months' expenditure, when no man would trust the public for a single dollar: your Legislature knew the state of public credit as well as I did. Instead of providing money for the 1st of April, they have made no effort for that purpose which can take effect before the 1st of June. Now then, let us suppose every State in the Union to be as negligent (and many of them are much more so), what can gentlemen promise themselves? I apprehend the most terrible consequences. I beg you to press an immediate payment of money, the necessity of which it is not easy to conceive, nor prudent to declare."† For this condition of national bankruptcy, Morris was most unjustly blamed, and was so continually vexed by clamorous demands that he frequently felt tempted to resign his office.

Congress had recently received another six millions of livres from the King of France, with an intimation, however, that the United States were to expect no more. Previous to the receipt of the news that this money had been granted, Morris had been obliged to issue drafts for 500,000 livres on the mere chance of further assistance from Paris; and now that it came, he thought it prudent to request the Minister of France, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and the Secretary at War, to keep the knowledge of the grant from Congress and from all other persons, lest the State Legislatures, which had not yet passed their tax-bills, should no longer think it necessary to make any provision for the national exigencies. The want of a common patriotism was lamentable. Greene sent repeated complaints from the South that he was deficient in the commonest things. There were not, he said, two quires of paper in the whole army, and several returns it had been found impossible to make, because there was nothing to write them on. Of the scarcity of food and clothing, the reader has heard before. Representations of this miserable condition had no effect. The local Legislatures took not the slightest heed of them, and Congress could do nothing to amend the evils which it found.

The paper currency of the Union was a constant source of anxiety—a constant incentive to questionable expedients. In March, 1780, Congress resolved to call in by taxes in the course of one year, and to burn, all the paper bills previously emitted, to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars, and in lieu thereof to create ten millions of new money, which was to be issued as fast as, and no faster than, the old was brought in. For every twenty dollars of the old, one dollar of the new emission was to be perfected and lodged in the Continental loan offices of the several States. The new bills were to be redeemable in specie within six years, to bear interest at the rate of five per cent., and to be received in payment of the monthly quotas or taxes of each State, at the same rate as specie. They were to be based on funds raised by the individual States, and each State was to receive for its own use six-tenths of these bills, while the other four-tenths were to be subject to the orders of Congress. The effect of this measure was to cause considerable disappointment to the holders of the old currency, who, only about half a year before, had been encouraged by Congress to believe that the paper then in circulation would be redeemable at par in hard cash. As, however, the generality of the holders had received the old paper-money at a considerable depreciation, it was considered unfair to the community at large to allow those holders to convert it at what would have been in reality a higher rate. The measure, consequently, produced no convulsion, though many persons considered themselves aggrieved.

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* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 28.

† Gordon's History, Vol. IV., pp. [illegible] 2.

This was the state of things with which Morris had to deal. That he might fund the public debt, and provide for the regular payment of the interest on it, he proposed, in 1782, a moderate land-tax, a poll-tax, and an excise on distilled liquors, and expressed a desire that the States would consent to Congress imposing a duty of five per cent. on imports. The western lands were to be reserved as security for new loans in Europe; and by these means it was hoped to establish the public credit. It was certainly most desirable to do something to secure an equilibrium, for a condition of things was fast coming on, in which there would have been hardly any revenue at all. The aggregate expenditure of the United States for the war (says a high American authority) had been at the rate of twenty millions of dollars in specie annually. The estimates for 1782 were for eight millions of dollars; yet, in the first five months of the year, the sums received from the States amounted to less than twenty thousand dollars—less, that is, than the estimated expenses for a single day; and of this sum not a shilling had been received from either the Eastern or the Southern States. It was found necessary to send out two Committees of Congress —one to importune the States of the North, and the other those of the South.* Congress could not levy any direct taxes on the people; it could only require of the States certain quotas, which those States were expected to supply, but which very frequently they failed to supply. When they thus failed, Congress was void of all power to enforce its demands, and there was no resource but to starve the public service (and often those who conducted it), or to make fresh issues of paper-money. Morris now obtained authority, by a vote of Congress, to appoint receivers of taxes; and for this office at New York he selected Alexander Hamilton. The father-in-law of Hamilton, General Schuyler, invited the New York Senate, at Hamilton's instigation, to declare that the Federal Government ought to have power to provide revenue for itself; that that important object could never be attained by the deliberations of the States separately; that it was essential to the common welfare that there should be a conference of all the States on the subject; and that it would be advisable for such purpose for Congress to recommend, and for each State to adopt, the measure of assembling a general convention of the States, specially authorised to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving a right to the respective Legislatures to ratify their determinations. The resolutions were carried unanimously in both branches of the New York Legislature; and Hamilton was shortly afterwards elected one of the delegates of New York to Congress. Morris, in welcoming him to that post, said:—"A firm, wise, manly system of Federal Government is what I once wished, what I now hope, what I dare not expect, but what I will not despair of." It came in time; but not yet.

The root of the mischief undoubtedly lay in this want of sufficient Federal powers on the part of Congress—in the absence of a truly national Government. The Constitution of 1777 conferred but slight prerogatives of rule on the Union; and these, in process of time, and by the dogged resistance of the several States, had become still less. No one saw the evil more clearly than Washington; but at that time Washington had little or no influence in the sphere of politics. In May, 1780, he wrote to a friend who was a delegate in Congress from Virginia:—"Certain I am, unless Congress are vested with powers by the several States competent to the great purposes of war, or assume them as matter of right, and they and the States respectively act with more energy than they have hitherto done, our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill-timing in the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expenses, and derive no benefit from them. One State will comply with a requisition of Congress; another neglects to do it; a third executes it by halves; and all differ either in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time that we are always working up hill. While such a system as the present one, or rather want of one, prevails, we shall ever be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage. This, my dear Sir, is plain language to a member of Congress, but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application, and strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen, which, instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, are considering themselves as dependent on their respective States. In a word, I see the powers of Congress declining too fast for the consideration and respect which are due to them as the great representative body of America; and I am fearful of the consequences."

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* Bancroft.

His correspondent was equally impressed with the viciousness of the existing system. He replied:—"Congress have scarcely a power left but such as concerns foreign transactions; for, as to the army, they are at present little more than the medium through which its wants are conveyed to the States. This body never had, or at least in few instances ever exercised, powers adequate to the purposes of war; and indeed such as they possessed have been frittered away to the States, and it will be found very difficult to recover them. Resolutions are now before us, by one of which the States are desired to give express powers for the common defence. Others go to the assumption of them immediately. The first will sleep with the States; the others will die where they are, so cautious are some of offending the States." To Greene, two years later, it was apparent that the weakness of the American army was due to the want of a complete and genuine political Union. He wished to confer on Congress the power to enforce its requisitions, and gave it as his opinion that without such a power it would be impossible to establish the financial affairs of the nation upon a footing that should answer the public demands. Most of the leading minds of America knew and lamented the absence of efficient power in the States collectively, as represented in Congress. It was the great disease of the time, and nothing but a fortunate conjunction of circumstances prevented its being a great and fatal danger also.

Determined to do the utmost for the promulgation of his views of Federal Union, Morris requested his fellow-countryman, Thomas Paine, to give the service of his literary skill in the same direction. In the meanwhile, he pursued with great energy his projects of financial reform. On the 31st of July, 1782, he sent to Congress his Budget for 1783. It amounted to nine millions of dollars, and he had no alternative but to borrow four millions, and raise the other five millions by quotas. The proposal to endow Congress with the right to levy a duty of five per cent. on imports was pressed on the State Legislatures; but Virginia and some of the other States refused their assent. The poverty of the Federal Government became absolutely desperate. Morris wrote to Greene in the spring of that eventful year:—"You must continue your exertions with or without men or provisions, clothing or pay." Contracts into which he had entered, for provisioning the Northern army, he was obliged to dissolve, for want of means to meet them. To Washington he wrote:—"I pray that Heaven may direct your mind to some mode by which we may be yet saved." Fortunately for the Americans, the war was nearly over. Had it continued another year without the assistance of France, the withdrawal of which had been threatened, it seems doubtful whether the cause of the Revolution would not have collapsed. There were not many more than ten thousand men in the Northern army, and the Southern was in a state of rapid dissolution. Washington himself saw that peace was imperative.

With the closing days of 1782, peace was pretty well assured, as far as the United States were concerned. But it still remained doubtful whether France and Spain would come to terms with Great Britain, and many and anxious were the negotiations. Spain was the great obstacle. To obtain the restitution of Gibraltar, the Court of Madrid offered to cede to England any territory of the Spanish Monarchy which could be given up without absolute dismemberment. Amongst the colonies so excepted were Cuba and Porto Rico, together with the Spanish possessions on the American continent; in fact, all the places which would have been in any respect an equivalent for the fortress of the western Mediterranean. Lord Shelburne was not at all impressed with the value of Gibraltar (any more than Lord Chatham had been before him), and would gladly have surrendered it for West Florida, which the Spaniards had conquered during the war. But the Duke of Grafton, Shelburne's Lord Privy Seal, would not agree to the restitution of Gibraltar, unless Trinidad, which Spain refused to yield, were given up, in addition to what had already been offered. Moreover, the opinion of Parliament was clearly against relinquishing a position which the nation had paid so much in blood and treasure to acquire and maintain. The recent magnificent defence of Gibraltar by Elliot and Howe could not be forgotten; and when some hints of the proposed cession were let fall in the House of Commons, Fox saw in the scheme a capital opportunity for making an effective party attack. Shelburne soon found that he had no choice but to insist on the retention of Gibraltar; and Spain, finding that she could not count on the support of France in pushing matters to extremities, reluctantly agreed to accept the two Floridas in exchange for the rock. Preliminaries of peace were signed at Versailles, on the 20th of January, 1783, between the Minister of England and the Ministers of France and Spain.

The articles in these Preliminaries which in any way affected America may be briefly stated. By the agreement with France, the right of that Power to fish off the coast of Newfoundland, and on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was re-established on the same footing as in the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and of Paris (1763), with the additional cession from England of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. In the West Indies, England restored St. Lucia and ceded Tobago; and in return got back Granada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montserrat. As regards Spain, the British monarch ceded both the Floridas, and the Spanish King granted to the English the right of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras, in a district the boundaries of which were afterwards to be fixed. It was also agreed that Providence and the Bahama Isles should be restored to England; but it subsequently turned out that the Bahamas had been already recovered by the British before the close of active warfare. With the Dutch a truce was concluded, followed in time by a definitive treaty.

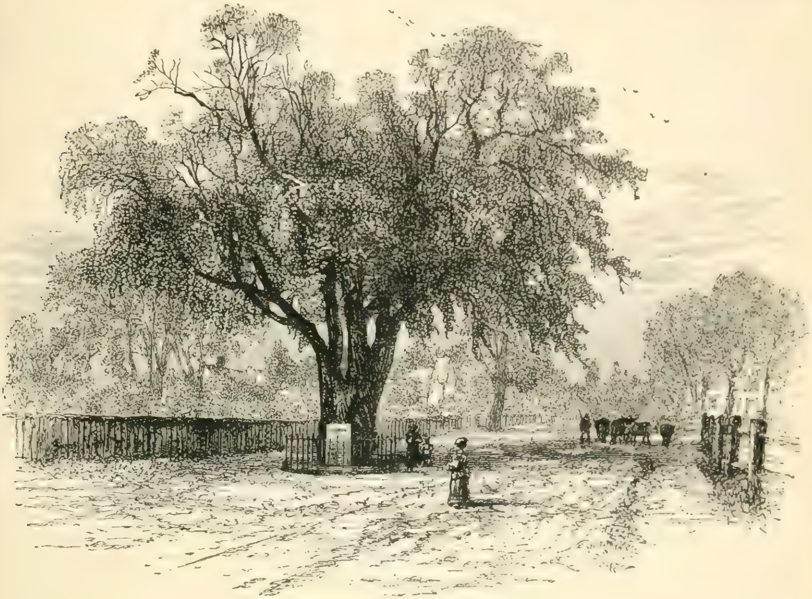
The three Preliminary Treaties — those with France, Spain, and the United States—were laid before the House of Commons on the 27th of January, and a series of debates ensued which ultimately caused the fall of the Ministry. Fox and Lord North had for some time been approaching one another, with a view to forming a coalition —an agreement for party ends which must have cost each no small sacrifice of pride, since Lord North had always regarded Fox as little better than a rebel, and Fox, only a year before, had said that Lord North and his colleagues were void of every principle of honour and honesty, and that from the moment when he should make any terms with one of them, he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind. But the age was one of passionate asseverations and easy compromises. Neither of these eminent politicians had much chance of regaining power without the assistance of the other; and they agreed to forget their mutual affronts, that they might destroy the Government of Lord Shelburne—a man of a more statesmanlike mind than either. On the 17th of February, Mr. Thomas Pitt moved an address of thanks to his Majesty for ordering the preliminary articles of peace to be laid before the House of Commons. The motion was seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, and followed by a violent debate. An amendment, withholding such approbation, yet assuring his Majesty of the firm determination of the House to adhere to the several articles to which the public faith had been pledged, was moved, supported by the leading members of the contemplated coalition, and carried by a majority of 16. A similar amendment was introduced into the House of Lords, where, however, it was rejected by a majority of 13. On the 21st of February, Lord John Cavendish moved —"That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain by the Provisional Treaty and the Preliminary Articles were greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength." Considering that Fox and his party had advocated the most extreme concessions to the United Colonies, it required no small amount of audacity in the members of that political body to condemn the Government for making peace on terms which went no farther than those which had always been supported in opposition to the Government of Lord North. They had even threatened that Minister with capital punishment for continuing the war in America; yet they now condemned Lord Shelburne and his colleagues for putting a stop to hostilities on the only conditions obtainable. Fox argued that France, Spain, Holland, and America, had been reduced to a desperate condition, and that consequently such ample concessions should not have been granted. He was answered by William Pitt, who showed that the Government had no choice in the matter; but the House had made up its mind to vote against the Government, and, on a division, Lord John Cavendish's resolutions were carried by a majority of 17. Lord Shelburne immediately resigned, and a new Ministry was formed, after some delay and considerable difficulty, of which the Duke of Portland was Premier, Lord North Secretary for Home Affairs, and Fox Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The Government consisted for the most part of members of the old Rockingham party, and, on this account alone, did not enjoy the confidence of the King.

That the Allied Powers opposed to England were really, as Fox had asserted, reduced to great extremities, cannot be denied; yet it is equally true that England herself was very far from being in a position to carry on the war. It was shown by Pitt that, exclusive of the annual services, the unfunded debt amounted at that time to thirty millions; and Ministers had found that a force of three thousand men was the utmost that could be despatched on any foreign expedition. Even if Fox, while out of office, did not know the exact position of the country, he must, as a public man, have known enough to see the futility of any further prosecution of the struggle; and regard for his own character as a politician should have restrained him from so completely changing sides. Even as it was, he was compelled, a few months later, to assent to those very terms which he first supported, and afterwards condemned. The definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America were signed on the 3rd of September, and the long war with the United States was thus brought to a formal, as well as an actual, termination by the enforced consent of all parties. Previous to this signature, which took place during the autumnal recess of Parliament, the attention of the House of Commons was much occupied by the re-arrangement of commercial intercourse with the United States. Laws which had acted to the restraint of that intercourse were repealed; and a temporary Bill was passed, vesting in the Crown the power of making future regulations. It was also considered proper to make some provision for the American loyalists, as it was very generally feared that those ill-fated enthusiasts would not be allowed by the States to enjoy once more their confiscated property. An Act was therefore passed, appointing commissioners to inquire into their losses and services; and it was agreed in Committee of Supply that all American officers who had borne arms for the King should be allowed half-pay. As it afterwards turned out, this provision was very necessary, for the property of the loyalists was not returned, and large numbers of them quitted their native country, and came to England. The claims made upon Parliament in consequence of this Act were so numerous that the refugees received altogether more than twelve millions of money.

The war thus disastrously terminated had cost the nation an enormous sum, and added to its indebtedness by many millions. At the Peace of 1763, the National Debt of Great Britain amounted to £139,000,000, and the annual charge to £4,600,000. By 1774, as a consequence of prolonged peace, more than ten millions of the debt had been paid off. The American war raised the debt from 129 to 268 millions, and the annual charge to £9,512,232. It has been calculated that, had the struggle continued, it would have been necessary to borrow annually seventeen millions and a half, by which a million per annum would have been added to the taxes, and twenty-five millions to the capital of the public debt. As it was, Great Britain had added to that debt a sum equal to the whole as it existed some twenty years before; and, of English and Americans, probably not fewer than 150,000 had perished in the contest.

Such had been the cost of maintaining a questionable prerogative, of asserting an impossible power, of seeking to coerce a nation, of striving to keep back the inevitable march of principles and of events. The people of England were burdened in order that the people of America might not be free; and the former had missed even the miserable satisfaction, in exchange for their outlay, of succeeding in the end which they had proposed. During the war, the objects for which it was waged had very considerably altered. In the beginning, it was little more than an attempt on the part of Parliament to assert the supposed right of taxing a people not represented within its walls. As the struggle unfolded itself, questions of a larger kind were gradually developed. The balance of right became more even, and sometimes inclined towards the side of the mother country. It was not unnatural that a great and powerful nation should refuse to yield one of the largest and grandest portions of its dominions, without at least an effort to retain it. Exasperated by the first fatal mistake, the Americans came in time to deny, not merely the taxing power of Parliament, but all jurisdiction on the part of the Empire over its dependencies; and it cannot be matter of surprise that this denial should have been resisted. One thing is certain—that the war was not simply the war of the King, or of the aristocracy, or even of the Parliament, but, as Lord North expressed it, of the people of England themselves. To this rule there were of course some exceptions; but George and his favourite Minister never wanted the support of a large majority in carrying on the war, until, after the disaster at Yorktown, a further continuance of the struggle became hopeless. Still, the contest had grown from an evil root, and partook of the first viciousness which gave it life. Concession after concession was made by England; all really objectionable interference with the colonies was abandoned; privileges of the most valuable nature were offered. But it was too late. The Americans had felt the sting of injustice, and drunk the wild intoxication of independence. They had tasted the elation of success; they had been crowned with the consecration of suffering. In the blood of all those thirteen States was the passionate exultation of a new life; and the ancient and solid force of England recoiled before the sudden spring of a young giant.

The story of those mournful times will always be among the most sorrowful records of the English race; but the sorrow will not be without its compensation if the two divisions of that race shall henceforth move forward, side by side, independent, yet united in friendship and in blood, towards the accomplishment of the greatest ends, political and social, to which either Europe or America can aspire.



WASHINGTON ELM, CAMBRIDGE.

CHAPTER LV.

Distracted Condition of the United States on the Cessation of War—Proposed Reduction of the Army—Military Insubordination—Circulation of an Anonymous and Inflammatory Address—Indignation of Washington—Meeting of Officers—Address of Washington—Conciliatory Resolutions of the Meeting—Concessions by Congress, and End of the Threatened Danger—Washington's Latest Opinion on the Anonymous Address—Arrival at Philadelphia of News of the Preliminaries of Peace—Proclamation of the Fact in the American Camp on the Hudson—The Results of Eight Years' War—Granting of Furloughs to the Soldiers—Preparations by the British for the Evacuation of New York—The Refugees—Question as to the Removal of Negroes—Views of Sir Guy Carleton on the Subject—Statements by Lafayette as to the Intentions of the French Government, had the War continued—Close of Washington's Military Career—His Views as a Politician—Circular to the Governors of the States—A Legacy of Political Wisdom—Prospects of the Time.

Now that the United States had vanquished their external enemies, it seemed for awhile as if their fortunes might be ruined by internal dissensions. The transition from a state of war to a state of peace is always perilous; it is especially so when large armies have been improvised out of a population not habitually military, and when these are thrown back on the pursuits of civil life, for which their members have been unfitted by many years of martial service. When this general condition is made still worse by a total disruption of society, owing to a long period of armed conflicts, by unsettled political institutions, by a weak and incompetent Government, by large arrears of pay to officers and men, and by impending national bankruptcy, the dangers to the State are obviously of the very gravest nature. Such was the case in America in those anxious and difficult days which followed the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton at New York with communications of a pacific character. It was not yet, indeed, absolutely certain that peace would be made; but it was generally believed that such would be the result of the altered policy of England. Accordingly, a reduction of the United States army, to take place on the 1st of January, 1783, was talked of in the late autumn of the previous year. The proposal was not popular among those whom it immediately affected. Washington, writing to the Secretary at War on the 2nd of October, 1782, said that, although no one seemed opposed in principle to the reduction of the army as circumstances might require, he could not help fearing the result of the measure in contemplation under existing conditions. "When," he wrote, "I see such a number of men goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past, and of anticipation on the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury and what they call the ingratitude of the public, involved in debts, without one farthing of money to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, ... when I consider these irritating circumstances, without one thing to soothe their feelings or dispel the gloomy prospects, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow, of a very serious and distressing nature." He went on to remark that the patience and long-suffering of the army were almost exhausted, and that there had never been so great a spirit of discontent as at that instant. "While in the field," said Washington, "I think it may be kept from breaking out into acts of outrage; but when we retire into winter-quarters, unless the storm is previously dissipated, I cannot be at ease respecting the consequences."

These forebodings were not without justification. The mutiny among the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops, in January, 1781, was but a symptom of gathering disaffection to the Federal Government; the proposal, at a later date, that Washington should establish a species of personal Government, with the attributes, if not with the title, of Royalty, was further evidence of the existence of the same feeling. That feeling had leisure to grow and strengthen during the period of idleness which extended throughout the winter of 1782–3. It was much debated whether the resolution of Congress, granting half-pay to officers who should serve to the end of the war, would be carried into practice. Great doubt could not but be felt on the subject, because, as the national treasury was empty, it was not at all clear where the funds for such payment were to be found. Moreover, the Constitution itself placed an obstacle in the way of these claimants; for the articles of Confederation required the concurrence of nine States to any Act appropriating public money, and it was well known that there were not so many as nine States in favour of granting half-pay permanently. The general opinion in the army, therefore, was that the resolution of Congress would be illusory, and an agitation was commenced for bringing the claims of the officers before the attention of the country and its representatives. A memorial to Congress was numerously signed, in which it was proposed that a specific sum should be granted to the officers for money actually due, and as a commutation for half-pay. This document was presented to Congress in December, 1782, and led to many debates; but no definite results ensued. The feeling of anger in the army grew more extreme, and, on the 10th of March, 1783, an anonymous paper was circulated through the camp at Newburgh, on the Hudson, calling a meeting of the general and field-officers, to consider a letter received from a committee of their number who had been sent to Philadelphia to confer with Congress, and what measures should be adopted to obtain a redress of grievances.

The meeting was to take place on the following day, and during the 10th an anonymous address to the officers of the army was privately circulated. It was of a very inflammatory character, and evidently designed to create a revolution by military force. In phrases of laboured antithesis and rhetorical balance, after the fashion of Johnson's most self-conscious style, the writer described himself as a fellow-soldier whose interests and affections bound him strongly to his companions-in-arms whose past sufferings had been as great as theirs, and whose future fortunes might be as desperate. He had loved private life, and left it with regret, determined to retire from the field with the necessity that called him to it. Until very recently, he had believed in the justice of his country, and had hoped that with the return of peace the coldness and severity of Government would relax. But that hope had now passed, and to continue to bear injuries and injustice, without one manly effort to redress them, would show the world that they deserved the chains they had broken. By their sufferings and their courage they had conducted the United States through a doubtful and bloody war to independence and peace; and, instead of receiving gratitude, admiration, and reward, they met with denial of their rights, with insult and disdain. They had more than once appealed to Congress, but without effect. In the meek language of entreating memorials, they had begged for justice, and had received an answer which gave no satisfaction. "If this, then," pursued the writer, "be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division; when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left, but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity which has hitherto been spent in honour? If you can, go, and carry with you the jest of Tories and the scorn of Whigs; the ridicule and, what is worse, the pity of the world! Go, starve and be forgotten! But, if your spirits should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover and spirit sufficient to oppose tyranny, under whatever garb it may assume—whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles; awake, attend to your situation, and redress yourselves! If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now." The writer, therefore, advised his brethren to carry their appeal from the justice to the fears of Government; to assume a bolder, though still a decent, tone; to suspect the man who would advise to greater moderation; and to draw up a last remonstrance to Congress. The members of that body were to be told that despair might drive the army from the field; that, in the event of peace, nothing should separate them from their arms but death; and that, should the war continue, they would seek the direction of their illustrious leader, retire to some unsettled country, and mock the Government when seized by fear of the consequences.

The author of the address was Major Armstrong (afterwards General Armstrong), then a young man, and aide-de-camp to General Gates. He is said to have written this and other anonymous documents at the solicitation of his military friends; but it is certain that he gave expression to his individual views as well. Such an address revealed the existence of a most dangerous spirit in the army; for civil government and civil liberty are at an end if soldiers are to be allowed the right of threatening to withdraw in a body from the service of the country, even while the enemy is in the field, because their complaints are not at once admitted and redressed. What made this conduct still more blamable was the fact that Congress, though doubtless not eager to recognise the claims of the army, had as yet taken no decisive step, and given no decisive answer, on the several questions submitted to it by the officers; and that, by the last report of their representatives at Philadelphia, which was to be considered at the proposed meeting on the 11th of March, there was still a prospect of the desired commutation for half-pay being granted, if some of the dissenting States could be won over, and other States, then unrepresented in Congress, could be got to send members. The publication of this inflammatory document was very distressing to Washington, who, much as he sympathised with the wrongs of the army, had always a lofty sense of the supremacy of the civil power. On the 11th of March, he issued a General Order, in which he characterised the unauthorised proposal to hold a meeting that day as a disorderly proceeding, but at the same time summoned a meeting of officers for the 15th, to hear the report of the Philadelphian committee of the army. At that meeting, the officers were, after mature deliberation, to devise "what further measures ought to be adopted, as most rational, and best calculated to attain the just and important object in view;" and the result was to be reported to the Commander-in-Chief. The writer of the anonymous address now issued another, in which he professed to find in Washington's General Order a proof that the head of the army was entirely in favour of his views and designs. He had to wait no longer than the holding of the meeting on the 15th to discover how completely he was mistaken.

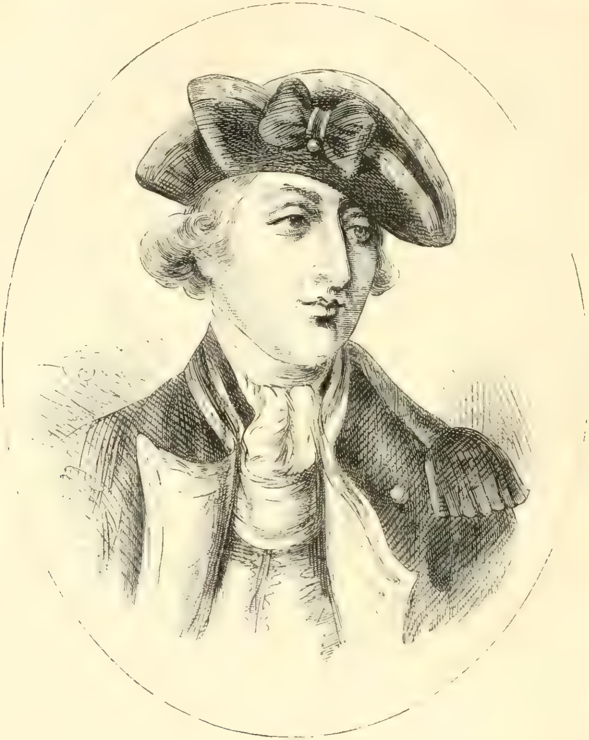
At that meeting, General Gates, as the senior officer present, presided. Previous to the gathering, Washington sent for the officers one by one in private, and represented to them how much the whole army would suffer in character by intemperate resolutions. It was not originally his intention to appear personally; but he saw occasion to change that resolve. Rising as soon as the meeting had been formed, he apologised for his presence, and proceeded to observe that the diligence which had been used in circulating anonymous writings rendered it necessary that he should give expression to his views on the subject. He had committed his thoughts to writing, and, soliciting the indulgence of his brother officers, proceeded to read what he had set down. After condemning the unknown writer of the addresses, he proceeded to disavow any indifference to the interests of the army. "But how," he asked, "are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser: if war continues, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself. But whom are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms and other property, which we leave behind us? Or, in the state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness? If peace takes place, never sheathe your swords, says he, until you have obtained full and ample justice. This dreadful alternative, of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! What can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather, is he not an insidious foe? Some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent. And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature!" Washington maintained that Congress had an exalted sense of the services of the army, and would do it complete justice; that the members of that honourable body had laboriously endeavoured to discover funds for the payment of the military, and that they would not cease till they had succeeded; but that their deliberations were unavoidably slow, like those of all large bodies where it is necessary to reconcile a variety of interests. To distrust them would not bring the desired object nearer; on the contrary, it would cast it to a greater distance. Washington assured his auditors that, within the limits set by the Constitution, they might command his services in the attainment of entire justice; but at the same time he exhorted them to rely on the plighted faith of their country, and to place full confidence in the late resolution of Congress that, previous to their dissolution as an army, all accounts should be fairly liquidated, and ample justice should be done.

After reading this address, and also a conciliatory letter which he had received from a member of Congress, the Commander-in-Chief retired, and resolutions were then put, and unanimously carried, to the general effect that the army reciprocated the affectionate expressions of their head, with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable; that they continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and the country, but expected that half-pay, or a commutation of it, would be included in any arrangement that might be come to; that the Commander-in-Chief should be requested to write to the President of Congress, earnestly entreating a speedy decision on the late memorial forwarded by the committee of the army; and that the officers of that army viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in the anonymous address. In accordance with these resolutions, Washington wrote to the President of Congress on the 18th of March, earnestly and eloquently, yet temperately, urging the claims of his companions. The result was, that, on the subject being again taken up on the 22nd, nine States concurred in a resolution commuting the half-pay into a sum equal to five years' whole pay. A very serious danger to the Republic, which at one time appeared to threaten the most tragic consequences, was thus removed. The conduct of Major Armstrong was clearly unjustifiable, since it was a menace of civil war—the approach towards an attack by the country's defenders on the country itself. But it is very likely that the sluggish temper of Congress was thus stimulated into action; and at any rate it may be conceded that the author of the anonymous addresses (which were circulated in manuscript, and copied by many of the officers) had no evil design, and was misled by his too strong perception of a real grievance, and by the haste and rashness of immaturity. This, several years after, was the opinion of Washington himself. In his address to the assembled officers, he conjured them "to express their utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of their country, and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge their rising empire in blood." But in a letter to Armstrong, written on the 23rd of February, 1797, he said:—"I have since had sufficient reason for believing that the object of the author was just, honourable, and friendly to the country, though the means suggested by him were certainly liable to much misunderstanding and abuse."

Two days after the decision of Congress with respect to the commutation of half-pay, the first intimation of the preliminaries of peace was received at Philadelphia. The Marquis de Lafayette had written from Cadiz on the 5th of February, announcing the welcome news, and had enclosed a copy of orders given by Count d'Estaing for the purpose of putting a stop to hostilities at sea. Congress accordingly directed the marine agent of the United States to recall all armed ships cruising under commissions from the American Government. On the 4th of April, a vessel arrived at Salem, from Nantes, bringing with it a printed copy of a declaration of the American Ministers at Paris, made on the 20th of February, and setting forth that the ratifications of the preliminaries of peace had been exchanged. By a remarkable coincidence, the same captain who carried to England the news of the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington, conveyed to the shores of America the first intelligence of returning peace. By another coincidence, which, however, was probably contrived, the cessation of hostilities with Great Britain was, by order of Washington, proclaimed in the American camp on the 19th of April, 1783, the eighth anniversary of the melancholy collision between the Massachusetts yeomen and the King's troops. "Nothing now remains," said the Commander-in-Chief, in his address to the army, "but for the actors of this mighty scene to preserve a perfect, unvarying consistency of character through the very last act, to close the drama with applause, and to retire from the military theatre with the same approbation of angels and men which has crowned all their former virtuous actions." Those eight years had indeed been years of the most serious importance, not only to America, but to Europe. They had created a new nation and founded a new Power. They had introduced into the world of politics a principle of government which, if not absolutely original, had never before been so clearly asserted on so large a field of action—the great and beneficent principle that there is no political right but in the consent of the governed, and that when monarchs, or even Parliaments, forget this truth, they place themselves beyond the pale of law, and are the outcasts of the communities they wrong. On the day of Lexington, it was doubtful whether this truth would be triumphant, or be trodden out in mire and blood. It was even open to debate whether the best method of asserting it had been chosen—whether some element of quarrelsomeness and perversity had not been mixed up with the simpler and nobler constituents of the question. But at any rate the principle was there flung out like a banner in the face of King George's army; and now, after eight years of desperate fighting and varying fortunes, that army was compelled to acknowledge it—compelled by the supreme argument of success. America might well be proud; Europe might well regard the portent, and watch the coming time.

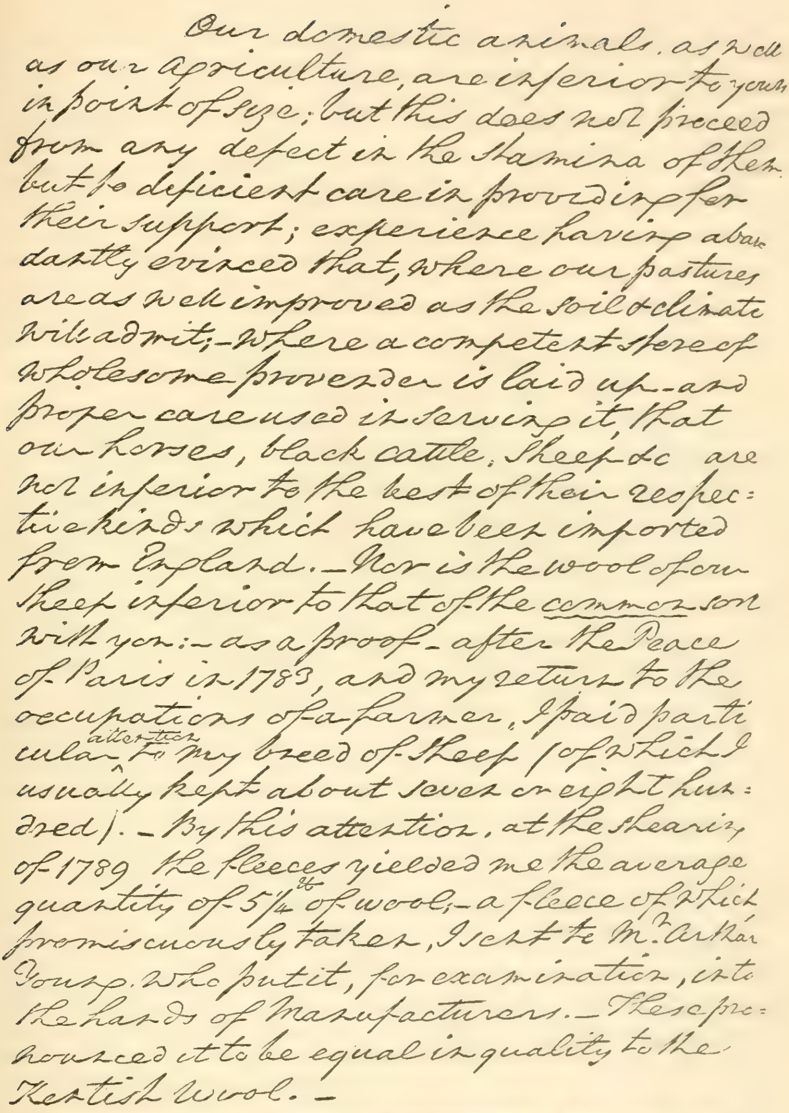
Some uneasiness was felt by Washington lest the troops, unable to distinguish between the preliminaries of peace and the actual conclusion of the state of war, should at once insist on their discharge. He therefore wrote to the President of Congress, entreating a prompt determination as to the period of service. The answer took the form of a resolution, explaining that the service of the men engaged for the war would not expire until the ratification of the definitive articles of peace, but also authorising the Commander-in-Chief to grant furloughs according as he thought proper, and to allow the men to take their arms with them. Availing himself of the permission, Washington issued a large number of furloughs, and the men thus sent home were never again called to the field. This gradual mode of dispersing the army, while still retaining a hold on its members in case some singular and unforeseen circumstances should yet prevent the completion of peace, had the advantage of avoiding the danger of a sudden and simultaneous casting of large bodies of troops upon the country. It was a gentle and easy passage out of the long-accustomed state of war.

While these events were going on, Sir Guy Carleton was preparing for the evacuation of the city of New York, and for removing the adherents of the Royal cause who remained there. He had already written for all the shipping that could be spared from Europe and the West Indies; and on the 27th of April a fleet sailed for various parts of Nova Scotia, carrying about seven thousand persons, with their effects. Some of these were troops, but the greater number were refugees, who looked with great depression of spirits on the prospect of being exiled to a wintry and half-desert country, where there was little to attract, and not much to be earned. On the 6th of May, a personal conference between Washington and Sir Guy Carleton was held at Orangetown, with reference to the transfer of posts in the United States held by the British troops, and the delivery of all property stipulated by the treaty to be given up to the Americans. The great subject of discussion was as to whether the English General had acted rightly in sending off certain negroes belonging to citizens of the United States. Washington contended that the seventh article of the preliminaries forbade the removal of blacks, or of any other property of Americans. Carleton, on the contrary, argued that it could not have been the intention of the British Government to reduce themselves to the necessity of violating their faith to negroes who had come within the British lines on the invitation of his predecessors. To restore these unhappy beings to their former masters would be to deliver up some, possibly, to execution, and others to severe punishments. This, he conceived, would be a dishonourable violation of the public faith; but he gave it as his opinion that, if it should really appear that the treaty had been broken by the English, the Government of Great Britain ought to make compensation to the owners of the slaves. The conference ended without any agreement being come to; and on the 26th of May, Congress resolved that the American Ministers at Paris for negotiating the peace should be directed to remonstrate on the subject with the Court of St. James's, and to take proper measures for obtaining such reparation as the nature of the case would admit. A nation, in the very moment of attaining its freedom, thus making it a grievance that others were not returned into slavery, presented a sorry spectacle to the world; but such was one of the many evil results of that system of human bondage which America had not yet had the virtue or the opportunity to throw off.



Your Humble Servant,
Horatio Gates

PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL GATES.



Our domestic animals, as well as our agriculture, are inferior to yours in point of size; but this does not proceed from any defect in the stamina of them, but to deficient care in providing for their support; experience having abundantly evinced that, where our pastures are as well improved as the soil & climate will admit;—where a competent store of wholesome provender is laid up—and proper care used in serving it, that our horses, black cattle, sheep &c are not inferior to the best of their respective kinds which have been imported from England.—Nor is the wool of our sheep inferior to that of the *common* sort with you:—as a proof—after the Peace of Paris in 1783, and my return to the occupations of a farmer, I paid particular attention to my breed of sheep (of which I usually kept about seven or eight hundred).—By this attention, at the shearing of 1789 the fleeces yielded me the average quantity of 5¼ lb of wool;—a fleece of which promiscuously taken, I sent to Mr. Arthur Young, who put it, for examination, into the hands of Manufacturers.—These pronounced it to be equal in quality to the Kentish wool.—

FAC-SIMILE OF A PORTION OF A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ADDRESSED TO SIR J. SINCLAIR, [illegible]

All were so utterly weary of the war that the prospect of peace, under nearly any conditions, was delightful. Yet many were vexed that Canada and Nova Scotia were not to be added to the United States; and this feeling must have been enhanced by a passage in the letter from Lafayette announcing the preliminaries of peace. He there stated that forty-nine ships and twenty thousand men were then at Cadiz; that these were to be joined by Count d'Estaing to the combined forces in the West Indies; that during the summer they were to co-operate with the American army; and that Lafayette himself was to enter the river St. Lawrence at the head of a French corps, with a view to the conquest of Canada for the United States.* These intimations are so much at variance with what we know of the real intentions and wishes of France, that it is impossible not to believe the Marquis had been deluded by some among the Ministerial circles. Yet there may have been a politic desire on the part of the French Government to create such an impression in America; and indeed M. de la Luzerne once assured Congress that his Royal master desired to see Canada and Nova Scotia annexed to the Federal Republic.† Finesse is a part of diplomacy; and French statesmen of the eighteenth century were not very scrupulous as to the extent to which they carried that art.

The military career of Washington was now finished, except as to a few matters of form; but a political career hardly less illustrious lay before him, though at that moment he neither knew nor desired it. It has been seen in the course of this narrative that his political ideas were neither few nor superficial. He had attentively watched the progress of events at the seat of government and in various parts of his native country, and his strong sense of justice and probity had generally pointed out to him the wisest and most fitting course to be pursued. He was not acquainted with the whole range of political administration, like Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and many more; for the nature of his work had concentrated his mind on other matters. But he had a firm grasp of broad and leading principles; he had integrity, honour, moderation, and the wisdom of a large experience. As the clamour of war grew still before the approach of peace, his thoughts turned towards the future of America, and on the 8th of June he addressed, from his head-quarters at Newburgh, a circular letter to the Governors of all the States on the disbanding of the army. After expressing his intention to resign into the hands of Congress the commission he held from that body, and his desire to pass the remainder of his life in a state of retirement and undisturbed repose, he proceeded to offer his sentiments respecting some important subjects which appeared to him intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States. He regarded his fellow-citizens as actors on a theatre designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity, and as enjoying a fairer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation had ever possessed. Placed in an immense tract of country, comprising many varieties of soil and climate, and abounding in all the necessaries and conveniences of life, they had had the further advantage of laying the foundations of their empire, not in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but in an epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined than at any former period—an epoch rich with the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of preceding times. But the future would depend on the conduct of the existing generation. "This," said Washington, "is the favourable moment to give such a tone to our Federal Government as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the Confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the States shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall; and by their confirmation or lapse it is yet to be decided whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse. . . . . There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say to the existence, of the United States as an independent Power. First: an indissoluble union of the States under one Federal head. Second: a sacred regard to public justice. Third: the adoption of a proper peace establishment; and, Fourth: the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community. These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis; and whoever would dare to sap the foundation or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country."

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* Gordon's History of the American Revolution, Vol. IV., p. 359.

† Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 7, quoting from "Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution." Vol. X., p. 366.

These views were supported by Washington in an argument full of power and high feeling; but it is sufficient in this place simply to record his conclusions. The circular was a noble legacy left by a great man to his country on quitting her service, and will remain a lasting monument of his political wisdom and integrity. The necessity of a more perfect Federal Union was urgently enforced; and that was unquestionably the most pressing need of America at the termination of the war. The future of the Union was involved in clouds and shadow; but across the dimness the clear mind of Washington struck like a beam of light.

CHAPTER LVI.

Mutiny among the Pennsylvanian Soldiers—Action of Washington—Disbanding of the Army—Washington's Farewell Address to the Troops—Sir Guy Carleton's Preparations for Quitting the United States—Fears of the Loyalists—Evacuation of New York by the King's Troops—Entry of the Americans—Popular Festivities—Parting Scene between Washington and his Officers—His Monetary Accounts from the Commencement of the War—Large Savings after the Appointment of Mr. Morris as Finance Minister—Washington's Resignation of his Command to Congress—Speeches of the General and of the President—Nobility of Washington's Character—His Entire Devotion to the Interests of the Country—Domestic Life at Mount Vernon—The Penalty of Greatness—Treaty with the King of Sweden—Reception of the Dutch Minister—Position of the Quakers—Arrival in America of the Definitive Treaty of Peace—Treatment of the Loyalists—Emigration of those Partisans into Nova Scotia—The Society of the Cincinnati—Doubts and Fears as to the Development of American Institutions.

One of the dangers incidental to a state of peace supervening on a long war, and accompanied by a sense of wrong on the part of the army, was seen at the very time when Washington was writing his circular to the State Governors. The spirit of military insubordination which had broken out so seriously in 1781, and which could be checked only by granting large concessions to the mutineers, was again apparent among some of the Pennsylvanian regiments. About eighty of these troops, newly recruited, and stationed at Lancaster, sixty-seven miles from Philadelphia, rose in rebellion, and started in a body for the capital of the State, to demand a redress of grievances. On reaching the city, they were joined by two hundred of their comrades from the barracks, who had already acted with some turbulence; and on the 21st of June the whole force proceeded, with beat of drum and fixed bayonets, to the State House, where the Executive Council of Pennsylvania and the Federal Congress were in session. Sentinels were placed at every door, to prevent members escaping, and the mutineers then sent in a written message to the Council, threatening violence if their demands were not granted in the course of twenty minutes. They do not seem, however, to have had resolution enough to act up to these menaces; and Congress, resolving to support the State Council in refusing to comply, sent information to Washington of what had happened, and determined to adjourn at once to Princeton, in New Jersey. After being detained for three hours, the members were permitted to retire; but the city continued to be overawed by the rioters, for the Executive Council had not force enough to protect either itself or Congress. On receiving the express from Philadelphia, Washington detached General Howe with fifteen hundred men to suppress the mutiny, which, being but feebly supported, was soon at an end. Several of the offenders were afterwards tried by court-martial, and found guilty. Of these, two were condemned to death, but ultimately pardoned, as they did not appear to have been principals in the mutiny, and as no lives had been lost, or property injured. Four received corporal punishment. Congress re-assembled at Princeton on the 30th, and shortly afterwards instituted an inquiry into the causes of the recent outbreak. It was mainly a question of pay, and Government was not in the most favourable position for redressing such grievances.

The disbanding of the army, which had already to some extent been accomplished by the dismissal of so many men on furlough, was made the subject of a proclamation, dated the 18th of October, by which all officers and soldiers absent from the camp were relieved from further service, and all others who had engaged to serve during the war were to be discharged from and after the 3rd of November. A small force, composed of those who had enlisted for a definite time, was to be retained until the peace-establishment should be organised. In his circular to the Governors of the States, Washington had pointed to a militia as the most fitting permanent security for the country, and the first effectual resort in case of hostilities. It was therefore, he remarked, essential that the same system of organisation should pervade the whole, instead of varying with the several States; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the entire Federation should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced into every part of the country. This was afterwards brought to pass; but for the present the subject was postponed. In a General Order of November 2nd, Washington (whose head-quarters were now near Princeton) referred to the proclamation of the 18th of October, and went on to say that he then addressed the armies of the United States for the last time, and must bid them an affectionate and a long farewell. Having indulged himself in a retrospect of the past, remarked on the prospects of the country, offered some advice as to what he conceived to be the fittest line of conduct to be pursued, and expressed his obligations to his colleagues for the assistance they had rendered him, he observed:—"Being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander-in-Chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene, to him, will be closed for ever."

Sir Guy Carleton had received his final orders for the evacuation of New York as early as August. On the 17th of that month, he informed the President of Congress that he should lose no time in fulfilling his Majesty's commands, but that he was unable to assign any precise period for carrying them into effect. The number of persons, and of goods of all kinds, to be removed, was so great that many weeks passed away without the English commander being in a position to quit the city which he occupied. The fears of the loyalists added greatly to his embarrassments, for they looked with no unreasonable terror to the vengeance which would overtake them when the British forces should have left. The newspapers abounded in menaces from committees formed in various towns and districts; and it was known from former experience that such threats were not mere idle declamation. Sir Guy felt that he could not leave any of these men behind, if they were themselves desirous of quitting the country; and he expressed himself disappointed that Congress had suspended to that late hour the recommendations as to a merciful treatment of the loyalists which had been stipulated by the treaty. The subject had indeed been brought before the Federal Legislature, but all conclusions on the matter were indefinitely postponed. At length, however, the 25th of November was named for the evacuation of New York. The occasion was one on which any little accident might have led to a most unfortunate collision between the troops that were marching out and the troops that were marching in—between those who were exasperated by defeat, and those who were inflamed with victory. A body of American soldiers, under the command of General Knox, proceeded in the morning from Haerlem to the Bowery Lane, where they remained till about one o'clock, when the British regiments left their posts in the Bowery, and the Americans marched forward, and took possession of the city. The Royal detachments at the various outlying posts had been drawn in some days before, and Washington had taken his station at Haerlem, accompanied by Governor Clinton, who had summoned the members of the State Council to meet at East Chester on the 21st of November, for the purpose of re-establishing civil government in the districts previously occupied by the enemy. Sir Guy Carleton had expressed a wish that Washington himself should be at hand to take immediate command of the city, as rumours were abroad that it was intended to plunder the place as soon as the King's troops had marched out. Washington doubted the existence of any such plot, but nevertheless considered it prudent to adopt precautions.

When the British troops had embarked on board their vessels, Washington and Clinton were escorted into the city with much pomp. They made their entry on horseback, followed by the

Lieutenant-Governor and members of the Council, four abreast, by the Speaker of the Assembly, by General Knox and the officers of the army, eight abreast, by a body of cavalry, and by many spectators, both on horseback and on foot. An American lady, at that time young, gave an account of this imposing ceremonial, many years afterwards, to the celebrated author, Washington Irving. She related that the departing troops—those of England—were equipped in all the splendour of scarlet uniforms and burnished arms; that the troops who marched in—the American—were ill-clad, weather-beaten, and forlorn as to mere appearance; but that the consciousness that they were the troops of her own country, and the recollection of all they had done and suffered, made her heart and her eyes full, and she admired and gloried in them the more because they were weather-beaten and forlorn.* Throughout the day, perfect tranquillity was maintained, and on that and the following days numerous banquets and festivities gave expression to the general joy.

Washington was now about to depart for Annapolis, in Maryland, where Congress was then assembling, and where it was his intention to ask leave to resign his command. On the 4th of December, a barge was in waiting at Whitehall ferry to convey him across the Hudson to Paulus Hook. It was not to be supposed that his old companions in arms would suffer him to depart without some final act of leave-taking. They accordingly assembled at a tavern in the neighbourhood of the ferry. Washington entered the room, and, finding himself surrounded by faces that had often been with him in the storm of battle and in imminent peril of death, was deeply agitated, in spite of his habitual self-restraint. Filling a glass of wine, he said, in impressive accents, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, most devoutly wishing that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." He then added, with even greater emotion, "I cannot go to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand." When this last farewell had been performed in profound silence—for all were so much affected that none could speak—the officers, many of whom were in tears, followed their commander as he left the room, and, passing through a corps of light infantry, escorted him to Whitehall-ferry. There he entered the barge, raised his hat, and waved a silent God-speed, which was returned by those on shore until the boat disappeared from view.

Making a stay of some days at Philadelphia, Washington there adjusted, with the assistance of the Comptroller of the Treasury, his accounts from the commencement of the war down to the 13th of the existing month. All were in his own handwriting, and made with so much exactness that every entry was accompanied by a statement of the occasion and object of the charge. The sum-total of these accounts was £16,311 17s. 1d., including a sum of £1,982 10s. for secret intelligence and service. When Washington accepted his position as Commander-in-Chief of the American armies, he stated that he would receive no payments from the public, except for expenses actually incurred. This high resolve he nobly carried out. He even went farther, and, at the close of the war, found himself, at the final adjustment of accounts, a considerable loser. In the hurry of business, he had frequently neglected to credit himself with sums derived from his private purse when he had no public funds to draw upon, whilst every debit against himself was duly set down. It would have been fortunate for the United States if all their public servants had been equally disinterested, or even equally honest. In the earlier days of the struggle, there had undoubtedly been much peculation. A Committee of Congress had been appointed, in the first half of 1783, to inquire fully into the finances of the Federation; and this body reported on the 17th of June that, in comparing the expenditure of former years with that of more recent dates, they found, after making every allowance for the difference of times and circumstances, that the order and economy which had been introduced since the establishment of the Office of Finance had resulted in a great saving of public money. Two of the Massachusetts delegates acknowledged that it cost Congress at the rate of eighteen million dollars per annum to carry on the war until Mr. Morris was chosen financier, and that afterwards it cost them not more than about five millions.

In his progress through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, to Annapolis, Washington was everywhere hailed with enthusiasm as the guardian, and one of the founders, of his country's liberties. On reaching the city whither he was bound, on the evening of the 19th of December, he prepared for the great closing scene of his military life. On the following day he informed Congress of his presence, and desired to know in what manner it would be most proper for him to offer his resignation. The members of the Legislature resolved that the ceremony should take place at a public audience, and the Hall of Congress was selected as the scene. Writing to Baron Steuben on the 23rd, Washington remarked that that was the last letter he should pen while he still continued in the service of his country. The hour of his resignation was fixed for twelve o'clock that day; "after which," he added, "I shall become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac." At the appointed hour, the gallery and a large part of the floor of the Hall of Congress were filled with ladies, public functionaries, and general officers. The members of Congress were seated and covered; the rest were standing and uncovered. Conducted by the Secretary of Congress, Washington entered, and took his seat in a chair set aside for him. The Secretary ordered silence, and, after a short pause, the President (General Mifflin) announced that the United States were prepared to receive the General's communication. Rising from his seat, and addressing the President, Washington said:—"The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven." He then recommended to the particular attention of Congress those officers who had continued in the service to the existing moment, and concluded:—"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

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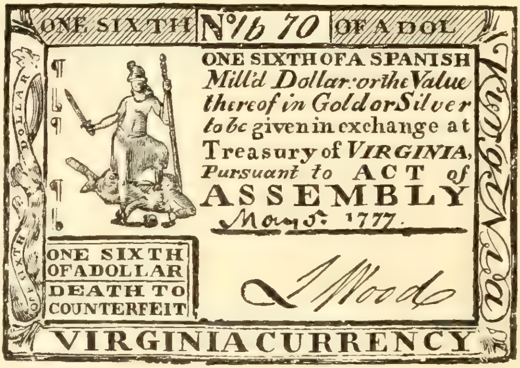
* Washington Irving's Life of Washington, chap. 161.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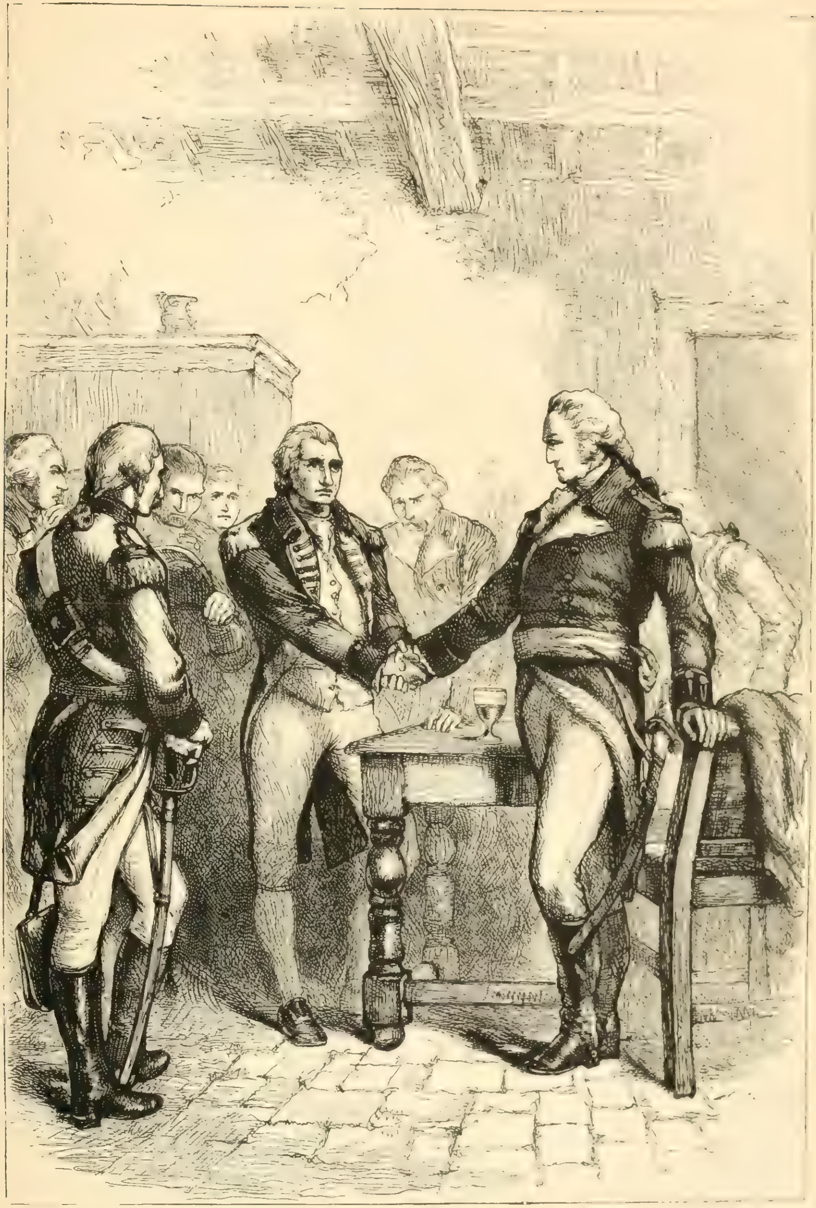
ONE SIXTH OF A SPANISH Mill'd Dollar: or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver to be given in exchange at Treasury of VIRGINIA, Pursuant to ACT of ASSEMBLY
May 5th 1777.
ONE SIXTH OF A DOLLAR
DEATH TO COUNTERFEIT
J Wood
VIRGINIA CURRENCY
Virginia

VIRGINIA PAPER MONEY.

Together with his commission, the General delivered a copy of his address to the President, and resumed his seat, but immediately afterwards rose again for the President's reply. "You have conducted the great military contest," said that functionary, "with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the Civil Power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous King and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence. . . We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment." The scene has been described by a spectator as extremely impressive; and certainly there is nothing grander in history than the readiness with which Washington, after attaining a military position which might have given him the powers of a Dictator, had he chosen to exercise them, resigned his commission to the civil authorities, and was content with the station of a private citizen. He had not been without his temptations. As we have seen, he had been offered the prerogatives, and even the name, of a King; and there can be no doubt that, in the feeble state of the Administration as it then existed, he might have established a despotism, could he but have lowered his greatness to the level of a traitor. But he preferred the enduring interests of his country to the glitter of an unreal and fleeting success. He knew that in such a land as his there was no soil for the growth of monarchy. He knew that the life of his nation



WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF HIS OLD COMRADES was the democratic life of free societies, forming their own commonwealths as they thought best; perpetually struggling, it may be, but always in the end triumphant; changing their servants from time to time, and renewing all the offices of Government with the vital flux and reflux of the popular will. It is questionable whether he even contemplated the attainment of that Presidential dignity which he afterwards so nobly upheld. There is no reason to doubt that he was perfectly sincere when he declared his desire to pass the remainder of his days in the shadow of retirement, and the tranquillity of a meditative repose. Always obedient to the call of duty, he yet had the modesty to believe that there were men better fitted than himself to direct the political fortunes of the State. It cannot, indeed, be said of him, as it has been said of some, by a pointed application of a phrase in Shakespeare, that nothing in his public life became him like the leaving it; for his whole course was admirable. But this closing scene of his military career set the seal of completeness on all that had preceded it, and proved that he was not a soldier, as savages are, from the detestable love of fighting for its own sake, but from the deep instinct of a citizen that thus alone could his countrymen be protected, and his nation be founded. Now that the end was accomplished, he delivered up his sword into the hands of those who gave it.

On the following morning (the 24th of December), Washington left Annapolis, and proceeded to his seat at Mount Vernon, Virginia, where he arrived on the same day. "The scene is at last closed," he wrote to Governor Clinton: "I feel myself eased of a load of public care." In his Virginian home, the mind of Washington was necessarily, after so long a devotion to the affairs of the nation, much engrossed by private business; yet he gave great attention also to matters of more general interest. He promoted in his own State schemes of internal navigation, acts for encouraging education, and plans for the civilisation of the Indians. It is the province of biography, and not of history, to follow this great man into his retirement, which lasted more than five years. But it is impossible not to glance, in parting, at the routine of his daily existence. We find him exercising a liberal hospitality, corresponding with his friends, encouraging agriculture, surveying the Far West, suggesting many forms of material improvement, amusing his comparative leisure with ornamental gardening and with hunting, watching from a distance the progress of public affairs, and enjoying, after the fashion of a country gentleman, the pleasures of domestic life. We see him regarded by all men with a degree of awe which was often oppressive to himself. We behold in that Virginian dwelling a man arrived at more than fifty years of age; in some measure overshadowed by the work he had gone through, and the responsibilities under which he had laboured; occupied in unceasing correspondence, which poured in upon him from all quarters, to an extent even greater than that of his more busy years; kindly always; grave frequently; but at times, when pleased by some unexpected jest, bursting into storms of laughter, which partook of the energy of his whole being, and seemed, as it were, to relieve by sudden gusts and wild, irregular impulses the austerity which had been created by years of toil and anxious thought. It is a touching characteristic of this portion of the life of Washington, that the reverence inspired by his presence tended to the extinguishment of that genial enjoyment which he would have been delighted to promote. On one occasion, his appearance at a private ball, where a number of young people were amusing themselves with unrestrained glee, was the signal for the mirth to cease. He remained some time, endeavouring to break the spell, but, finding it in vain, retired sadly to the company of the elders. Such are the mournful prerogatives of greatness and of noble service. Washington, though generally grave, was a man of a social disposition; but the severity of his reputation stood between him and the lighter graces of the world. He was even an enthusiastic dancer; yet it was not often that he could indulge this passion. He was made for serious work, appointed to the accomplishment of solemn ends; and even in his home at Mount Vernon the grandeur of his destiny could not be shaken off.

The United States were now fairly established among the Powers of the earth. On the 25th of September, Congress issued a proclamation, notifying the conclusion, on the 3rd of April, of a treaty of amity and commerce between the King of Sweden and the new Government. The agreement was for a space of fifteen years, and the negotiations had been carried on by Franklin on the part of the United States, and by a Minister named for the purpose by the Swedish monarch. On the 31st of October, the Honourable Peter John Van Berckel, Minister Plenipotentiary from the States General of the United Netherlands, was admitted by Congress to an audience. This gentleman, on being introduced to Congress, made a speech in his own language, and delivered a letter from their High Mightinesses. The President spoke in answer, and in the course of his remarks observed that the United States had received the most distinguished proofs of regard and friendship from his nation. What was perhaps of more importance to America than the friendship of either Sweden or Holland, was the fact that the Quakers—a very important element in the population of the country, and one which had previously inclined more to the Royal than to the Republican side—were now well disposed to give their support to the new order. A deputation from the yearly meeting of these people appeared before Congress on the 8th of October, delivered an address, and withdrew. In this way they acknowledged the independent sovereignty of the United States, and professed their own allegiance. The address related to the slave trade. The leaders of the Quaker body had enjoined all the members of their society to liberate the slaves whom they held in bondage, and the injunction had been very generally complied with; but it was feared that some might be induced by the hope of gain to renew the importation of negroes from Africa. Congress was therefore earnestly solicited to interpose for the discouragement and prevention of that abominable traffic.

The first authentic news of the conclusion of the definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States reached America at the end of October, and the treaty itself arrived some weeks later. It was laid before Congress on the 13th of December, together with a joint letter from the Ministers of the United States, written at Passy on the 10th of September. The treaty and the letter were referred to a committee, which delivered its report on the 14th of January, 1784. The representatives of the nine States then present resolved unanimously to ratify the treaty, which was accordingly done. The preamble to this document states that—"It having pleased the Divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the most serene and most potent prince, George III., by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c., and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence which they wish mutually to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries, upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony," they had empowered their respective representatives to conclude and sign the definitive treaty. The nine first articles were the same as those in the Provisional Agreement, with a few verbal alterations of an unimportant character. To these, however, a tenth article was added, providing that the solemn ratifications of the definitive treaty should be exchanged between the contracting parties within the space of six months, or sooner if possible. On the same day that the treaty was ratified by the United States, Congress resolved upon transmitting to the individual States the recommendations agreed upon by the Commissioners in the fifth provisional article; that, namely, by which Congress undertook to recommend to the local Legislatures a generous and liberal treatment of the loyalists. The concession, however, came too late. The miserable adherents of the defeated side had already left the territories of the Republic in large numbers; and it is stated by a contemporary writer that between twenty and thirty thousand persons of this persuasion—several of them men of considerable wealth—had, before the commencement of 1784, departed for the new settlement of Shelburne, in Nova Scotia, and other quarters of that uninviting land. As they took their property with them, the loss to the United States was considerable, and such as the country could ill afford.

Nearly the whole of the American army had by this time been disbanded; but the old military feeling was still kept alive by an Association which had been formed during the year 1783, under the title of "The Society of the Cincinnati." By the rules of this body, the officers of the American army formed themselves into a league of friends; to endure as long as they should endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, or, in failure thereof, the collateral branches who might be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members. The objects proposed were to preserve inviolate the rights and liberties for which they had contended; to promote and cherish national honour and union among the States; to maintain brotherly kindness towards each other; and to extend relief to such officers and their families as might stand in need of it. The necessary funds were to be raised by each officer contributing one month's pay. Individuals of the respective States, distinguished for patriotism and talents, might be admitted as honorary members for life; but their numbers were never to exceed a ratio of one to four. Washington was unanimously chosen the President of this body until the first general meeting, which was to be held in May, 1784. The title of the Association was derived from the celebrated Roman patriot, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, who, as Washington himself was now doing, retired from the turmoils of war to the cultivation of his farm. Excellent as were the objects of this Society, there were some features in its constitution which excited alarm in those who were constantly dreading the introduction of monarchical and aristocratical forms into the democracy of the United States. A pamphlet was published, signed "Cassius," and dated from Charleston, October 10th, 1783, which gave strong expression to these apprehensions. The title-page bore the motto, "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion"—a quotation such as some martial Puritan of the days of the English Commonwealth might have delighted to place in front of his tract. It is supposed to have been written by one of the Chief Justices of South Carolina; and its object was to prove that the Society of the Cincinnati created two distinct orders among the Americans: first, a race of hereditary nobles, founded on the military body, together with the chief families and leading men of the States, whose design would always be to retain power in their own hands; and, secondly, the people, or plebeians, whose certain fate it would be to suffer oppression under the institution. The author looked upon the prospects of his country, as affected by this Association, with a very gloomy eye. He believed that a privileged class would be created, that Government would be monopolised by this class, and that the lower orders of society would be kept in ignorance of the real intention until they felt the smart, when it would be beyond their power to effect a remedy. These views were doubtless exaggerated; but they were not without some foundation, for it is always a dangerous thing to create a military caste in the bosom of a free commonwealth. The feeling of alarm as to the Society soon became general, and demands were made in many quarters for a modification of the plan. In the event, the league proved harmless, and it has lasted to our own times without altering the character of American institutions; but it is not surprising that some should have seen in it a source of peril, and have felt it a duty to put their fellow-citizens on their guard. Franklin was among those who condemned the proposal.

The Americans were making a new experiment in politics, and were necessarily perplexed with many doubts, and distracted by many fears. They had the fabric of their government to build up; they had to apply new principles in new forms; they were threatened in one direction by anarchy, and in another by tyranny. The powers of the Administration were of the feeblest; the people had not yet determined for themselves what were the limits of individual freedom, and what the rights of the body politic. They were conscious of great forces operating towards great ends; but the precise channels in which those forces were to run, and the methods by which they were to balance one another, had not yet been ascertained. A period was approaching in which the Constitution of 1777 would be seen in all its imperfection. The necessity of reform became every day more apparent; it was obvious that the States must be more subordinated to the Union; but in the meanwhile it was not easy to discover by what methods the change should be brought about, or in what way the rightful powers of a Federal Government should be made to harmonise with particular liberties. In this time of darkness and uncertainty, even an honourable and benevolent Association, like that of the Cincinnati, was capable of causing alarm; and it was not until affairs had fallen into a more settled order that these apprehensions were dispelled, and the United States proceeded with assured steps towards the consummation of their lofty destinies.

CHAPTER LVII.

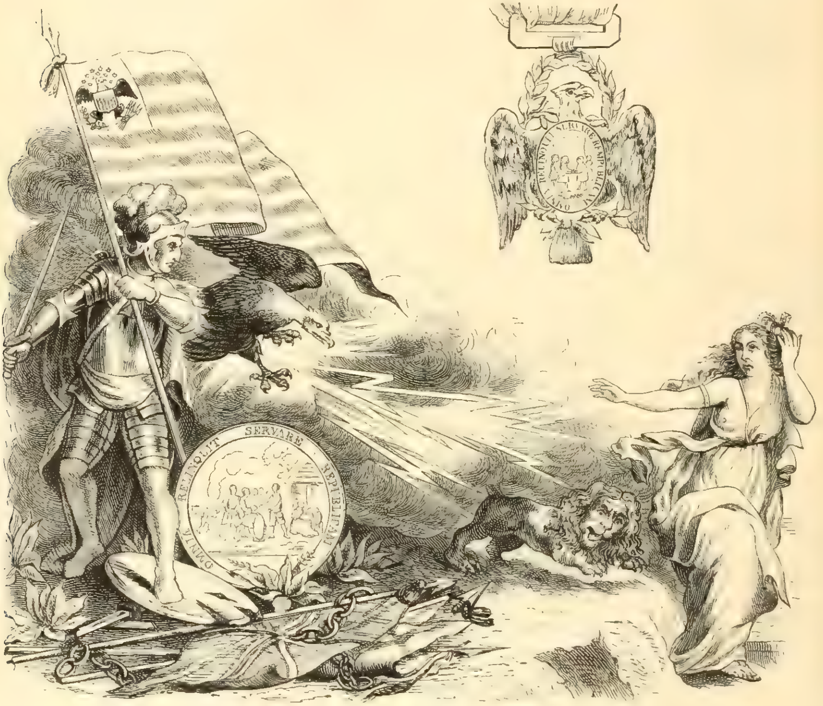
Position of the United States at the Commencement of 1784—Washington and Alexander Hamilton on the Necessity of a more Thorough Union—Division of North and South on the Question of Slavery—Gouverneur Morris on the Prospects of the Union—Samuel Adams on "the Two Empires"—Threats of Secession—Negroes in the American Armies—Virginia and the Institution of Slavery—Gradual Emancipation of the Slaves in Pennsylvania—Action of the Quakers—Slavery in Massachusetts—Efforts to get rid of it—A Free Constitution resolved on—The South resolved to retain its Bondsmen—Constitutions of the Thirteen States—Their Provisions with Reference to Religious Liberty—The Principle for the Most Part imperfectly carried out—Other Features of the State Constitutions—Their General Character—Disorganised Condition of the Country—Congress devoid of Power to enforce its Will—Refusal of the Individual States to supply Funds for meeting the Federal Debt—Ineffectual Attempt to conclude a Commercial Treaty with England—Policy of that Power—Impending Anarchy.

At the commencement of 1784, the United States stood before the world as an independent Power, recognised as such by the nations of Europe, and even by Great Britain, from whose side they had been torn. The struggle by which that result had been brought about was long and painful; but it had proved the strength and enduring energy of the determination out of which it issued, and it had created, or at least intensified, the feeling of distinct nationality, now consecrated by the blood of many battle-fields, and bound closely together by the memory of many common sacrifices. On the other hand, it had revealed some weak and dangerous points. It had brought out in very strong relief the contrast between the North and the South. It had made more manifest than before the mutual jealousies of the States; and it had proved the crying need of a really powerful Government. That need was painfully recognised every year by the great minds of America, although the rank-and-file of ordinary politicians still clung to their exaggerated sense of the rights of individual States. For several years after 1776, conventions of States had been held, to consider various subjects affecting the general welfare; and one of these, which assembled at Philadelphia (the Congressional capital at most times), and which sat for a long while, was conspicuous as representing every State north of Virginia, excepting New York. Conventions in America are political assemblages, distinct from the Legislature, at which constitutional changes are considered; and in the convention of August, 1780 (in which, however, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, were the only States represented), a resolution was carried, which gave very clear expression to the chief want of the country. It was resolved "That the union of these States be fixed in a more solid and permanent manner; that the powers of Congress be more clearly ascertained and defined; that the important national concerns of the United States be under the superintendency and direction of one supreme head; that it be recommended to the States to empower their delegates in Congress to confederate with such of the States as would accede to the proposed Confederation; and that they invest their delegates in Congress with powers competent for the government and direction of all those common and national affairs which do not come within the jurisdiction of the particular States." The reader will recollect that the articles of Confederation agreed to by Congress in 1777 were not yet fully adopted, because not sanctioned by every one of the States.

These resolutions found an enthusiastic supporter in Washington, who wrote to the President of the Council of Massachusetts that, if adopted, they would probably be the means of rescuing the affairs of America from the complicated and dreadful embarrassments under which they laboured. They also received the approval of Alexander Hamilton, who had for some time been secretary to the Commander-in-Chief. This young and active politician—a West Indian of Scotch and French origin, but by adoption a citizen of New York—determined to do more than approve. He suggested to Duane, a member of Congress from New York, that that body should call a convention of all the States, to meet on the 1st of November, and settle the terms of a general Confederation. He pointed out that so slight was the principle of cohesion, even in the army itself, that many of the regiments would have obeyed their States in opposition to Congress, had it not been for the personal influence of Washington. A vigorous Confederation, he argued, was necessary to the success of the war, and to the happiness of the country afterwards. "Internal police," he wrote to Duane, "should be regulated by the Legislatures. Congress should have complete sovereignty in all that relates to war, peace, trade, finance, foreign affairs, armies, fleets, fortifications, coining money, establishing banks, imposing a land-tax, poll-tax, duties on trade, and the unoccupied lands." It was not until some months later—viz., the 1st of March, 1781—that Maryland, the last of the thirteen States so to act, subscribed the articles of Confederation, and that the United States, jointly and severally, confirmed and ratified the perpetual union thus established. But the constitution finally authorised on that day was the defective constitution under which, as partly adopted at an earlier date, the country had in some degree been governed and misgoverned for a long while. It was clearly doomed to failure, and Washington lost no opportunity of insisting on the necessity of enlarging the Federal powers, and of giving Congress the right, after hearing the views of the individual States fairly discussed, of dictating to them the course they should pursue, and not merely of recommending. Yet Washington was not at all disposed to deny the legitimate influence of the States in domestic matters.

Nothing contributed so much to sectional tendencies as the broad division between the North and South on the question of slavery. This division was frequently apparent even in the first Congress, and it became still plainer in the second. The North was more or less opposed to human bondage, on grounds of principle and of policy; the South had the strong inducement of its supposed interests to remain faithful to a practice which had been introduced by the early English settlers. Gouverneur Morris, of New York, told

M. Gérard, in 1778, that Spain would have no cause to fear the Confederation, since reciprocal jealousy and separate interests would always prevent its members uniting against her; that the confederated States were already very much weakened by the Southern provinces; that any further extension in that direction would increase the evil; that the true expansion of the country was towards the North; that the navigation of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio should belong exclusively to Spain; and that the inhabitants of the immense countries between the Ohio and the lakes would be in a condition to domineer over the United States and over Spain, or to make themselves independent.* In some respects, these were the peculiar views of a peculiar thinker; but the dislike of the South was very general in the Northern States. It was founded partly on the question of slavery, partly also on the immense difference in the character of the Northern and Southern populations, resulting from this very fact of slavery, and from distinctions of climate, soil, and natural productions. To such an extent was it carried that, in 1779, Samuel Adams said it would become necessary for the two divisions of the Confederation—"the two empires," he called them—to separate. Samuel Adams was a man of somewhat violent and irritable disposition; but he only expressed in plain, blunt language what many were thinking. The tendency to separation was not confined to the North. When, in the year last mentioned, it was moved in Congress by Northern members that the country, even if deserted by France and Spain, would continue the war for the sake of the fisheries, three of the Southern States, with New York, supported the



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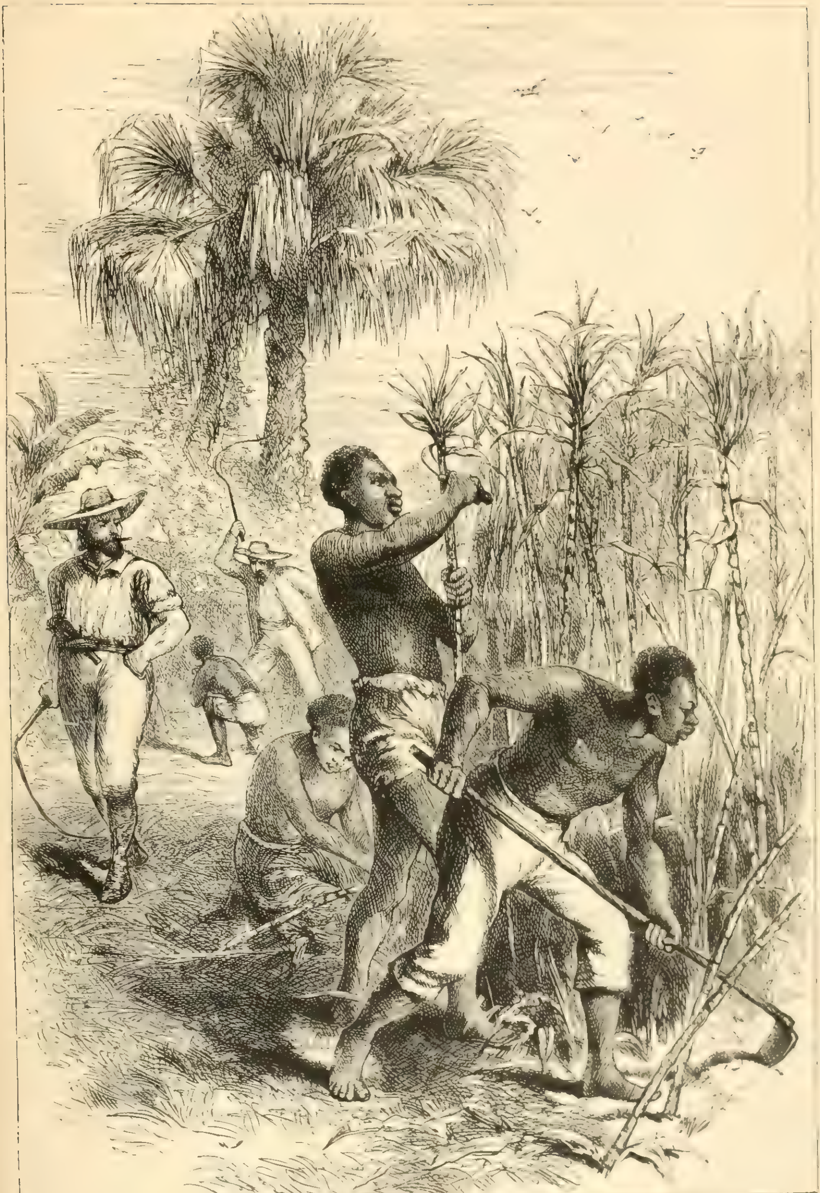
* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. X., chap. 17.



SLAVES WORKING ON A PLANTATION.

draft of a protest declaring that, if the resolution should be adopted, they would withdraw from the Confederation.* The South had no interest in the fisheries, and did not care a straw whether the North suffered for the want of them or not.

Black men fought in the armies of the Republic, and were enfranchised as a reward for their services. But South Carolina objected to putting arms into the hands of her negroes, even when Congress recommended such a measure, and offered to provide compensation for the loss of property entailed by its adoption. In Virginia, a feeling against slavery was found, in a qualified form, even amongst those who might have been supposed likely to desire its perpetuation and extension. The Legislature of that colony, while still a province of the British Crown, demanded, in 1772, the abolition of the slave-trade, as necessary to their happiness and to their very existence. The trade was prohibited by the Old Dominion in 1778, and it was at the same time ordered that every slave introduced from abroad should be emancipated, though the native-born blacks were left in their bondage. In 1782, a measure, giving to the masters of slaves the power of unconditional emancipation, was adopted by the Virginian Legislature. It had been proposed by Jefferson thirteen years before, and, when at length carried, it bore good fruit. Large numbers of negroes received their freedom, but they acquired no political rights with it. Jefferson thought it impossible that the two races should live side by side in the possession of the same political privileges. He contemplated, or at least desired, their removal to some other country; but the scheme was not practicable. Washington, himself a slaveholder, came in time to see the injustice of keeping men in subjection, and recommended that Virginia should emancipate her bondsmen by general statute, or, failing this, that every individual should act for himself in the matter. Nevertheless, slavery was not abolished in Virginia.

The constitution of Delaware as an independent State, which was adopted on the 20th of September, 1776, absolutely prohibited the introduction of any slave from Africa, or any slave for sale from any part of the world, as an article which "ought never to be violated on any pretence whatever." Slavery existed in New York, but there was a growing sentiment against it. In the year 1778, William Livingston, then Governor of New Jersey, urged the Assembly to prepare for the manumission of the negroes; but the House shrank from the danger, or the vexation, of discussing such a subject. Pennsylvania, at the period we are considering, had about six thousand slaves, and in 1777 it was proposed to rid the State of that great evil. The suggestion was not then adopted, but in 1780 a law for gradual emancipation was carried by a vote of 34 to 21. This noble reform was due in a great measure to the exertions of the Quakers, who had for a considerable time been deeply impressed with the detestable character of negro bondage. The Friends were now no longer the ruling class in the province which Penn had founded; they had been largely disfranchised by the Presbyterians; but their influence in this matter was persistently exercised, and it won the day against all opposing forces.

Slavery existed nowhere to a greater extent than in South Carolina, the constitution of which, established in 1778, contained no Declaration of Rights. In the lower parts of the country, the negroes outnumbered the whites in the proportion of six to one, and during the War of Independence their sympathies were given to the Royal cause, as it was supposed that the power of England would be exercised in favour of their liberation. But no great effect of this kind ensued, and the slaves still remained in miserable subjection to their masters. Although the opinion of Massachusetts was so strongly expressed against the slave-trade, and even to a considerable extent against slavery itself, negro bondage existed in that province, as in others. The condition of the slaves at the North, however, was far better than it was at the South, and there was a more visible hope that in time the institution would be entirely abolished. Some of the chief religious ministers spoke against this iniquity; and in January, 1777, certain negro slaves joined in petitioning the General Court "that they might be restored to that freedom which is the natural right of all men, and that their children might not be held as slaves after they had arrived at the age of twenty-one." In that same year, the Massachusetts Legislature permitted the second reading of a Bill which declared slavery "without justification in a Government of which the people are asserting their natural rights to freedom." The main object of this Bill was to fix a day on which all persons above twenty-one years of age, then held in slavery, should be set free, and entitled to the privileges of other citizens. The measure, however, seems never to have been enacted: the Massachusetts official class was not yet ripe for such a reform. The Constitution of 1778 took from Indians, negroes, and mulattos the right to vote; but, upon being submitted to the popular suffrages, this Constitution was rejected by a majority of five to one, because of the disfranchisement of free negroes, and in consequence of the Legislature having taken on itself constituent powers without authority from the people. A convention for forming another Constitution was held in September, 1779, and this body resolved unanimously that the Government of Massachusetts should be a Free Republic. The first article of a Declaration of Rights was adopted on the 29th of October. It asserted that "all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness." In deciding how many of their old laws should remain in force, the convention excepted those parts which were "repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in the Constitution." The discussion of this clause was postponed until the others had been settled, and was then debated in a full convention, by which it was affirmed. The delegates afterwards called on their constituents in the several towns and plantations to determine whether they would accept or reject the Constitution which had thus been framed. The result was that all the clauses were fully ratified, and on the 25th of October, 1780, the new Constitution, thus purged of slavery, came into effect.* This was an important step towards the abolition of human bondage over the whole of the Union, though it has been reserved for our own times to see that abolition made compulsory on every spot of earth that is covered by the flag of the Confederation. In 1780, the Methodists of the United States, at their general meeting, voted that the keeping of slaves was contrary to the laws of God, of man, and of Nature; but the South still clung to slavery, and for many years the balance of parties in the United States enabled the Southern provinces to maintain their darling sin in face of the better practice of the North, of the loftiest sentiment of Europe and America, and of the widening interests of civilisation.

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* Bancroft.

The constitutions of the several States differed considerably in many respects, and especially in the matter of religious toleration. Massachusetts and New Hampshire reckoned the rights of conscience among the inalienable natural rights of mankind, and declared that no subject should be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his personal liberty or estate, on account of his religious profession or practice, provided he did not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their own worship. It is remarkable that in these State constitutions of the last century the word "subject" is employed, and not "citizen." Both Massachusetts and New Hampshire empowered the Legislature to authorise the several towns, parishes, bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision at their own expense for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision should not be made voluntarily. But the towns, &c., were at all times to have the exclusive right of choosing their own public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. It was especially provided that every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the commonwealth, should be equally under the protection of the law, and that no subordination of one sect or denomination to another should ever be established. Papists, however, were precluded from exercising power within the State, seeing that they would not "disclaim those principles of spiritual jurisdiction which are subversive of a free Government established by the people." The Legislature and magistrates of Massachusetts were charged to cherish literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the University at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar-schools in the towns. The executive, legislative, and judicial powers were separated, and it was alleged, as the reason for this admirable reform, that power without any restraint is tyranny. The President, Council, Senate and House of Representatives of New Hampshire were to be of the Protestant religion, and the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, councillors, senators, and representatives of Massachusetts were to declare their belief in the Christian faith. Rhode Island had from a very early period established the principle of the entire immunity of religion from State control; and this principle was continued in the Constitution that was framed after the Declaration of Independence. In Connecticut, religious liberty was placed upon much the same footing as in Massachusetts.

The New York Constitution ordained that the free exercise of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, should be allowed within the State to all mankind, provided that this liberty of conscience should not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or to justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State. In New Jersey, likewise, religious freedom was permitted, but only within the bounds of the Protestant body. The Pennsylvanian Declaration of Rights went farther than this, for it asserted that "all men have a natural and an unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences and understanding, and that no man ought, or of right can be compelled, to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry, contrary to, or against, his own free will and consent; nor can any man who acknowledges the being of a God be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen on account of his religious sentiments." But even here there was a limitation of the principle of entire religious freedom, because some species of Theistical belief was set down as necessary to the enjoyment of civil rights. Nor did the Pennsylvanians go as far in fact as they professed to go. The tenth section of the Frame of Government required that, in order to admission into the House of Representatives, each member should subscribe, besides a declaration of his faith in one God, his acknowledgement of the Old and New Testaments as of Divine inspiration. The Delaware Constitution limited the right to religious freedom to persons professing Christianity; but all persons so professing were for ever to enjoy equal rights and privileges in the State. Here again there was practically a great reservation; for it was required that every person chosen a member of either of the Legislative Houses, or appointed to any office or place of trust, should formally declare his faith, not simply in the Divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, but in the Trinitarian doctrine; so that all Unitarians, though professed Christians, were excluded from a share in the government of the State.

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* Bancroft.

The Maryland Declaration contained some contradictions. A certain degree of religious toleration existed in that province from the days when Lord Baltimore went there with his first band of emigrants; but the same want of clear and definite principle which was observable in those early times re-appeared in the Constitution of the revolutionary epoch. The thirty-third article sets forth "that, as it is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to Him, all persons professing the Christian religion are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty." It is obvious that the conclusion here drawn does not agree with the premiss. For, if it be the duty, and therefore by consequence the right, of every man to worship God in the manner he thinks best, it follows that the Jew, the Mohammedan, and the Theist, ought to enjoy complete liberty in this respect; whereas the article confines the privilege to Christians. It is true the clause goes on to say that no person ought by any law to be molested on account of his religious profession or practice; but these words must of course be construed by the previous definition. No person, it was affirmed, ought to be compelled to frequent or maintain any particular place of worship, or any particular ministry; but it was added that the Legislature might at its discretion lay a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion, leaving it to each individual to apply his payments to the support of any particular place of worship or minister he pleased to select, or for the benefit of the poor of his own denomination, or of the poor in general of any particular county. It was also declared that the churches, chapels, glebes, and all other property then belonging to the Church of England, ought to remain to the Church of England for ever. In the fifty-fifth section of the Frame of Government, it was expressly appointed that every person, before entering on any office of trust or profit, should subscribe a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion. Similar inconsistencies are to be found in the Constitution of North Carolina, which, starting with the proposition that all men are entitled to worship God as they please, goes on to exclude from office all persons who deny the being of a God, or the truths of the Protestant religion, or the Divine authority of the Bible. The same provisions were made by South Carolina, which declared that the Christian Protestant religion should be deemed the established religion of the State, though all sects of Protestants were to enjoy equal religious and civil privileges. By the people of Georgia it was determined that all persons whatsoever should have the free exercise of their religion, provided it was not repugnant to the peace and safety of the State. Nevertheless, the members of the Legislature (who were to elect out of their own body the Governor and Executive Council) were to be of the Protestant persuasion. In Virginia, religious toleration was secured by the Bill of Rights adopted by the Convention of 1776, and by a particular Act of the Assembly passed ten years later.

As regards political rights, the Constitutions of all the thirteen States were to some extent democratic, because in every one the Government was vested in elected Assemblies, and the executive officers were responsible to the constituencies. But there were differences in the degree of popular power permitted by the several States. In some, every freeman of the full age of twenty-one, who had resided in the State for the space of one whole year before the day of election, and paid public taxes during that time, was entitled to vote. In the greater number, however, it was necessary that the elector should be worth from £30 to £45 sterling. Certain States provided for the establishing and perpetuating of an equal representation, in proportion to the number of freemen inhabiting the counties, cities, towns, and districts; others were indifferent to this exactness and symmetry in the representative institutions of the commonwealth. In several instances it has been found necessary to amend these constitutions in later times, and indeed it is certain that in some respects they were faulty. But, after all drawbacks have been made, they must be acknowledged to have secured to the American people a large amount of practical liberty, with all essential guarantees for order, justice, and good government. The leading principles on which they were based were the old English principles of representative rule, of tempered freedom, of balanced powers and carefully adjusted privileges; but those principles were applied to a new order of things, with the modifications and enlargements required by the circumstances of the case. Political wisdom has never been more admirably displayed than by the founders of the American States.

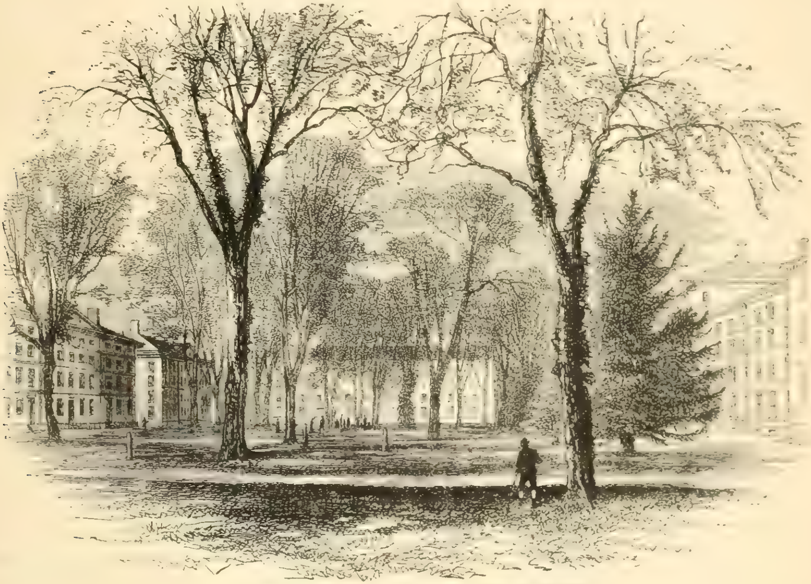
It cannot be said that this spirit of wisdom was visible in the Federal Constitution. The defects of that arrangement were so glaring that no man of sense endeavoured to excuse them; yet amendment was not easy. Every day enhanced the evil, and it seemed for awhile as if the liberties of the country would be lost in anarchy—a result which might in truth have happened, had not each of the States been a perfect commonwealth in itself, capable of sustaining a separate existence, in case of the worst. Still, the mischief was very great, and it came in addition to all those troubles which a long war necessarily entails. The prosperity of the country had been ruined by the struggle for independence. Commerce was almost at an end. There were scarcely any rich men in the land. Large districts had been laid waste; towns had been burnt or bombarded; industry had been stifled in its most productive branches. In this condition of general poverty, Congress had to make provision for discharging the national debt, and for paying what was due to British creditors; and its powers were insufficient for either purpose. It could not compel the individual States to furnish the sums required of them; and one of the consequences of this inability was that the English Government, finding the demands of its subjects unsatisfied, declined for a long time to evacuate the military posts which were held by British troops within the north-western frontier of the Confederation. Several of the States still refused their acquiescence in the taxes imposed during the war, and Congress could do nothing more than issue a piteous, and as it proved wholly unavailing, appeal to the local Governments to provide the necessary funds. Another loan became necessary, and in the meanwhile little could be attempted towards developing commerce, because of the unsettled and ill-defined state of the national powers. Commercial treaties were, indeed, made with a few European countries, and that with Frederick of Prussia included free trade, freedom of neutrals, respect for individual property of enemies at sea, the abolition of privateering, and a limitation of the power to confiscate contraband of war. But France, in some matters, was not inclined to reciprocity; and when application was made to England, she contended that Congress had no mandate to conclude such treaties. Jefferson (who was at that time in Europe, as one of the American Ministers for negotiating treaties of commerce) argued that the authority of Congress was sufficient; but the British Government was not convinced. England kept up her prohibitory duties on American exports; monopolised the fisheries; excluded the ships of her rival from the British West Indies; and endeavoured to engross the whole carrying trade of the United States. The latter thought of making reprisals; but here again the want of sufficient powers interposed to prevent all effective action. Congress was not entitled to regulate the commerce of the Confederation; but in 1784 authority was demanded of the States individually to exclude, throughout the entire Union, the vessels of all countries not having treaties of commerce with America. Most of the States acceded to this requisition; but, as others refused, the proposed action could not be carried into practice. Thus the year came to an end, and the prospects of the young Republic were such as to inspire her best citizens with feelings of anxiety which sometimes bordered on despair.

CHAPTER LVIII.

John Adams appointed Envoy to the Court of St. James's—His Reception by George III.—Irritable Feeling in England towards America—Defalcations in the United States—Severe Criticism by John Adams—Proposed Commercial Treaty with England—Jefferson in Paris—His ineffectual Attempt to Conclude a Treaty with Portugal—His Plan for the Suppression of the Barbary Pirates—Anarchy in the United States—Insurrectionary Movement in New England—Meeting of Commissioners for the Promotion of Navigation—Plans for the Improvement of the General Government—Meeting of a Convention in Philadelphia (May, 1787)—Opinions of Washington—Proceedings of the Convention—A Federal Constitution Agreed to—Leading Provisions of the Constitution of the United States, as Settled in 1787—Discussions on the Constitution in the State Legislatures—Divisions of Opinion—The Federalists and Anti-Federalists—Foundation of the Two Modern Parties of Republicans and Democrats.

ALTHOUGH peace between Great Britain and the United States was definitively concluded on the 3rd of September, 1783, it was not until near the middle of 1785 that any representative of the new Power was officially received in England. The causes of this delay are not difficult to understand. There was a natural disinclination on both sides to make approaches. England could not at once cease from regarding the Americans as her rebellious children, and felt mortified, as any other nation would have done, at the failure of her efforts to correct and subdue them. America was doubtful of the way in which she would be met, and, from the reception given to her proposals for a commercial treaty (which in the first instance were made from Paris), had less reason for hope than fear. It was obvious, however, that this state of things could not go on for ever; and on the 24th of February, 1785, Congress elected John Adams to the post of Envoy to the Court of St. James's. Adams was at that time in Paris, and the Duke of Dorset, then the British Ambassador in France, remarked to him that in London he would be stared at a great deal. This does not seem to have been the case; but the position of Adams was one of great difficulty, requiring no small amount of sense, feeling, and tact. He had to represent his country at the court of its former Sovereign, towards whom he had for several years stood in the position of a rebel; and it was necessary that he should do this in a way which should neither compromise the new Power nor offend the old. It was in the month of May that he arrived in England on his delicate mission; it was on the 1st of June that he was presented to George III. at St. James's Palace.

The only other person present on this occasion was Lord Carmarthen, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs; and the addresses then delivered have been reported only by Adams. It was not the original intention or desire of the Envoy to deliver any address at all; but he was informed by the Master of the Ceremonies that such a compliment was usual with newly-appointed Foreign Ministers, and he therefore complied. After assuring his Majesty that it was the unanimous disposition of the United States to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between his Majesty's subjects and their citizens, and expressing the best wishes of his country for his Majesty's health and happiness, and for that of the Royal Family, Adams entered on the real subject-matter of his speech. "I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens," said the American, addressing the monarch to whom he had once borne allegiance, "in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your Majesty's Royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your Majesty's Royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, the old good-nature and the old good-humour, between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different Governments, have the same language, a similar religion, and kindred blood. I beg your Majesty's permission to add that, although I have some time before been intrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself."—"Sir," replied the King, "the circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered are so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly dispositions of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their Minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to consent to the separation; but, the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent Power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give to this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood, have their natural and full effect."* George had evidently heard something of the distrust of France which was so prominent a feature in the political character of Adams; and he observed—what was certainly not in the best taste, considering that England and France were then at peace—that the American Envoy was understood to have no prejudices in favour of the French. Adams replied by admitting the fact, with the significant addition, "I must avow to your Majesty that I have no attachment but to my own country." George responded, with a heartiness that could not be mistaken (for the principle was one with which he naturally sympathised), "An honest man will never have any other." And with these words the interview terminated. The brief conversation had been conducted on both sides with much good feeling, and Adams has recorded that both he and the King were powerfully affected.



THE QUADRANGLE, HARVARD COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

It would have been well if, with this interchange of friendly words, the bitterness so long existing between the two countries had come to an end. But such was not the case; nor, considering what human nature is, was it to be expected. Deep-seated animosities do not die out at once, and the relative positions of England and the United States were not such as to encourage cordial intercourse. The King, after his first interview with Adams, showed great coldness towards his former subjects; courtiers and Ministers were equally unsympathetic; and the majority of the English people evinced on all occasions their distaste of everything American. It could hardly have been otherwise, since men are not angels; it would probably have been the same, granting the same circumstances, in the case of every other nationality under the sun; but it was none the less unfortunate. The English people looked with a kind of malicious satisfaction on the disorganised, incoherent, and almost anarchical condition of the American Republic after the peace, and were not without a hope that the enfranchised States, or at least some of them, would in time beg to be taken back to the old protection of the Crown, as the only escape from the miseries of democratic misgovernment. This feeling of ill-will was not without some justification in the conduct of the Americans themselves. They were in many respects disregarding their engagements, and every day these breaches of faith found more and more defenders. Neither the British creditor nor the native creditor was fairly treated. John Adams himself, in spite of his patriotism, or perhaps rather by reason of it, saw these blots on the fair fame of his countrymen very clearly, and spoke of them in terms of great indignation. While still residing in London as Minister of the United States, he addressed to Dr. Tufts, an uncle of his wife, and then a member of the Massachusetts Senate, a letter, in which he remarked:—"As to politics, all that can be said is summarily comprehended in a few words. Our country is grown, or at least has been, dishonest. She has broke her faith with nations, and with her own citizens; and parties are all about for continuing this dishonourable course. She must become strictly honest and punctual to all the world before she can recover the confidence of anybody at home or abroad. The duty of all good men is to join in making this doctrine popular, and in discountenancing every attempt against it. This censure is too harsh, I suppose, for common ears; but the essence of these sentiments must be adopted throughout America before we can prosper. Have our people forgotten every principle of public and private credit? Do we trust a man in private life who is not punctual to his word—who easily makes promises, and is negligent to perform them; especially if he makes promises knowing that he cannot perform them, or deliberately designing not to perform them?" *

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* John Adams to Secretary Jay, June 2nd, 1785.—It must be borne in mind that this is only Adams's recollection of the King's reply, and that he admits the possibility of his having misunderstood some parts of what was said, owing to his agitation. Still, it seems likely that the report is substantially correct.

In February, 1786, Adams fancied he saw in the governing circles of England some symptoms of a better disposition towards his countrymen. He therefore wrote to Jefferson—now the American Minister at Paris, Franklin having returned to the United States in the previous July—a request that he would come to London. On Jefferson arriving there, the two Ministers agreed on a form of treaty with Great Britain, proposing an interchange of certain privileges, commercial and otherwise. But the offer was not accepted, and both Adams and Jefferson were speedily discouraged. "On my presentation, as usual, to the King and Queen, at their levees," writes the latter in his Autobiography, "it was impossible for anything to be more ungracious than their notice of Mr. Adams and myself. I saw at once that the ulcerations of mind in that quarter left nothing to be expected on the subject of my attendance; and, on the first conference with the Marquis of Carmarthen, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the distance and disinclination which he betrayed in his conversation, the vagueness and evasions of his answers to us, confirmed me in the belief of their aversion to have anything to do with us." No decisive reply was given; but at length, after staying in London seven weeks, without obtaining any satisfactory response to his desires, Jefferson thought it necessary to return to his regular duties at Paris. He accordingly left England towards the close of April, and the contemplated treaty fell to the ground.

During his stay in London, he entered, together with Adams, into negotiations with the Chevalier Pinto, the Portuguese Ambassador at the British Court, and concluded a commercial treaty, which the Government of Lisbon afterwards disallowed. It was stipulated by this treaty that American bread-stuffs should be received into Portugal in the form of flour as well as of grain. The Portuguese Ambassador personally approved of the clause, but observed that several nobles, of great influence at court, were the owners of windmills in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, which to a great extent depended for their profits on the manufacture of American wheat, and that the proposed stipulation would endanger the whole treaty. Nevertheless, he signed the document, and its fate was what he had anticipated.†

One great object of Jefferson while in Paris was the protection of American commerce in the Mediterranean from the depredations of the Barbary cruisers. He was very unwilling, as he records, to acquiesce in the European humiliation of paying a tribute to those pirates; and he endeavoured to form an association of the countries subject to their attacks. He accordingly prepared, and laid before the Ministers of the chief Powers at Paris, articles of a special confederation, to be afterwards submitted by them for the approval of their respective Governments. By these articles it was proposed that the several Powers at war with the

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* Life of Adams by his Grandson, chap. 8.

† Jefferson's Autobiography.

piratical States of Barbary, or any two or more of them who should be willing, should enter into a convention to carry on their operations against those States in concert, beginning with the Algerines. The convention was to remain open to any other Powers who should at any future time wish to accede to it; the parties reserving to themselves the right to prescribe the conditions of such accession, according to the circumstances existing at the time it should be proposed. The object of the convention was to compel the piratical States to perpetual peace without price, and to guarantee that peace to each other. The operations for obtaining peace were to be constant cruises on the Barbary coast; the necessary force to be furnished by the parties in certain definite quotas. It was further proposed that the management of this force should be placed in the hands of a Committee of Ambassadors of the contracting Powers residing at some one Court of Europe; that in this Council the vote of each member should be computed in proportion to the quota of his Sovereign; and that the majority, so computed, should prevail in all questions discussed. In case of war arising between any two of the parties to the convention, it was not to interrupt the concerted proceedings, in respect to which the belligerents should be considered at peace. If, however, the convention should interfere with treaties actually existing between any of the parties and the States of Barbary, the said treaties were to over-ride the convention, and such parties should be allowed to withdraw from operations against the States. The pillage committed by the Algerines on the commerce of the Mediterranean was so serious as to render necessary some such action as that proposed by Jefferson. Many of the Powers were obliged to pay tribute to these maritime robbers, in order to save their trade from extinction; the right to extortion was actually recognised in treaties with Christian nations; and for three centuries the corsairs of Northern Africa had been plundering merchant-vessels, and carrying Europeans into slavery, with only an occasional check from a Blake or a Duquesne. Just before Jefferson made his proposal, Spain had concluded a treaty with Algiers at an expense of three millions of dollars; and eleven years before she had failed in an attempt to chastise the sea-rovers of that State. Portugal, Naples, Venice, Malta, Denmark, and Sweden, were favourably disposed to the contemplated association; but their representatives at Paris expressed apprehensions that France would interfere, either openly or secretly, in support of the Barbary Powers. Jefferson did not share this opinion; he feared that such a course would more probably be adopted by England. In point of fact, the plan broke down through the inability of the American Government to give it effectual support. Congress was willing to join the scheme; but its recommendations to the several States to furnish the necessary means were persistently neglected, and the proposal came to an end.

While these events were going on in Europe, the internal disorganisation of the United States was every day becoming more extreme. As frequently happens when a Republican form of government has been established by a successful revolution, the demand for political change had given place to wild plans of social regeneration. A feeling akin to communism had grown up among the lower orders of America. Distinctions of class, till then almost unknown in the New World, were beginning to appear, and to create emotions of jealousy and ill-will. The rich were denounced as aristocrats, and it was feared that oligarchical institutions would be established on the ruins of monarchy. The poverty of the country, caused by a long and devastating war, gave intensity and venom to this sentiment. A certain number of men had, by the strength of their intellect, and perhaps also in some degree by their superior social position, raised themselves to an eminence above the rest, which was regarded by many as fatal to democratic freedom. It was thought that the great leaders of the War of Independence would seize for themselves an undue share of power, or perhaps even create hereditary distinctions. The commonalty were deeply agitated, and, in the absence of a strong Government, serious disorders broke out. Towards the close of 1786, the peace of New England, and especially of Massachusetts, was threatened by a body of men, who, assembling to the number of two thousand, elected one Daniel Shays as their leader. They required the suspension of taxes, and a large emission of paper money for general circulation; but more extreme tendencies lurked behind these demands. The movement aimed at the establishment of an agrarian law, and at an equal division of property, and was similar in its general character to many risings of the Middle Ages or to the Paris Commune of our own days. The danger was so menacing that Congress at once took the matter in hand, and despatched a body of troops, under General Lincoln, against the insurgents. Four thousand men were not considered too many to crush this insurrection in the bud. The rioters had compelled the Supreme Court, sitting at Springfield, to disperse, and the first action of General Lincoln was to re-establish the judges in their seats. The State Arsenal was on the point of being attacked, when a single discharge of artillery struck terror into the malcontents, and scattered them. The leaders were afterwards tried, and fourteen received sentence of death; but all were ultimately pardoned. The suppression of the rebellion was followed by a reaction in favour of the constituted authorities; but it was at the same time felt that the political condition of the country imperatively required amendment, and that this could no longer be deferred or trifled with.

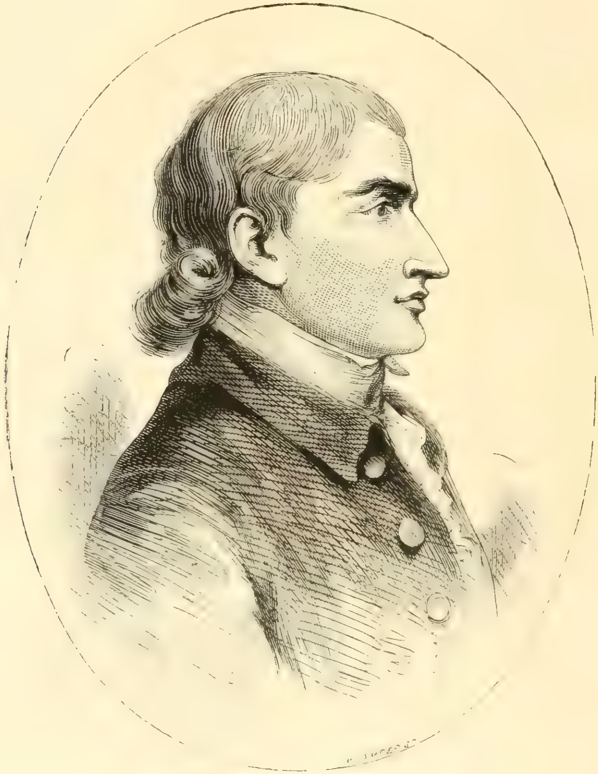
The more intimate union of the States—the creation, in short, of a strong central Government—was what most men now saw to be urgent. Yet the end was approached in a way characteristic of the hap-hazard nature of American politics in those days. Some citizens of Virginia and Maryland had formed a design for promoting the navigation of the Potomac and of Chesapeake Bay, and commissioners were appointed by the two States concerned, to meet at Alexandria, Virginia, in March, 1785, and settle the plan of operations. Washington being known to be interested in schemes of internal improvement, these gentlemen made a visit to Mount Vernon, and the discussion of their projects led to the consideration of various matters connected with the administration of the Republic. It was determined that the State Governments should be solicited to appoint other commissioners with enlarged powers, with a view more especially to the maintenance of a naval force on the Chesapeake, and to the creation of a system of duties on exports and imports, in which both Virginia and Maryland should agree; and it was resolved that Congress should be petitioned to allow these privileges. Here was the germ of a more intimate relation between the several States; and, the project having been approved by the Legislature of Virginia, the required commissioners were appointed. The design was recommended by Virginia to other States, which were invited to establish such a system of commercial relations as would promote general harmony and prosperity. To this proposal, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York gave in their adhesion, and commissioners from those States assembled at Annapolis, Maryland, in September, 1786. They soon found that the powers with which they were entrusted were so slight as to prevent their effecting any useful purpose; and they came to the conclusion that nothing short of a thorough reform of the existing Government should be attempted. In their report they dwelt on the necessity of reforming the old Federal compact, and recommended that all the State Legislatures should appoint deputies with more ample powers and instructions, to meet at Philadelphia. With the single exception of Rhode Island, all the States agreed to this recommendation, and in May, 1787, the Convention met.

Before its assembly, the subject had engaged the thoughts of Washington very deeply in his retirement. Writing to Jay on the 1st of August, 1786, he said:—"We have errors to correct. We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our Confederation. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt, and carry into execution, measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of a coercive power. I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation without having lodged somewhere a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State Governments extends over the several States. . . I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking; thence acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious!" The details of the New England insurrection gave the deepest distress to Washington. "What stronger evidence can be given of the want of energy in our Government," he asked in a letter to James Madison, written on the 5th of November, "than these disorders? If there is not power in it to check them, what security has a man for life, liberty, or property? To you, I am sure, I need not add aught on this subject. The consequences of a bad or inefficient Government are too obvious to be dwelt upon. Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the Federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole; whereas, a liberal and energetic constitution, well checked and well watched to prevent encroachments, might restore us to that degree of respectability and consequence to which we had the fairest prospect of attaining."

Probably because he was known to entertain these sentiments, Washington was placed at the head of the Virginia delegation to the Philadelphia convention. He accepted the position with reluctance, because, as he said, it would have a tendency to sweep him back into the tide of public affairs, when retirement and ease were greatly desired, and found to be essentially necessary. At length, however, he was persuaded to accept the post—a result brought about by an insinuation that the opponents of the convention were Monarchists, who desired to perpetuate the prevailing anarchy, as an excuse for introducing the kingly form of rule. When a sufficient number of delegates had assembled to form a quorum, Washington, by a unanimous vote, was elected to the chair as President. The deliberations of the body were conducted with closed doors, and spread over a period of four months. Some of the highest intellects of America were concerned in these debates. Washington himself, James Madison, Dr. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin West, Edmund Randolph, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, and many others, were engaged for several hours a day in discussing the most vital principles of government, and the bases of a reasonable political state. They did not propose to themselves the formation of a Utopia, but the establishment of a good working constitution, such as should be capable of answering the every-day requirements of a young and complex community. The result was the creation of a Federal system which was ultimately adopted as that of the United States, and which, with a few subsequent modifications, exists to this day. In writing to Lafayette some time afterwards, Washington said it appeared to him little short of a miracle that the delegates from so many States, differing from each other in manners, circumstances, and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national government so little liable to well-founded objections. He confessed that it had some real, though not radical, defects; yet he believed that the Federation was not invested with more powers than were necessary, and that those powers were so distributed among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, that the whole could never be in danger of degenerating into a Monarchy, an Oligarchy, or any other despotic or oppressive form, as long as there should be any virtue in the body of the people.

The Constitution thus created was made known to the public on the 17th of September. Its principal features, as finally modified by the States, may be summarily sketched. It placed at the head of the nation a general and supreme Government, composed of three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative department was to consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, to be styled, in conjunction, the Congress. The members of the Lower House were to be chosen directly by the people, and were to hold their offices during two years. They were to be apportioned among the several States, according to the number of inhabitants, as ascertained by a decennial census, excluding Indians not taxed, and deducting two fifths of the slaves. The Senators were to be regarded as the representatives of the States in their sovereign capacity, and were to be chosen by the State Legislatures, each choosing two. On assembling for the first session, they were to be divided as equally as possible into three classes. Those composing the first class were to hold their offices but two years; those comprising the second class, four years; those comprising the third, six years. All subsequently chosen were to hold their offices six years, excepting such as should be elected to supply the places of those who had died or resigned. Besides their legislative power, they were to have, in concurrence with the Executive, a voice in all appointments to office, and in the ratification of treaties. The executive power was to be invested in a President, appointed by electors chosen in the respective States, in such manner as the different Legislatures might prescribe, and equal in number to the Senators and Representatives from the State in Congress. He was to be elected for four years, but might be impeached by the House, tried by the Senate, and, if convicted of misconduct, removed from office. To the President were given powers not dissimilar from those of the King in monarchical countries. He was to nominate to the Senate all officers of the general Government, and, with the advice and consent of two-thirds of that body, was to ratify treaties. A Vice-President was to be chosen at the same time and in the same manner, to perform the duties of President when that office should become vacant by death, resignation, or removal, and, under ordinary circumstances, to preside over the Senate. For the creation of any law, it was made necessary that the House and Senate should concur, and the law so made was then to be sent to the President, who was either to approve it, or, in case of disapproval, to return it with his objections. In the latter case, if again passed, it was necessary that it should be agreed to by two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature. Congress was to possess the power of declaring war, of raising and supporting armies, of providing and maintaining a navy, of levying and collecting taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, of regulating commerce, coining money, and performing all other acts of a general or national character. The judicial power of the United States was by this new Constitution to be vested in a Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress might establish. It was to extend to all cases arising under the Constitution, the laws of Congress, and treaties; to all cases of Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction; and to all controversies between citizens of different States, and between foreigners and citizens. The judges were to hold their offices during good behaviour.

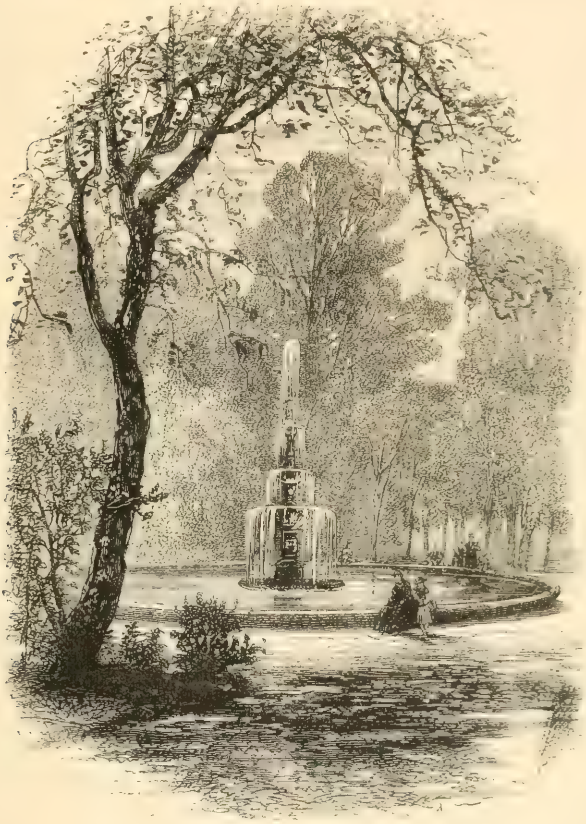
The discussions in convention, though resulting in a general agreement, had revealed considerable discordance in the opinions of different members. The main division was between those who were in favour of a large degree of Federal power, and those who would have restricted that power within narrower limits. The supporters of the latter opinion called themselves Democrats, a designation which they retain to this day; the others were called Federalists, and in more modern times have been known as Republicans. The constitution was the result of a compromise between the two parties; but the Federalist view prevailed, in the main, over that of the opposing section. During the progress of the discussion, the Federalists published a series of letters which produced a great effect, and of which the principal writers were Madison, Jay, and Hamilton. It was proposed by the last-named politician that the Presidents and Senators should hold their offices permanently during good behaviour; the Anti-Federalists supported the principle of rotation, or an annual change in the person wielding the Executive.



JOHN JAY. (*From a Print published in 1783.*)

Having been agreed to by the convention, the Constitution was forwarded to Congress, and by that body transmitted to the State Legislatures, each of which submitted it to a State convention, composed of delegates chosen by the people. The consent of nine States out of the thirteen was necessary to carry the constitution into effect.

After much debate, and in many places considerable opposition, it was ratified by all the States but two —Rhode Island and North Carolina. The consent of New York is said to have been reluctant; nevertheless, it was given. Virginia, in agreeing, proposed alterations: she required a Declaration of Rights, and a stipulation that the President should not be re-elected more than once. The whole of the year 1788 was occupied in the discussion of these points; but at length the Constitution was generally accepted. The ratifications of the several States having been received by Congress, an Act was passed on the 13th of September, appointing the first Wednesday in January, 1789, for the people of the United States to choose electors for the Presidential office. These electors were to meet and make choice on the first Wednesday in February; and on the first Wednesday in March the Government was to assemble in the city of New York. Jefferson, in writing to a friend from Paris, stated that the Constitution had been received with very general enthusiasm, that the bulk of the people were eager to adopt it, and that in the Eastern States the printers would print nothing against it, unless the writer subscribed his name. This testimony was all the more remarkable as coming from Jefferson, who was inclined to the view of State Rights rather than to that of Federal supremacy, though he too had from the first seen the necessity of a more perfect union, and, with some exceptions,



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approved of the reforms now adopted. The Democrats generally were loud in their discontent. They argued that the new Constitution merged the States in one Government; that the rights of the people were not protected by any specific declaration; that a standing army was not renounced, nor the liberty of the press secured; that Congress reserved to itself the power of suspending trial by jury in civil cases; and that there was nothing to prevent the President being re-elected from four years to four years, so as to make him a king for life, like the Sovereigns of Poland. Speaking broadly, we find the North in favour of the new Constitution, the South distrustful, and the Middle States divided. Yet there was no absolute opposition, except in the two instances already mentioned, and on the whole the reform was ratified by the general sense of the American people. Nevertheless, the divisions to which it gave rise have remained potent influences in American politics to this day. Federalism, as prevailing in the North, became identified with the abolition of slavery; Anti-Federalism, the characteristic of the South, was mixed up with the whole series of measures designed for the support of that institution. We shall see the effect of these distinctions as we progress. It is sufficient here to indicate their beginnings.

CHAPTER LIX.

Organisation of a Territorial Government for Lands on the Ohio—Colonisation of that Region—Washington's Views as to the Presidency—His Election to the Office—John Adams Vice-President—Triumphal Progress of Washington from Mount Vernon to New York—His enthusiastic Reception in that City—Inauguration of the President—His taking of the Oath—Speech to the Senate and House of Representatives—Opening of the Business of the Session—The Question of the Revenue—Favour shown to British Interests—Institution of Ministerial Offices—Constitutional Question as to the Powers of the President—Antagonism between Jefferson and Hamilton—Establishment of a Federal Judiciary—Amendments to the Federal Constitution—Letter from the Governor of Rhode Island—Adjournment of Congress—Tour of Washington in the North-eastern States.

Congress continued in session at New York while the convention at Philadelphia was preparing the Federal Constitution, and during that time it organised a Territorial Government for the large region north-west of the Ohio which formed part of the dominions of the United States. On the 11th of July, 1787, a committee of Congress reported an ordinance for the administration of that territory; and the report embodied a Bill which contained a special proviso, in opposition to the old law of primogeniture, that the estates of persons dying intestate should be equally divided among all the children or next of kin. The Bill likewise declared that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes of which the parties had been duly convicted. The ordinance was adopted on the 13th of July, but it had in the meanwhile been augmented by a clause relative to the reclamation of "fugitives from labour"—more plainly speaking, slaves—similar to one which was shortly afterwards incorporated in the Federal Constitution. In this Ohio territory, the Indian titles to seventeen million acres of land had been recently extinguished by treaties with several of the native tribes. A large number of settlers at once poured into the region, out of which have been carved in more recent days the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. One of the chief organisers of this north-western immigration was Rufus Putnam, a Massachusetts man, who had served in the army during the final struggle with the French in Canada, and in the subsequent War of Independence. In 1788, he himself went to the Ohio country with some forty settlers, who pitched their tents at the mouth of the Muskingum River, and formed a settlement, to which they gave the name of Marietta. In that same year, at least twenty thousand men, women, and children settled in these virgin lands—so energetic were the Americans, even at that comparatively early period, in the great work of colonisation, and of extension towards the Pacific.

Long before the choice of electors to the Presidential office, popular opinion in the United States had fixed on Washington as the fittest man for that solemn charge. His previous services to the country, and the circumstance of his not being identified with any of the extreme factions, united all parts of the Union in his favour, and his own

State of Virginia was not more eager to place him at the head of affairs than were the people of New England. The prospect was one with which Washington himself does not seem to have been gratified. To his familiar friends, such as Lafayette, Henry Lee, and Alexander Hamilton, he lamented the probability of his being summoned from retirement to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic, and, while professing a readiness to give his best services to the country, should they really be required, reiterated his earnest wishes to end his days in the calm of private life. It seems strange to find him alluding to the infirmities of nature consequent on his age, for in 1788 he was only fifty-six; but men grew old sooner then than now, and his life had for several years been worn by toil and anxiety. His natural tastes lay in the direction of unostentatious domestic enjoyment; and, although in a broad and general way he saw what his country wanted for the establishment of her prosperity, he had very little in him of the professional politician. He was therefore not attracted either by the turmoil or the dignity of office, and was doubtless sincere in his desire to avoid them both.

The meeting of the new Government was to be on the 4th of March, 1789; but so backward were some of the States in sending representatives that it was the 6th of April before a quorum of both Houses could be formed. On the votes for President and Vice-President being opened and counted, it was found that Washington had received the largest number of suffrages, and John Adams (who had recently returned to America) the next largest. The former, therefore, stood in the position of President; the latter in that of Vice-President. It was in this way, originally, that the two chief officers of the Union were selected; but they are now voted for separately. The news that he had been chosen to the Presidency was communicated to Washington, at his country residence, on the 14th of April. He departed for the seat of Government on the 16th, and in his diary, under that date, he records:—"About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations." His journey to New York was one continued triumph. Almost immediately after leaving his own estate, he was met by a company of gentlemen from Alexandria, who escorted him to that town, where a public dinner was given by his neighbours and friends. The roads were lined with people who came out to see him as he passed. As he approached the towns on his route, deputations were sent out to receive him. The ringing of bells and discharge of cannon were almost incessant. On his arrival at Baltimore, his carriage was attended by a numerous cavalcade of citizens, and he received a salute of artillery. Reaching the frontiers of Pennsylvania, he was met by his former companion-in-arms, General Mifflin, now Governor of the State, accompanied by Judge Peters and a civil and military escort. His entry into Philadelphia was that of a conqueror. He had desired to avoid all military parade; but, on drawing near the Pennsylvanian capital, it was found that cavalry had assembled from the surrounding country. A superb white horse was led out for Washington, and a grand procession set forth, passing under triumphal arches of laurel, and entering the city of Philadelphia in the midst of acclamations from all sides. A day of general festivity was succeeded by a display of fireworks.

Continuing his journey, he arrived one sunny afternoon on the banks of the Delaware, close to the city of Trenton, where, on the 26th of December, 1776, he had conducted a desperate and to some extent successful expedition against a German contingent, in the midst of snow and ice. Now, the opposite shore of the river was thronged with an enthusiastic crowd. An arch, composed of laurels and hot-house flowers, spanned the bridge, and on the crown of the arch, in letters of leaves and blossoms, were the words, "December 26th, 1776," while on the space beneath was the sentence, "The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters." Here the matrons of the city were drawn up, and, as the hero of the day passed under the arch, a number of young girls, dressed in white and crowned with garlands, strewed flowers before him, and chanted a song of welcome. The splendour of his reception became even greater as he drew towards New York. At Elizabeth Point, a committee of Congress, with various civic functionaries, waited to receive him. He embarked on a handsome barge, manned by thirteen pilots, masters of vessels. Other decorated barges followed, having on board the heads of departments and various public officers; and numerous private boats, dressed with flags, swelled the procession, which now swept up the Bay of New York, to the sound of instrumental music, varied by congratulatory odes sung by parties of ladies and gentlemen. The ships at anchor in the harbour fired salutes as Washington's barge approached; and a Spanish man-of-war, which had caused some surprise by giving no sign of congratulation, suddenly burst into a thunder of guns as the President came alongside, while the yards were manned, and flags and signals were run up in profusion. Amidst the clangour of bells and the reverberation of artillery, the great man was rowed to the landing-place of Murray's Wharf, where he was received by Governor Clinton, surrounded by many old soldiers of the Revolution. An officer now advanced towards him, and, announcing himself as commander of his guard, requested orders. Washington desired him to proceed according to his existing directions, but added that for the future the affection of his fellow-citizens was all the guard he wanted. The reply was judicious, for it checked a tendency, then being carried too far in some respects, to give to the newly-created office the character of a Monarchy. Before the inauguration of Washington, it was proposed to attach the title of "Highness" to the name of the President; but the suggestion was not pressed.

Attended by a long civil and military train, but declining to ride in a carriage which had been prepared for him, Washington walked through streets dressed with silken banners, garlands of flowers, and masses of evergreens, bearing his name in frequent repetition, to the house appointed for his dwelling. Crowds filled the ways; ladies stood at the windows, waving handkerchiefs, showering down flowers, and shedding tears of joyful emotion; the pulse of a true national enthusiasm stirred the air. At night, the city was brilliantly illuminated, and Washington, dining at the house of Governor Clinton, met a numerous body of public functionaries and foreign Ministers. But, in the midst of all these rejoicings, a dark thought was constantly present to his mind. He was perpetually asking himself whether, at some future time, the popular acclamations would not be changed into equally energetic reproaches, should he be thought to have failed in the great charge then being committed to him. An almost morbid self-distrust was one of the most distinctive features of Washington's character, as it often is with persons of highly conscientious natures. He had likewise some distrust of the people themselves, and in a letter to Jay, written in a previous year, had alluded with a touch of bitterness to the utter disregard which had been paid to his advice at the time he quitted the army.

Washington reached New York on the 23rd of April; but the inauguration did not take place until a week later, as various preliminaries had to be arranged, especially with reference to the precise form in which the President was to be addressed. On the morning of the 30th of April, religious services were held in all the churches. At noon, the City troops paraded before Washington's door, and soon afterwards the Committees of Congress and heads of Departments arrived in their carriages. A procession was formed, and, preceded by troops, moved forward to the Old City Hall, standing on the site of the present Custom-house. Washington rode in a state coach, and the chief officials in their own carriages. The foreign Ministers, and a long train of citizens, followed; and the windows along the whole line of route were crowded with spectators. On nearing the Hall, Washington and his suite alighted from their carriages, and passed through two lines of troops into the Senate Chamber, where the Vice-President, the Senate, and the members of the House of Representatives, were assembled. John Adams, as the Vice-President, conducted Washington to a chair of state at the upper end of the room. After a solemn pause, the Vice-President rose, and informed the President that all things were prepared for him to take the oath of office. It was arranged that the oath should be administered by Robert R. Livingston, the Chancellor of the State of New York, in a balcony of the Senate Chamber, and in full view of the people assembled below. This balcony has been described as forming a kind of open recess in front of the house, with lofty columns supporting the roof. In the centre was a table covered with crimson velvet, and on a crimson velvet cushion lay the Bible.

At the appointed hour, Washington issued forth into the balcony, accompanied by various public functionaries, and by members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. As nothing connected with so great a man and so important an occasion can be uninteresting, it has been recorded that the President elect was clad in a full suit of dark brown cloth, of American manufacture, with a steel-hilted dress sword, white silk stockings, and silver shoe-buckles; and that his hair was dressed and powdered in the fashion of the day, and worn in a bag and solitaire. Loud shouts greeted his appearance. He was evidently somewhat shaken by this testimony of public affection, and, advancing to the front of the balcony, laid his hand upon his heart, bowed several times, and then retired to an arm-chair near the table. The populace, respecting his emotion, which was manifestly very great, hushed themselves into complete silence, and Washington presently arose, and again came forward. He was now supported on the right by John Adams, and on the left by Robert R. Livingston, while in the rear were several of his old friends and military companions. The Bible was held up on its crimson cushion by Mr. Otis, Secretary to the Senate, while the Chancellor read the terms of the oath, slowly and distinctly. These were:—"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." While the words were being recited, Washington kept his hand on the open Bible, and on the conclusion of the oath he solemnly responded, "I swear—so help me God!" Mr. Otis here offered to raise the Bible to his lips; but he bowed down reverently, and kissed it. The Chancellor now stepped forward, and exclaimed, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" A flag was run up above the cupola of the Hall; thirteen guns on the battery were discharged; the bells of the city burst into joyous peals; and the voices of the people again poured forth the grandest of all forms of homage.

After bowing to the spectators, the President retired to the Senate Chamber, where he pronounced, in presence of both Houses, his inaugural speech, uttered in a voice slightly tremulous, and so low as to be heard with difficulty by those who were not near. Addressing the members as "Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives," he confessed to them his consciousness of "incapacity for the mighty and untried cares before him," and offered his fervent supplications "to the Almighty Being, whose Providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction would consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for those essential purposes, and that He would enable every agent employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge." He also observed that "no truth was more thoroughly established than that there exists an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; and that the propitious smiles of Heaven could never be expected on a nation that disregarded the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself had ordained." Following the precedent which he had himself established when made Commander-in-Chief of the Army, he renounced all personal emoluments, and prayed that the pecuniary estimates for the office of President should, during his occupancy of that station, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good might be thought to require. He concluded by once more praying that the Divine Blessing might be conspicuous "in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of the Government must depend." The whole assemblage then proceeded on foot to St. Paul's Church, where prayers were read by Dr. Prevost, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, who had been appointed by the Senate one of the Chaplains of Congress.*

Washington has always been styled—and justly so—the first President of the United States; for, although the Presidents of Congress held a position somewhat analogous to his, their powers were far weaker, their origin was different, and their dignity was less. They were, in fact, what they called themselves—Presidents of Congress, not Presidents of the nation itself. The functions exercised by the Chief Magistrate of the United States possess a considerable element of regality; and the fact of their having been found necessary, justified to some extent the views of Colonel Nicola, though not the form which those views assumed. It was seen that Republican institutions themselves could not conveniently subsist without being concentrated at the apex into some visible form of sovereignty and dominion. A commonwealth is a very abstract idea; and for many of the practical purposes of government, as well as for ceremonial, it has generally been found advisable to confer special privileges upon some official. One great mistake of the Constitution of 1777 was the mingling of legislative and executive powers in one body. The appointment of a President with enlarged prerogatives was a step out of this fruitless confusion; and, as he was elected by the people, held office for only a short term, and was bound by the Constitution, it is hard to see in what way his appointment interfered with democratic freedom.

On the business of the session being opened, the important subject of the revenue came up for discussion. The general question was entwined with so many considerations of foreign policy that a very animated debate ensued, and the sharp division of parties became almost painfully apparent. A tax upon imported goods and tonnage was proposed by Madison, but was objected to by many, on the ground that the tonnage duty would favour domestic at the expense of foreign shipping, and that America was not at that time in a position to offend the great Powers of the world. In supporting his contemplated measure, Madison pointed to the necessity of fostering the infant navy of the country, as their chief defensive force in the event of another war. This argument was held by the majority to be conclusive; but that part of Madison's plan which favoured French rather than British commerce excited the most violent opposition. Such a demonstration of feeling could hardly have been anticipated, considering the position of hostility which England and America had recently occupied towards one another, and the sacrifices which France had made towards securing the independence of the United States. But the mother country had still supporters in what had but recently been a part of her colonial empire; and even amongst many who were in favour of independence, a feeling of affection for the chief progenitors of the race was not yet extinct. The Federalists proposed to retaliate upon Great Britain her exclusive commercial policy; but, although the House of Representatives agreed upon making a distinction between those countries which had concluded commercial treaties and those which had not, the Senate came to a different conclusion, and the distinction was rejected.

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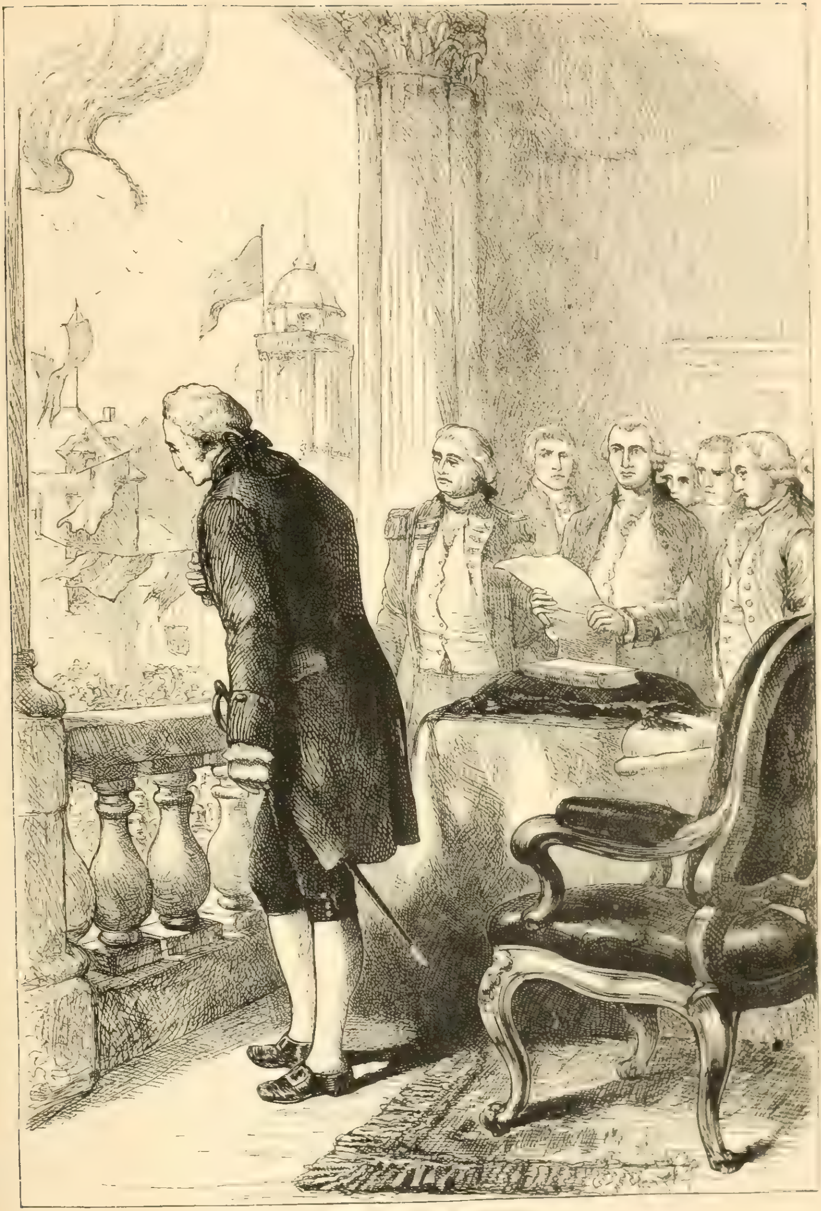
* Ramsay's History of the American Revolution; Washington Irving's Life of Washington; Lossing's History of the United States, New York, 1875.

The revenue being thus settled, and provision having been made for discharging the just debts of the nation, Congress proceeded to the institution of Ministerial offices similar to those which exist in European Governments. It was determined to create three Departments—of the Treasury, of War, and of State. Much discussion arose in connection with the last of these Secretaryships, which included both foreign and domestic relations. It was provided by the Bill for establishing it that the President should have the power of dismissing the Minister from office; but this was considered by many too high a privilege, and an amendment was moved, that the President should not be entitled to dismiss the Minister without the consent of Congress. The Government party, however, contended that the rule now proposed should have been a fundamental part of the Constitution, and in the end it was determined that the President should possess the prerogative in question. The debate lasted four days—from the 15th to the 18th of July; and the final result was only obtained by means of the Vice-President's casting vote. Nine Senators voted for, and nine against; and it then remained with Adams to give his decision on one side or the other, which he did in the affirmative sense. The Senate consisted of only twenty-two members, and usually not more than twenty were in attendance; the majority on disputed points was often not more than two; and four times during that first session the members were nine to nine, thus requiring the frequent interposition of the Vice-President for procuring a majority. The practice established in July, 1789, has continued to the present time, and, although there have been dissentients, it has been generally held that the Presidential power would be incomplete without such a privilege. The grandson of John Adams has very reasonably remarked:—"By an anomaly in the Constitution, which, upon any recognised theory, it is difficult to defend, the Senate, which in the last resort is made the judicial tribunal to try the President for malversation in office, is likewise clothed with a power of denying him the agents in whom he may choose most to confide for the faithful execution of the duties of his station, and forcing him to select such as they may prefer. If, in addition to this, the power of displacing such as he found unworthy of trust had been subjected to the same control, it cannot admit of a doubt that the Government must, in course of time, have become an oligarchy, in which the President would sink into a mere instrument of any faction that might happen to be in the ascendant in the Senate." The opposition to the Presidential prerogatives, which was felt by so large a party, proceeded from a democratic feeling of a very inverted order. The Senate was a species of aristocracy; it desired to enhance its own peculiar powers; and the semi-monarchical character of the Presidential office, flowing as it did from a democratic source, was a necessary and wholesome check upon what would have soon degenerated into a most unpopular form of rule. The three great departments of the American Government are analogous to the King, Lords, and Commons of Great Britain; and the Anti-Federalists occupied a similar position to that of the old Whig party in England. With many really popular leanings, their principles nevertheless contained the first germs of aristocratical exclusiveness; and it is to be suspected that with them, as with the Whigs, the creation of a small governing caste was one of the main objects which they had in view.

Washington, as occupying an intermediate position between the two extremes, sought to reconcile opposing interests by the liberality of his appointments. Thomas Jefferson, then about to return from Paris, was named Secretary of State. Alexander Hamilton was appointed to the Treasury; and General Henry Knox, who had been War Minister for some time, was continued in that office. These three men represented very different opinions: Hamilton and Jefferson, in particular, were much opposed to one another, and each was of a nature



THE INSTALLATION OF WASHINGTON.

which did not easily bear contradiction. It consequently happened that the very means by which Washington hoped to promote harmony, produced the opposite effect. The secret councils of the first Administration were often, in the ensuing year, made the scene of violent disputes, which the influence of Washington himself could hardly restrain. The very onerous task of repairing the damaged finances of the State was what chiefly engaged the attention of Hamilton; and in the prosecution of his plans he came into frequent collision with Jefferson, who, as the Minister of Home and Foreign affairs alike, was concerned in the general administration of the whole Government. The plans of Hamilton (which, however, were not publicly unfolded until the next session) included the funding of the Federal debt, the assumption of the State debts, the establishment of a National Bank (already commenced by Robert Morris), a system of revenue from taxation, internal and external, and a sinking fund. There was much in these suggestions which gave offence to a large body of men, of whom Jefferson was regarded as the leader. That eminent politician became every year more attached to the principle of State rights, and was thought, by Adams and some others, to carry his love of freedom to an extent which would have endangered public order. Hamilton was devoted to the President and to the consolidation of his power.

During the first session of Congress, the Senate was engaged on the question of a Federal Judiciary, and ultimately a plan, embodied in a Bill drafted by Ellsworth, of Connecticut, was, after several amendments, concurred in by both Houses. By its provisions, a national Judiciary was established, consisting of a Supreme Court, having a Chief Justice and five associate justices, who were to hold two sessions annually at the seat of the Federal Government. To circuit and district courts was assigned jurisdiction over certain specified cases. Each State was made a district; the territories of Kentucky and Maine were similarly provided for; and the other territories were grouped together into three circuits. In all civil cases, when the matter in dispute amounted to two thousand dollars, an appeal, as to points of law, was allowed from these lower courts to the Supreme Court. A marshal was to be appointed by the President for each district, and this functionary was invested with the general powers of a Sheriff. He was to attend all courts, and was authorised to serve all processes. The interests of the Federal Government were to be represented by a district Attorney, who was to act for the United States in all cases where such action might be required. The Bill having been passed, John Jay, of New York, a man of considerable legal acquirements, and one of the representatives of the United States at the Paris negotiations for peace, was appointed to the post of Chief Justice, and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, was made Attorney-General. Randolph had succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor of Virginia in 1786, and was very active in the convention of 1787. John Rutledge, of South Carolina; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; William Cushing, of Massachusetts; Robert H. Harrison, of Maryland; and John Blair, of Virginia, were appointed associate judges.

Congress now turned its attention to various amendments of the Federal Constitution made by the minorities of the conventions which had ratified the recent change in the Government of the country. This subject was brought forward by Madison, in fulfilment of pledges which he had found it necessary to make in order to secure the adhesion of Virginia. The amendments were altogether very numerous. The minority of the Pennsylvanian convention had proposed fourteen; of Massachusetts, nine; of Maryland, twenty-eight; of South Carolina, four; of New Hampshire, twelve; of Virginia, twenty, and of New York, thirty-two. There were also separate Bills of Rights proposed by Virginia and New York. Of these amendments sixteen were finally agreed to by Congress; ten of which were subsequently ratified by the States, and became a part of the Federal compact. In connection with this matter, a letter from the Governor of Rhode Island was sent to Congress, in which that official stated the reasons why his State had not acceded to the Union. These were, in the main, that the people of Rhode Island had from their first settlement been strongly attached to a democratic form of Government; that they had viewed in the new Constitution an approach, though perhaps but small, towards the mode of Government with which they had lately dissolved their connection—in other words, with the Royal and Aristocratical Government of England; that they desired to see the proposed system organised and in operation, so that they might judge what further checks and securities would be agreed to by way of amendments, before they adopted it as a Constitution for themselves and posterity; that they had feared lest the rights of individual States should be overborne by Federal combinations; that they were sensible of the extremes to which democratical Government is sometimes liable, but that they esteemed them temporary and partial evils, compared with the loss of liberty, and of the rights of a free people. The sanctioning of the amendments to the Constitution was believed by the Governor of Rhode Island to have afforded some relief and satisfaction to the minds of the people of that State. On the 29th of May, 1790, Rhode Island formally joined the Confederation, and ratified the Constitution. North Carolina, the other objecting State, had signified its adhesion on the 21st of the previous November.

Congress adjourned in September, 1789, and during the recess Washington made a tour through the North-eastern States, in every part of which he was welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm, though, on his visit to Boston, there was an unseemly difference of opinion between the Governor of Massachusetts and the municipal authorities of the town, as to which should receive and bid him welcome first—a difference leading to an awkward delay in the entrance of the President, who was kept for some time waiting on Charleston Neck. The unpleasant character of the incident was increased by the fact of its being an unusually cold and murky day; but the difficulty was overcome after awhile, and the reception of Washington at Boston was as hearty as in all other quarters.

CHAPTER LX.

Opening of the Second Session of Congress—Alexander Hamilton's Financial Report—Debt of the United States at the Close of the War—Hamilton's proposed Methods for meeting it—Opposition of the Southern Members—Statement of the Arguments on both sides—Plan for dealing with the Debts of the Individual States—Violent Dissensions in Congress—Proposal to Fix the Seat of the Federal Government in the South—Funding of the Public Debt—Schemes of Taxation—Excise Bill carried, after great Opposition—Proposal for a New National Bank—Jealous Distrust of the Anti-Federalists—The Bank Founded—Establishment of a Mint—Coinage of the United States—The Decimal System adopted on the Advice of Jefferson—Admission of Vermont into the Union—Organisation of Territories—First American Census (1790-91)—Death of Franklin—The French Revolution, and its Effect on Parties in the American Government and Congress—Adams and Jefferson—Paine's "Rights of Man"—The Navigation of the Mississippi—Internal Disagreements in the Administration—Opposition to Washington's Semi-Monarchical Powers—Re-election of Washington to a Second Term of Office—Indian War on the Frontiers—Kentucky admitted into the Union—The Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania—Dangerous Principles of the Anti-Federalists.

NOT until 1790 was the Administration of Washington in full working order, as it took several months to form such a Government as would have any chance of meeting the varied demands of party. Indeed, Jefferson, the Secretary of State, did not arrive in America till the 23rd of November, 1789, nor at New York, the seat of Federal rule, till the 21st of March, 1790. On the 8th of January in the latter year, however, the second session of Congress commenced; and its first important business was to act on the report of Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury. The necessity of restoring the credit of the United States was clearly apparent to the mind of Hamilton. He therefore recommended that not only the debts of the late Continental Congress (foreign and domestic), but those of the individual States, so far as they had been contracted in furtherance of the common cause, should be funded, or assumed by the general Government, and that provision should be made for paying the interest by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country. The total amount of indebtedness was very large. In 1790, it was estimated by the Registrar of the Treasury that the entire cost of the struggle for independence was at least 130,000,000 dollars, exclusive of vast sums lost by individuals and by the several States, to the amount probably of 40,000,000 more. The Treasury payments alone ran up to nearly 93,000,000 dollars, chiefly in Continental bills; and other matters were in proportion. From Hamilton's statement it appeared that the foreign debt, including interest due to France and to private lenders in Holland, with a small sum to Spain, amounted to 11,710,378 dollars, and that the domestic debt, registered and unregistered, including interest, and some claims chiefly in connection with the paper-money, reached a total of 42,414,085 dollars. Nearly one-third of the latter sum consisted of arrears of interest. It had been suggested by many that, in liquidating the claims of the holders of paper-money, a scale of depreciation should be adopted, as had been done once before; seeing that the existing holders of Government certificates, Continental bills, and other promises to pay, were for the most part speculators, who had purchased those instruments at greatly reduced rates, in the hope of a rise. Hamilton, however, argued that such a course would be dishonest and impolitic; and he strongly urged that all the debts of the Government should be discharged according to the terms of the contract. By the proposed funding of the public debt, he believed that the public creditors would receive six per cent. interest until the Government should be able to pay the principal, it being assumed that in five years the United States might conclude loans at five or even four per cent., with which these particular claims might be finally and fully satisfied. Amongst the other suggestions which he threw out, was one to the effect that the proceeds of the Post Office should be used as a sinking fund for the gradual extinction of the debt; but the Post Office department was not at that time fully organised.

Many animated debates ensued upon Hamilton's report. The financier's plans were for the most part resisted by those who were disinclined to a strong Federal Executive, and favourable to the doctrine of State rights. To all such politicians, Hamilton, who had desired that the President and Senate should hold their offices for life, unless they forfeited them by misconduct, appeared as little better than a monarchist. They belonged almost entirely to the Southern States, and, under the cloak of an extreme regard for Republican forms, concealed a great deal of aristocratic class feeling, as must always be the case in communities where there is a large population of slaves, kept in subjection by a body of privileged landowners. These men now expressed their fears that the assumption of the debts would render the Government still stronger by drawing around it a numerous and powerful body of public creditors, who would always, from interested motives, be ready to support the Federal Government against either the States or the people. Mr. Madison proposed that, whenever the public securities had been transferred, the highest price which they had borne in the market should be paid to the purchaser, and the residue to the original holder. The plan was fair and honest; but it would probably have been found difficult, if not impossible, to bring it into practice. At any rate, the proposition was rejected. The opponents of Hamilton's measures admitted that it was expedient to pay foreigners the whole of their demand; but the American holders of paper-money they desired to pay at the depreciated rate. This was the view of Jefferson—expressed, not indeed in Congress, for he was still far from New York, but in letters written by him at the moment. Others opposed the Ministerial projects on the simple ground that a system of public debt was bad altogether. But, though this might have been a very good argument against contracting the debt at all, it could not prove the honesty of repudiating what really existed. Hamilton wished to render a portion of the public debt irredeemable, except with the holder's consent—certainly a proposal of very questionable policy, since it would have had the effect of saddling the public with an amount of indebtedness which they would have been powerless to remove. After prolonged debates, the propositions of Hamilton, as regards the general debt, were adopted. A discussion then followed with reference to the debts incurred separately by each State. Hamilton desired to throw these into the common fund; the Opposition maintained that each State should account for and settle its own debt. The debate brought out very plainly the line of demarcation between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, between the North and the South. On the one hand it was argued that such a measure was indispensable to a strong Government; on the other, it was made an objection that the Government would in this way become stronger than was advisable. Hamilton's resolution was at first carried by a few votes; but shortly afterwards the deputies from North Carolina, which had only just acceded to the Union, took their seats in Congress for the first time, and, on the question being re-committed, the original resolution was rejected by exactly the same number of votes as that by which it had previously been affirmed. After the adverse vote, business was for some time suspended. Congress met, and adjourned from day to day, without transacting any business, owing to the extreme heat and temper exhibited by both parties.

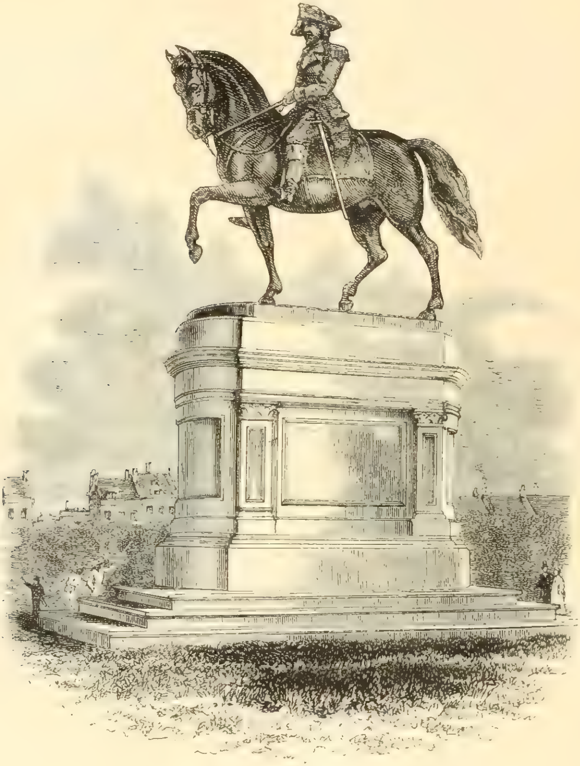
The local debts were most onerous amongst the Northern States, and the Southern States objected to being called upon to share their payment. They should have recollected, however, that the North had not merely contracted the greatest amount of debt, but had borne the chief brunt of the war, and that the South was free mainly because the North had been heroic. It seems, therefore, but reasonable that the South should bear its part in defraying all the expenses of independence. Nevertheless, the split became so serious that Hamilton represented to the leading members on the other side the danger of the Union itself being dissolved, should they persist in their objections. He offered to compensate the Southern States if they would abandon their opposition. It had been intended to plant the seat of Government either at Philadelphia, or at Georgetown on the Potomac; and it was now thought that by offering this favour to Philadelphia for ten years, and afterwards to

Georgetown permanently, a compromise might be effected, which would remove the difficulties that had arisen. This was agreed to; the proposals of Hamilton were adopted; and a law was passed fixing the Federal Administration in the South, after its temporary sojourn in Philadelphia.

The debt funded in accordance with Hamilton's schemes amounted to rather more than 75,000,000 dollars, upon a part of which three per cent., and upon the remainder six per cent., interest was to be paid. Nothing could be more remarkable than the effect of this measure upon the public. The price of the Government paper, which had fallen to twelve or fifteen cents on the dollar, suddenly rose to par, and general confidence was at once restored. But Hamilton had now to meet the interest of his newly-funded debt by a system of taxation which would not too greatly offend the susceptibilities of the Americans in this respect. The subject was deferred until the following session of Congress, when it was proposed to increase the imposts upon wine, tea, and other commodities, and to place a duty upon spirits distilled within the country. This was in fact a scheme of excise, and it roused the utmost indignation amongst the Southern and Western States, whose interests it was supposed to affect, and whose members exhibited every degree of persistent and vehement antagonism. North Carolina again and again threatened to secede. But it was evident that the money must be obtained somehow; no better plan was forthcoming; and in the end the Excise Bill was passed. The next scheme of the enterprising financier had reference to the establishment of a National Bank. We have seen that this had already been done to some extent by Robert Morris under the old Constitution; but Hamilton desired to render such an institution permanent. Here again he met with violent opposition on the part of the Anti-Federalists. They denied that Congress had any authority for the purpose; no such power, they argued, had been delegated by the constituencies, and it was a usurpation to assume it. The debates on this subject were long and bitter. They took place not merely in Congress, but in the Government itself, for Hamilton found one of his most energetic opponents in the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. Between these two chief disputants, Washington was at length called upon to decide, and he gave his decision in favour of the Treasury Minister and of the proposed institution. Jefferson's fears that a vast amount of Ministerial corruption would be the result of this measure seem to have been exaggerated, though they may not have been altogether devoid of foundation. The prosperity of the country undoubtedly increased under the stimulus of a National Bank. Industry revived, and commerce once more attained a healthy condition in centres where it had languished for several years.

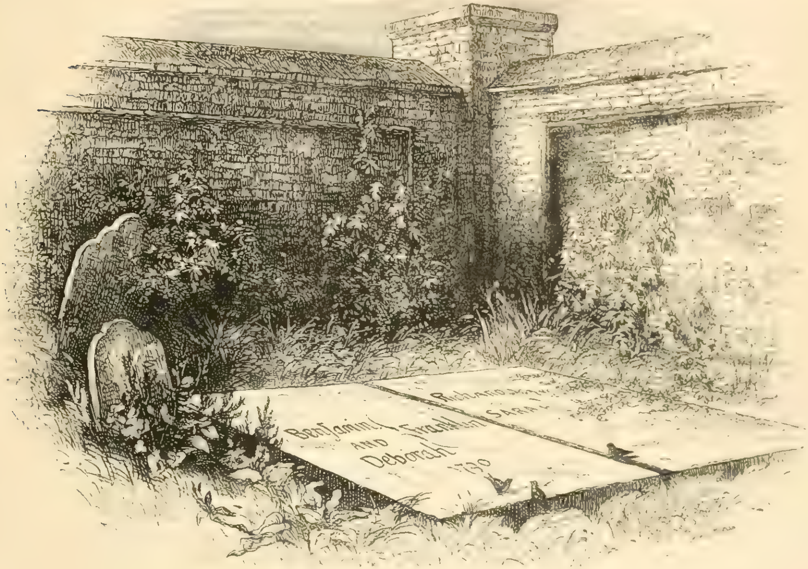
The charter of the new National Bank was granted in January, 1791. It was limited to twenty years. The situation of the Bank was to be in Philadelphia, and its management was to be entrusted to twenty-five directors, who were selected from members of both Houses of the Legislature. This was one of the points which Jefferson most strenuously condemned, on the ground that the directors, together with those members of Congress who held stock in the Bank, always voted with the Government, and created a majority on the side of power. The connection between the Bank and the Legislature was doubtless objectionable; but the scheme was in itself a good one, and the Anti-Federalists seem to have made a mistake in carrying their opposition beyond a mere rectification of abuses into a general denunciation of the whole plan. Although chartered at the commencement of 1791, the Bank did not begin operations in its corporate form until February, 1794, when it started with a capital of 10,000,000 dollars. Before the establishment of this institution, the whole banking capital of the United States was only 2,000,000 dollars, which were invested in Robert Morris's Bank of North America, in the Bank of New York, and in the Bank of Massachusetts.

A National Mint was another subject which required, and received, the attention of Congress. There was at that time a great want of system in the coinage of the United States. In 1782, Gouverneur Morris had, at the request of Robert Morris, written a report on the subject, which was presented to the Continental Congress. The author of this report desired to harmonise the moneys of all the States. Starting with an ascertained fraction as an unit for a divisor, he proposed that ten units should be equal to one penny, ten pence to one bill, ten bills to one dollar (or about seventy-five cents of the present American currency), and ten dollars to one crown. In 1784, Jefferson, as chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose, produced a report, which, while it adopted the decimal system equally with Morris, proposed to carry out that system after a different fashion. Jefferson's conception was, that the dollar should be adopted as the unit of account and payment, and that its divisions and sub-divisions should be in the decimal ratio. He wrote some notes on the subject, which he submitted to the consideration of Robert Morris, who dissented from Jefferson in some important particulars. It was proposed by the latter to strike four coins—namely, a golden piece, of the value of ten dollars; a dollar, in silver; a tenth of a dollar, in silver; and a hundredth of a dollar, in copper. Jefferson's report was adopted in 1785, and in the following year legal provision was made for a coinage on the basis indicated by him. The Federal Constitution vested the right of coinage solely in the Federal Government, whereas it had previously lain with the several States—an arrangement resulting in the greatest confusion. In 1790, Jefferson urged the establishment of a Mint upon the attention of Congress. Great delay took place, and it was not until the 2nd of April, 1792, that this necessary branch of administration was actually set on foot. Nor did the Mint get fully into operation until 1795. In the three previous years there had been much debate as to the devices on the new coins, and other matters of detail. The Senate desired that the head of the President for the time being should be stamped upon the coinage. This, however, was considered by the House of Representatives as being too monarchical, and it was suggested that an effigy of Liberty would be more appropriate. An allegorical female head was accordingly adopted, and is used to the present day. The first building for the Mint was situated in Philadelphia. Thence all the coin of the United States was issued until



STATUE OF WASHINGTON AT BOSTON.

1835, when branches were established in the States of Georgia, North Carolina, and Louisiana. From 1793 to 1795, the value of the whole issue was little more than a million and a half of dollars. Previous to 1830, almost the entire supply of gold for the American coinage was furnished by foreign countries. North Carolina was the first State of the Union which sent gold to the Mint from its own mines; but since then most of the States have contributed, though some only in a small degree, while California, owing to its rich auriferous soil, has of course contributed very largely.* A Bill for the organisation of a Post Office was passed in 1792. There had been a Postmaster-General during the old Confederation; but under the changed conditions of the country a new system was greatly needed.



FRANKLIN'S GRAVE AT PHILADELPHIA.

While these matters were being arranged, a fourteenth State was added to the Union. This was Vermont, at one time called the New Hampshire Grants—a territory which had long been claimed by Massachusetts, by New Hampshire, and by New York. It had originally been settled by the French, who ceded it to the British in 1763, after an occupation of about thirty-two years. In 1764, George III. decided in favour of the claims of New York, which thenceforward considered that it had an indisputable right to this tract of country. The people of Vermont, however, never admitted the jurisdiction thus created, and in January, 1777, they declared their province independent. Nevertheless, New York would not relinquish its claims; but the difference was adjusted, in 1790, by Vermont paying to that State 30,000 dollars in quittance of all demands. Vermont was admitted into the Federal Union on the 18th of February of the following year. A Constitution was adopted in 1793, and has since been modified on several occasions. It was from the first distinguished by its prohibition of slavery, except in persons under age. At the same time, settlements were rapidly spreading beyond the Alleghanies. The North-western Territory was established in July, 1787; and on the 26th of March, 1790, Tennessee was constituted as the Territory South-west of the Ohio. The public lands of the United States were made the subject of an Act of Congress in 1790. In [illegible] with the scheme proposed by Hamilton, the interests of small purchasers were protected by the system of limited sales. Before the passing of that Act, no one could purchase less than a tract of 4,000 acres. The effect of this arrangement was to keep these lands entirely in the possession of the wealthy, though it was clearly to the interest of a country such as the United States to place its vast domains at the disposal of the humble and industrious. It is true that the population at that time was not large; but there was every prospect of its soon becoming so, and already there had been a congestion in particular quarters. The natural tendency of the American people is towards the formation of new settlements, and it was wise to encourage that tendency by throwing open the boundless West to all who had brains and muscles for bringing it into culture. By the first Census of the United States, which was taken in 1790–91, the number of both sexes and all colours within the limits of the Republic was 3,929,827, of whom 695,000 were slaves. It is now estimated at between forty and fifty millions.

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* Lossing's History of the United States.

One of the greatest Americans of that age reached the termination of his career in 1790. When Jefferson was at Philadelphia, on his way to New York, during the March of that year, he called on Franklin, then lying on a bed of sickness from which he never rose. It was on the 17th of April that this remarkable man expired; but in March, though it was evident that his days were numbered, his mind retained its vigour, and, knowing that Jefferson had just returned from France, he questioned him as to the latest state of affairs in that country, where the Revolution was then in full course. Franklin was one of the Fathers of the Revolution in his own land, and the development of similar principles in Europe was necessarily very interesting to him. Fortunately, perhaps, for his serenity of mind, he did not live to see the worst developments of that terrible French insurrection against bad government, abominable privilege, and a wide-spread corruption of morals, manners, and faith, such as can hardly be paralleled since the days of the Roman Empire. The younger men of America saw the whole drama played out, and with emotions which varied considerably according to the natural bent of their dispositions. The extremes into which French democracy was even then passing, led to an estrangement between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Adams, American and patriot though he was, had something in his political constitution which inclined him towards English models. Jefferson, on the contrary, had lived so long in France that he had become imbued with French ideas. The grandson of Adams, whose biography of his ancestor we have had frequent occasion to mention, is of opinion that this difference between the two men was owing in a great measure to distinctions in religious belief. He states that, before Burke had entered on his hopeless crusade against the course of events in France, Adams had predicted that the French experiment would fail; and that in a letter to Dr. Price, acknowledging the receipt of a copy of his celebrated work in defence of that experiment, he had used the words:—"I know that Encyclopædists and economists, Diderot and D'Alembert, Voltaire and Rousseau, have contributed to this great event, more than Sidney, Locke, or Hoadley—perhaps more than the American Revolution; and I own to you I know not what to make of a Republic of thirty million Atheists. . . . . . Too many Frenchmen, after the example of too many Americans, pant for equality of persons and property. The impracticability of this, God Almighty has decreed, and the advocates of liberty who attempt it will surely suffer for it." Here was certainly a remarkable prophecy, the result of that calm and practical wisdom which was the great characteristic of Adams. But the difference between him and Jefferson was not so great as Mr. Charles Francis Adams seems to suppose. Both were a long way from orthodoxy; both had some degree of religious faith, though this, doubtless, was more tinctured with feeling in the case of Adams, and in Jefferson was more a matter of the intellect.* Nor can it be said that the latter, strongly as he sympathised with the French Revolution, was incapable of discerning its errors and excesses. In his Autobiography he has stated that he would not have voted with that portion of the French Legislature which determined on the death of Louis XVI.; that he would have shut up the Queen in a convent, putting harm out of her power, and have invested the King with limited prerogatives, which he verily believes he would honestly have exercised. "In this way," continues Jefferson, writing at a period when he could look back over the whole course of the French Revolution, and the subsequent career of Bonaparte, "no void would have been created, courting the usurpation of a military adventurer, nor occasion given for those enormities which demoralised the nations of the world, and destroyed, and are yet to destroy, millions and millions of its inhabitants."

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* Mr. C. F. Adams says that his grandfather finally settled in a species of Unitarianism. This was the religion which Jefferson professed in his declining days, when questioned on the subject. But it must be admitted that his mind was less distinctly religious than that of Adams.

Jefferson, therefore, was not the blind follower of the thirty million French Atheists (to adopt Adams's most extravagant calculation), nor of the French democrats in all that they did. Yet it is certain that he sympathised with the earlier stages of the French Revolution much more than Adams or Washington; that he hoped more from its initiative; that he saw in it less to fear or to blame. Adams, indeed, seems to have gone too far in his distrust, because, although he was justified in the immediate event, he did not sufficiently acknowledge, or perceive, the excellence of those principles which worked through the blind, dark, shrieking mass of the French Revolution, like fire and light through Chaos. Jefferson even spoke of his rival having apostatised to hereditary monarchy and nobility.* This was assuredly in excess of the truth; but Adams had developed a very strong conservative instinct since his return to America. In 1791, he furnished to the columns of a Philadelphia newspaper a series of essays containing an analysis of Davila's History of the civil convulsions of France in the sixteenth century. The object of these productions was to exhibit the dangers which may result from the operation of powerful factions in countries that are weakly governed; and it was of course intended that the moral should apply to the United States. Jefferson was much annoyed by the argument, and, conceiving that nothing less was meant than the establishment of a monarchy, resolved to give his countenance and support to a reprint of the first part of Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man," which had recently been published in England. The American edition of this work was issued at Philadelphia, with a dedication, certainly unauthorised, to the President, and with an intimation, not altogether without warrant, that the book had the sanction of Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of State. Paine's treatise had created a great commotion in England, where, in the following year, the second part was made the subject of a Government prosecution; and Major Beckwith, an unofficial British agent then in America, complained that the reappearance of the work in the United States, with such high official patronage, was calculated to give great offence to his Government. Jefferson found it necessary to write to the President on the matter, and to state that a letter of his, with reference to Paine's discourse, had been printed without his sanction in the American edition. It is probable that Jefferson did not intend to give any open and public support to the "Rights of Man;" but he never disavowed that he sympathised with the opinions therein expressed. Adams, on the contrary, looked upon the work with the greatest dislike. Talking with a friend one day upon the subject, he laid his hand on his breast, and said, in a very solemn manner, "I detest that book and its tendency from the bottom of my heart."

In his capacity as Home and Foreign Minister, Jefferson had to deal with many questions of great delicacy. One of these was the free navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean. The point had not been urged in the peace negotiations of 1782–3, because it was thought imprudent to endanger the chances of a general agreement by exciting the jealousy of Spain. But the United States had never lost sight of so important a privilege, and were quietly resolved to make their demand whenever a good opportunity should arise. In 1788, Jefferson had recommended the people of Kentucky not to insist upon this right of navigation (which specially concerned their interests) until the West of Europe should be engaged in war. With the year 1790, some complications arose between Spain and England, which seemed to threaten hostilities; and the American Envoys at Madrid and Paris were therefore instructed to seek an opportunity of bringing forward the claim in question, together with others of a more extreme character. The United States greatly coveted the possession of some port on the Mississippi where sea-going vessels and those traversing the river might exchange their commodities. No situation was so well adapted to this purpose as the town and neighbourhood of New Orleans, situated at the outfall of the great stream into the Gulf of Mexico. New Orleans was then in the possession of Spain, and the American Ministers in the Old World now began to speak, not merely of navigating the river, but of obtaining New Orleans and the Floridas. The differences between England and Spain, however, were shortly afterwards composed, and the acquisition of the desired territories did not take place until later dates.

A tour of the Southern States, similar to that in the Northern during a previous year, was made by Washington in the spring of 1791. It was then that he selected, in what is now called the district of Columbia, that situation on the Potomac which was destined for the Federal capital, to be in due time called after his name. The enthusiasm with which he was received showed that even the detested Excise law had not taken away from his popularity. A new Congress met at Philadelphia at the latter end of October, and the President referred in his speech to the great success of the

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* Letter from Jefferson to Washington, May 8th, 1791.

National Bank, the shares for which had been all subscribed for in less than two hours after the books were opened. The session was fated to be a stormy one, and much discussion was excited by a law for determining the state of the representation. By the terms of the Constitution, it had been settled that the House of Representatives should contain one member for every 30,000 of the population. It now appeared that each State had a considerably larger number of inhabitants than this, and it was therefore proposed to take the whole population of the Union, divide the amount by 30,000, and thus increase the House to its full quota. The proposal was very distasteful to the Opposition; for, although they desired the members of the Lower House to be augmented, they were displeased with the method of effecting this result, which could only be carried out by merging the States in the Federation. The Bill passed, in spite of their antagonism; but Washington thought fit to interpose with his veto, on the ground that such an act infringed on the fundamental law of the Constitution. In this respect he acted with the party of Jefferson, rather than with that of Adams and Hamilton.

The general complication was increased by the unpopularity of some of Hamilton's measures. He had introduced into Congress a provision for perpetuating certain taxes allotted to the payment of interest upon the debt. It was thought such a policy was too characteristic of the old country, and it was rumoured that, in private conversation, the Finance Minister had expressed opinions not consonant with American institutions. The feeling of the Anti-Federal party became every day stronger against him. He and Jefferson were permanently at issue, and Washington was obliged frequently to interpose, to preserve anything like harmony. Both Great Britain and France had now representatives in America. Of these, Jefferson inclined towards the Minister of France, and Hamilton towards the Minister of England. Each Minister was desirous of obtaining favour from the country to which he paid court, and special commercial advantages were offered by the opposing Secretaries. The jurisdiction of the two departments was so ill-defined that each trenched upon the other, and mutual accusations of encroachment were continually exchanged. Hamilton and Jefferson had journals which were their particular organs, and which of course contradicted one another at every point. The *Gazette of the United States* expressed the opinions of the Treasury; the *National Gazette* was the mouthpiece of Jefferson, and was indeed edited by a clerk in his office. The former of these papers spoke of the anarchy existing in France with almost as much indignation as the most Tory journals in England. The latter supported the development of affairs in Paris in a tone which would have satisfied all but the most extreme Jacobins. Washington kept aloof from both parties, and rightly interpreted his duties as placing him above the violence of faction. It was known, however, that he agreed more with Hamilton than with Jefferson, and he was in time made an object of attack by those who held the opposite view. He was accustomed to hold levées, on certain days and at certain hours, for the reception of those who wished to pay him their respects. It is hard to see how such an observance could in any way interfere with liberty, while it is not difficult to perceive that it added a grace to political life, and offered a common ground of devotion to the Constitution, where men of opposing principles might for awhile forget their animosities. Yet these levées were denounced as an affectation of monarchy. Washington was considered too particular as to matters of etiquette, and Adams, as Vice-President, was believed to be even more inclined to reproduce in America the forms and manners of English sovereignty.

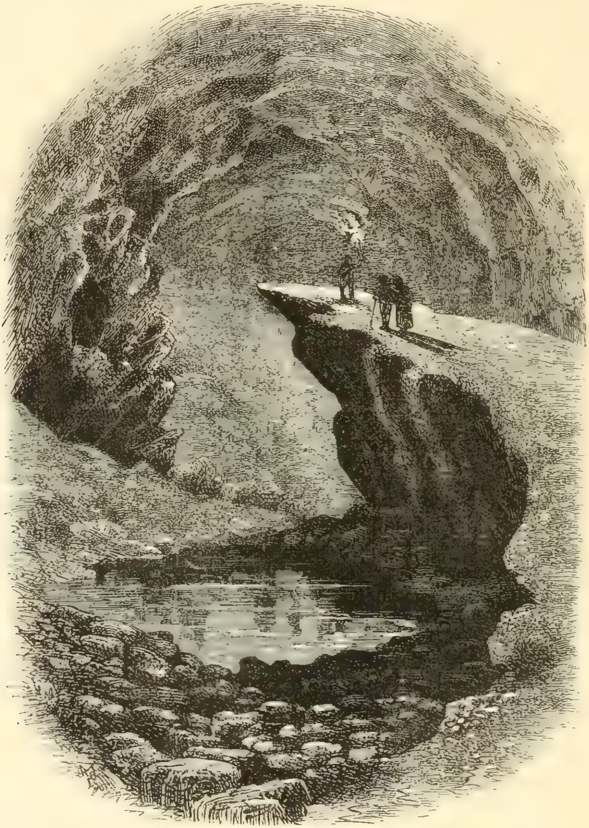
The period was now approaching when it was necessary, by the terms of the Constitution, to choose the President and Vice-President anew. To the former of these offices it was proposed to re-elect Washington. That great man would gladly have retired once more to the privacy of his Virginian home; but Jefferson threatened to resign if Washington carried out this intention. Although the President's leanings were rather against Jefferson than in his favour, the Secretary of State feared that the former Chief Magistrate might be succeeded by one less disposed to hold the scales fairly between opposing interests; and he therefore desired the renewal of his power. Washington on his part dreaded lest a political condition should ensue, in which the Anti-Federalists, considering themselves defeated, should raise commotions similar to those which were then distracting France. He consequently determined to stand as a candidate for re-election, and, there being no competitor, he was chosen in the autumn of 1792 for a second term of office, to commence in the following March. Adams was at the same time re-elected to the Vice-Presidency, but not without opposition, for another candidate had appeared in the person of George Clinton, of New York.

While the United States were thus painfully struggling through the first difficulties of their new Government, and indeed for a period of several years, the Indians on the frontiers were creating great alarm amongst the distant settlers. The Creeks, under the direction of a chief of white descent, desolated the remoter parts of Georgia, whilst the North-west was kept in a state of constant terror by the demonstrations of other tribes. Against these barbarians it became necessary to take decisive measures, and the President, directing his attention in the first place towards the Creeks, who seem to have enjoyed some degree of support from Spain, endeavoured to bring about an amicable arrangement with them. The attempt proved abortive, but was renewed in 1790, when Gillivray, the ruler of the Creeks, was induced to proceed to New York, and conclude a treaty. Similar overtures made to the Indians beyond the Ohio were altogether without result. These tribes appear to have been influenced by an impression that the British Government was taking steps for bringing back its former colonies to the allegiance they had shaken off, and that, if renewed hostilities should break out, their services would be required again, as they had been before. Sir John Johnson, whose relations with the native tribes were always such as to create apprehension on the part of the Americans, was the British Agent on that frontier, and Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, had been re-appointed to the Governorship of Canada. These facts may have had some effect on the minds of the savages; but the latter were never without grievances, real or imaginary, which influenced them much more. Whatever the causes of their present action, they exhibited a very rebellious spirit in the spring of 1790. General Harmer was accordingly sent into the Indian country, north of that which is now the State of Cincinnati, at the head of fifteen hundred men. Ascending the river Wabash, he burnt some Indian villages; but here his successes ended. On October 17th and 22nd, 1790, he was twice defeated, with considerable loss, near the present village of Fort Wayne, in Indiana. Other expeditions were sent out in the following year; but ill-luck still pursued the American troops.

General St. Clair, at that time Governor of the North-west Territory, sustained a very severe repulse while encamped in Ohio, although he was in command of an unusually large force. He had marched into the wilderness, in October, 1791, with nearly two thousand men; but, by desertion and detachments, the army was reduced to fourteen hundred. On the 3rd of November they encamped a few miles from the villages on the Miami, with the intention of remaining there until they were rejoined by their comrades; but, before sunrise on the following morning, the troops, just after being dismissed from parade, were suddenly and violently attacked by the Indians. It unfortunately happened that the front ranks of the American army consisted of raw levies. Struck with dismay, they fell back in confusion on the others, who were thus thrown into temporary disorder. Recovering themselves, they advanced against the savages, who retired from covert to covert, but returned to their former positions as soon as the troops were recalled from pursuit. General St. Clair, being ill at the time, was unable to take the command in person, and, after a contest of three or four hours, he resolved to call off his men, seeing that they had suffered severely. But to retreat is sometimes more difficult than to advance. As soon as the retrograde movement began, the troops, who had until then fought with resolution, were incapable of restraining themselves from flight. In four hours they were chased by the Indians a distance of thirty miles, though it is supposed they were not out-numbered by the adversary; and their camp was afterwards plundered and destroyed. The loss of nearly nine hundred men, in killed, wounded, and missing, was the price which St. Clair had to pay for his want of skill, vigilance, or good fortune.

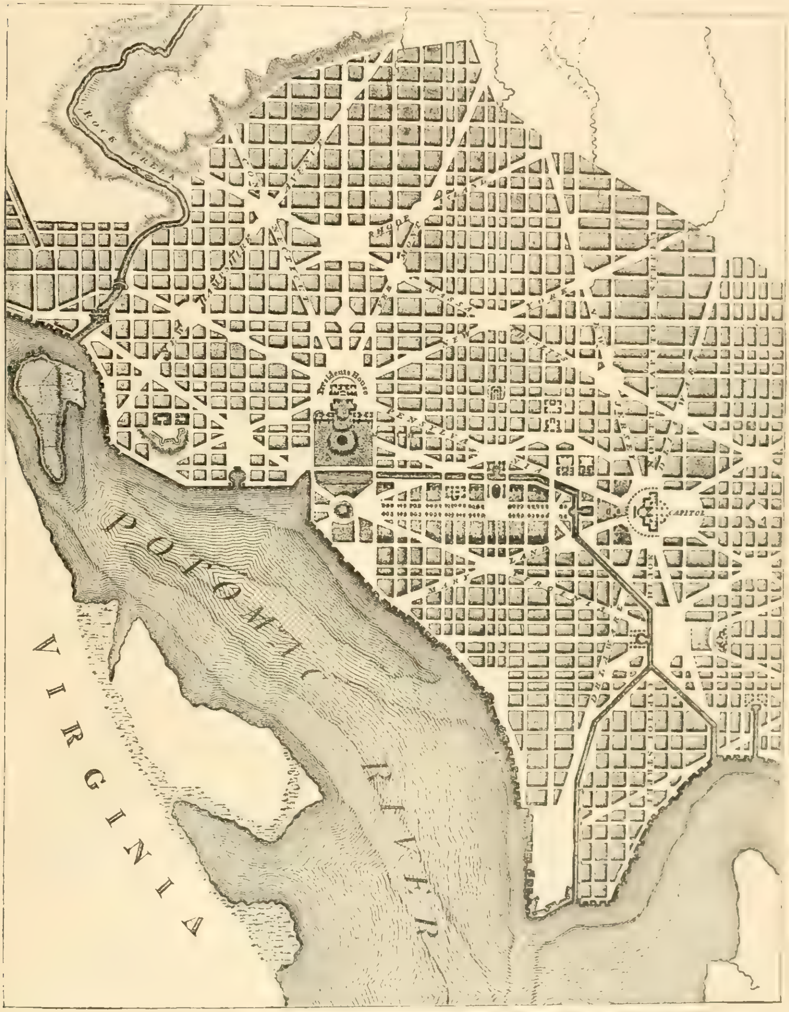
This disaster threw the whole North-western frontier into dismay. The Federal Government was urgently petitioned for assistance, and Commissioners were appointed to treat with the Indians, who, with the indolence peculiar to their race, excepting in moments of great excitement, forbore from following up their advantage. General St. Clair was now succeeded by General Wayne, an officer who had distinguished himself in the War of Independence; and the military force of the Republic was raised to five thousand men, though with great difficulty, owing to the extravagant jealousy of a standing army felt by the Anti-Federalists. Not waiting for the negotiations to be brought to a conclusion, and divining that they would probably fail, and be followed by renewed attacks on the part of the savages, Wayne marched into the Indian country in the autumn of 1793. The winter was spent by him near the place of St. Clair's defeat, where he built a fort; and in the summer of 1794 he pushed still further into the west, building forts as he proceeded. On the 20th of August he inflicted a severe defeat upon the Indians; then, laying waste their country, retired into winter quarters at Greenville, after a campaign of about ninety days. The tribes were now thoroughly cowed, and, on the 3rd of August, 1795, eleven hundred chiefs and warriors met a body of Commissioners from the United States, concluded a treaty of peace, and ceded a large tract of land in the present States of Michigan and Indiana.

Despite all troubles, the area of the Republic continued to increase, and on the 1st of June, 1792, Kentucky was admitted into the Union as a fifteenth State. This territory had been chiefly settled by the Virginians, and was for a long time claimed by them as a part of their domain. The first regular settlement in that portion of America was made by the great explorer, Daniel Boone, in 1775; but parties of adventurers had encamped there from time to time during the previous twenty-seven years. The population rapidly increased, and passed so completely beyond the jurisdiction of Virginia that the Legislature of that State was compelled to allow a separation. Kentucky is now mainly an agricultural State, but it contains some of the wildest scenery in the Union. The caves of Kentucky are celebrated, and have been compared to those in Derbyshire, but they are on a much vaster scale. The Mammoth Cave has been explored to a distance of more than ten miles, without any termination being reached, and the aggregate length of all the branches is above forty miles. A stormy element seems to have entered into the blood of the people, and the Kentucky men are celebrated for their love of sport, their



MAMMOTH CAVE, KENTUCKY.

daring character, their vehement temper, and their tendency to a certain lawless freedom.



PLAN OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, AS ORIGINALLY LAID OUT. (*From a Plate published in 1793.*)

Western Pennsylvania was in 1794 troubled by a popular outbreak known as "the whiskey insurrection." This was provoked by the Excise law which had proved so extremely unpopular. The Act of 1791 was superseded by another, passed in 1794; but this gave no greater satisfaction than the first. The officers sent by Congress to enforce the law in the western districts of Pennsylvania were violently resisted by the people. The insurrection soon became general; outrages of an extreme kind were committed in the neighbourhood of Pittsburg; buildings were burned, mails were robbed, and the Excise officers were handled with great roughness. Between six and seven thousand insurgents were under arms, and the local militia could do nothing. Indeed, many members of that body had enrolled themselves among the rebels. Even the adjacent counties of Virginia were infected, and the President found it necessary to adopt measures for crushing the disorder. Two proclamations which he issued—one on August 7th, and another on September 25th—having been entirely disregarded, a large body of the militia of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, was ordered to march into the insurgent district, under the command of General Henry Lee, the Governor of Virginia. These forces appeared there in October, and speedily restored order, without the necessity of any active operations. The ringleaders were afterwards tried and found guilty of treason, but ultimately pardoned on their professing repentance. The military measures of the President, in sending to one State the militia of others, were decried as unconstitutional; but it is plain that he had no other means of suppressing a dangerous movement, and of asserting a rightful authority.

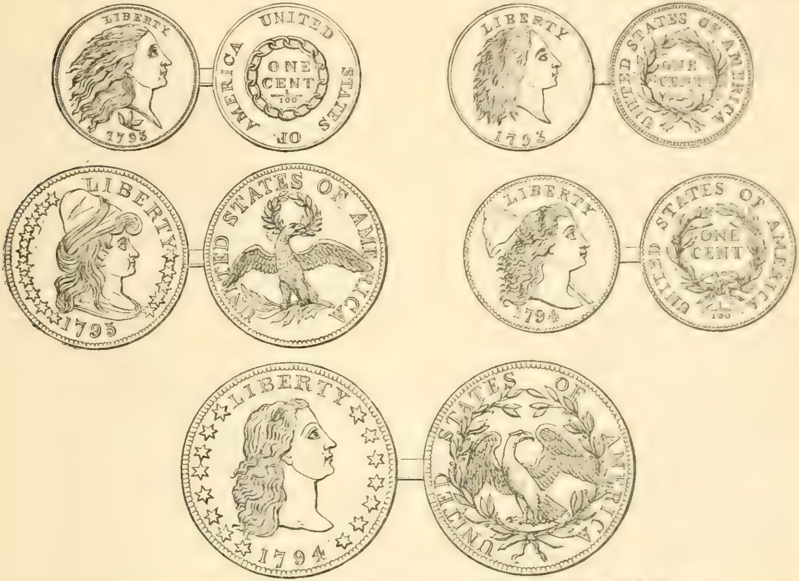
The insurgents appear to have had the support of the Anti-Federalists, who would doubtless have been delighted to tie the hands of the President and his Government in every possible way. The tendency of such principles is towards endless disintegration. The objection to a central power might be carried so far as to render even municipal rule impracticable. Every parish might lay claim to independence; and it is hard to see where these political theories could logically cease, short of the right of each individual to do exactly as he likes, without any reference to the collective good of the community. Men of large ability and unimpeachable honour, like Jefferson, cannot, of course, be suspected of a desire to push their opinions to such insane lengths; but inferior members of the party seem scarcely, as far as their aspirations went, to have stopped this side of a condition which would have been nothing less than permanent anarchy. The weak point in the politics of the Southern States of America has always been systematic rebellion against a strong Federal Government; and, while calling themselves Democrats, they have made it but too evident that their views are in every way opposed to the actual nature and tendencies of Democracy. The rule of the people is not the rule of sections, not the rule of special interests or of local peculiarities; but the will of the nation itself, firmly compacted—able to protect the well-being of all, strong to repel and to subdue whoever may have the daring to attack its sovereignty.

CHAPTER LXI.

The French Revolution, and its Effects in America—Differences between French and American Republicanism—Citizen Genet, Envoy from the French Republic to the United States—Division in the American Cabinet as to how he should be received—His fitting out of Privateers—Discussion with Jefferson—American Constitutional Law—Genet's insolent Threats—Suggestions made by the French Envoy to Henry Lee—Continued Disputes with Genet—Troubles created by Privateering—Recall of Genet, at the Request of the United States Government—Disputes with England—Position of Jefferson—His Retirement from Office—Opinions and Action of James Madison—Violent Feeling against England in the Legislature of the United States—Debate in the House of Representatives on the Commercial Resolutions of Madison—Opposition between the Government and Congress—Mutual Accusations of America and England—American Imitations of French Red Republicanism—Bill for prohibiting the Admission of British Commodities—The Measure defeated in the Senate by Adams's Casting Vote—Retirement of Hamilton.

EVERY day, the difficulties of the United States, consequent on the French Revolution, increased in gravity. It was natural for the American people to cherish a sentiment of gratitude towards the people of France for the aid which they had rendered to the cause of Independence. It was equally to be expected that they should feel flattered at the homage to their own political principles which was implied in the French adoption of Republican forms, as the result of that great rising against the misrule of Bourbons and nobles which gave so wild a character to the departing eighteenth century. For the same reasons, it is easy to understand that the democrats of Paris considered they had a claim on the citizens of the United States, and looked with confidence for their sympathy, and, if need were, for their support. But the case was in fact nothing like so simple as these conditions seem to suggest. The relations between countries are always complicated and uneasy in periods of general disturbance;

and, in the instance of the United States and France, the mere superficial agreement as to dispensing with kingly government could not long conceal the great dissimilarity of the two nations, their institutions and their aims. The most extreme Jacobins had, it is true, their admirers in America; but it may be safely asserted that the majority of the American people, and the greater number of eminent American statesmen, disliked and feared the principles which were then obtaining ascendency on the banks of the Seine. American Republicanism, as generally understood and practised, was English Constitutionalism carried to its legitimate conclusions in a land where there could be neither monarch nor aristocracy—where neither existed, and neither was desired. The Republicanism of France was as much social as political—a wild and passionate attempt at the entire reconstruction of society, threatening the existence of property, of the family, of historic religion, and of transmitted morals. The English blood was too strong in the American people, the English soberness of character was too much an inherited condition of their minds, the English love of slow and cautious change was too much a habit of their political existence, for these tendencies of the emancipated French intellect to be otherwise than distasteful to a large proportion of those who had recently been colonists of Great Britain. Hence the want of cordiality which in time developed itself between the Envoy of France at the seat of the Federal Government, and the members of the Administration.



COINS STRUCK IN THE UNITED STATES, 1793-5. (*From Specimens in the British Museum.*)

The feeling, however, did not arise at once. When news of the French Revolution first reached America, it was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Public demonstrations were made in several places. In Boston, an ox was roasted whole, dressed with French and American flags, placed on a car drawn by sixteen horses, and paraded through the streets, followed by carts bearing bread and hogsheads of punch, which were distributed among the people. A civic feast was held at Faneuil Hall, over which Samuel Adams presided. The anniversary of the French alliance was celebrated in several places, and the progress of freedom in France was identified with the political ideas of America in a way which shows how completely enthusiasm had got the better of judgment. When the Minister appointed by Louis XVI. was recalled, his successor, Edmond Charles Genet, was greeted with the warmest expressions of friendship. He arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, in April, 1793. Louis had been
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executed about a quarter of a year before, and Genet was a very ardent Republican. One object of his mission was to obtain the co-operation of the United States in the furtherance of French Republican designs. France was at war with England, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, and Holland, and it was a matter of great importance to the new Government that it should obtain allies. The active friendship of the United States was anticipated; but, before the arrival of Genet at Philadelphia (for he lingered a good deal in the South), a split took place in the Government as to how the coming Envoy should be received. Hamilton, the Financial Secretary, and Knox, the Secretary at War, were for openly condemning the democratic Government of France, and refusing to accept its Minister, or at any rate for making his reception as cold as possible. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, and Randolph, the Attorney-General, took the opposite view, and maintained—what is now generally held to be the reason and justice of such matters—that America had no right to interfere with, or even criticise, the internal government of a country with which she was on terms of amity. It was agreed, however, even by this section of the Administration, that, for the sake of preserving neutrality, a proclamation should be issued, forbidding the citizens of the United States to equip vessels for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against any of the belligerent Powers. This was accordingly put forth, under date of April 22nd. The President resolved to receive the Envoy, but it was determined to make no allusion to the Treaty of Alliance concluded between France and the United States in 1778, by which it was stipulated that each Power should defend the other against England. Indeed, it was held by many that the Treaty in question expired with the War of Independence, out of which it grew.

Popular opinion was very much agitated by what was termed the French question, and much intemperate language was used by heated partisans on both sides. Washington was reviled by the democrats as a Royalist, and seems to have sometimes lost his self-control under these repeated attacks. Jefferson, in his "Anas," records a remarkable scene at a Cabinet Council on the 2nd of August. "Knox, in a foolish, incoherent sort of speech," says he, "introduced the pasquinade lately printed, called the 'Funeral of George Washington and James Wilson, King and Judge,' &c., where the President was placed on a guillotine. The President was much inflamed; got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself; ran on much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him; defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his, since he had been in the Government, which was not done on the purest motives; that he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since; that by God he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation; that he had rather be on his farm than to be made Emperor of the world; and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be a King." This anecdote accords with what we know of the disposition of Washington. Imperturbable as he commonly appeared, there was a great deal of passion in the recesses of his nature; and this would occasionally break out with all the more vehemence because of its usual repression. The infirmity had increased of late years, and, according to Hamilton, the General's irritability had become so great towards the end of the war that his popularity with the army declined in consequence. The James Wilson referred to by Jefferson was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court.

Nothing could be more imprudent or objectionable than the conduct of Citizen Genet, as he called himself in the phraseology of French Republicanism. He should of course, on leaving France, have sailed direct to Philadelphia, as the Federal capital for the time being; instead of which he preferred to land at Charleston, for the furtherance of the secret purposes with which he was charged. There he remained six weeks, superintending the fitting out of cruisers designed for intercepting British vessels, and injuring British commerce. Notwithstanding these unwarrantable actions, and this lack of respect to the President and his Ministers, Genet made himself popular with the people of Charleston. Indeed, it is not difficult to believe that the position he assumed rendered him all the more agreeable to the natives of the South, who were not very favourable to the Federal Government, and who saw in privateering a great source of irregular profit. Even on his journey to Philadelphia, when at length he started, he received every manifestation of esteem and regard, and, on entering the Federal metropolis, crowds flocked out to meet him. These exhibitions of popular good-will seem to have entirely perverted whatever judgment he may have originally possessed. He came very shortly to the conclusion that he could defy the Proclamation of the President, compromise the neutrality of the United States, and use the country to which he was accredited as a tool for promoting the interests of his own. He continued to make arrangements for the sending forth of privateers, and even went so far as to sanction the capture by his countrymen of vessels in the rivers, and therefore within the dominions, of the United States. French cruisers took captured vessels into American ports, where French consuls held Courts of Admiralty, by which the sale of prizes was authorised. And this was done even before Genet was recognised as the Minister of France by the American Government.

The conduct of the envoy was in fact so flagrant that even the section of the Cabinet which sympathised most with French ideas felt compelled to resist his assumptions. Jefferson, as Adams has related, was as little satisfied with the proceedings of the French Minister as anybody else. On the 7th of July he called on Genet, and told him he had received information of a certain vessel being furnished with extra guns in American waters, and about to sail on a privateering expedition. Being requested to detain this vessel until further inquiries could be made, Genet assumed a very high tone; charged the American Government with having violated the treaties between the two nations; complained that they suffered the French flag to be insulted and disregarded by the English; and, with an immense amount of vehement declamation, taxed the President's Administration with favouritism towards the British, and unfairness towards the French. If, he argued, the American authorities were unable to secure French vessels in American ports, and French property on the high seas, they ought to permit the representatives of France to protect them by their own action. He then dwelt on the friendly propositions he had brought out from his country, and observed that his instructions and his personal desires were to do whatever would gratify the American people. These very instructions, however, were in one respect such as to disgust all men of honourable feeling. They bitterly attacked the late regal Government of France, and asserted that the Ministers of Louis XVI. had plotted against the aggrandisement of the United States, even while, for selfish ends, promoting their independence of Great Britain. It cannot be denied that this statement was perfectly true; but, inasmuch as the Bourbon Monarchy had really, from whatever motive, largely assisted in the creation of the American Republic, it was extremely ungenerous for its successors to endeavour to destroy the natural gratitude of Americans towards an old ally. Anything, however, was considered fair by Citizen Genet, as long as the ends of faction could be served.

In his interview with Jefferson, Genet even presumed to lay down the law as to the constitution of the United States. He affirmed that the Executive should not have acted as it had done without consulting Congress, and said that on the return of the President from Mount Vernon he would certainly press him to convene that body. Jefferson explained that the American Constitution divided the functions of Government among three authorities—the Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary—each of which was supreme in all questions belonging to its own department, and independent of the others; that all the matters in dispute belonged to the Executive department; and that, even if Congress were sitting, those matters could not be submitted to its judgment. Genet asked if Congress were not sovereign. Jefferson replied that it was sovereign only in making the laws; the Executive was sovereign in executing those laws, and the Judiciary in construing them in certain cases. It was for the President, said Jefferson, to see that treaties were observed. "But," urged Genet, "if he should decide against a treaty, to whom is a nation to appeal?" Jefferson's response was that the Constitution had made the President himself the last appeal. Hereupon the French citizen made the American citizen a bow, and said he could not compliment him on such a Constitution. Genet had now regained his coolness, and Jefferson remarked on the impropriety of his conduct in persevering in measures contrary to the will of the Government, and in defiance of its obvious rights. The subject of the privateer was then once more brought forward by the American Secretary of State, who repeated his request that the vessel should be detained. Genet answered that he should not be justified in detaining her; he could not make any promise; it would be out of his duty to do so; but he was able to state that the vessel was not in readiness, and therefore could not sail that day. Jefferson, however, could get from him no direct promise that she would remain until after the return of the President from the country, though his language and gestures seemed to imply that such would be the case. The Secretary finally said he would take it for granted that the ship would not be ready before the President's return; and the two shortly afterwards parted.*

In the course of this interview, Genet gave Jefferson to understand that he should publish a narrative or statement of the transactions; and some time before, in conversing with Mr. Dallas, he went the astounding length of saying that he would appeal from the President to the people. This was a direct incentive to one of those revo-

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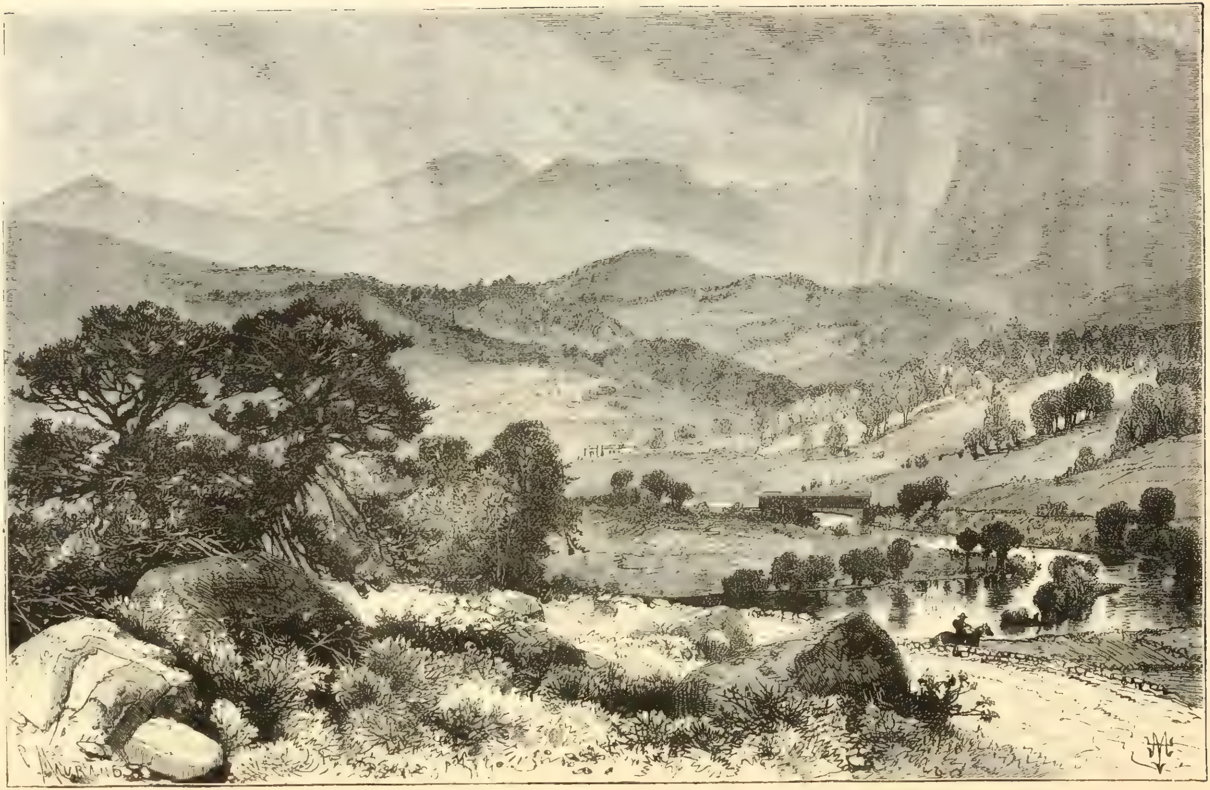
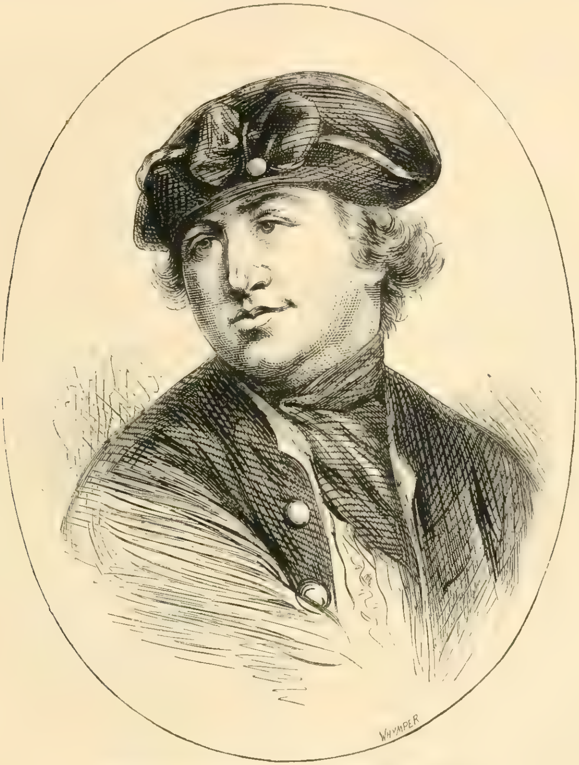
* Jefferson's Minutes of his Conversation with Genet.



MOUNT MANSFIELD, VERMONT.

lutionary movements which were so continually altering the Government of France; but the United States were not a likely scene for the success of such attempts. To Jefferson, the French Minister expressed his belief that there existed in America an English party, and ascribed to the misinformation, the industry, and the manœuvres of that party some of the decisions of the Executive. He complained that the agents employed by Government acted with gross partiality; that they allowed not a single movement of a French vessel to pass unnoticed, yet never informed against an English one arming, or informed only when it was too late to stop her. Jefferson seems to have acted throughout this business with entire good faith, and perhaps with greater prudence than some of his colleagues would have shown. The Secretaries of the Treasury and of War proposed to erect a battery on Mud Island, and to fire at the offending vessel and sink her if she attempted to pass. Such a step would of course have led to a war between the two Republics, and Jefferson very properly refused his sanction. The privateer was at that time at Gloucester Point, and soon afterwards fell down to Chester—influenced, possibly, by a fear that the Government would take some such course as that suggested. Many of the American newspapers severely criticised the policy of the Cabinet in restraining the furious partizanship of Citizen Genet. There was no doubt a war-party in the United States, as well as a peace-party; but it is certain that the latter greatly outnumbered the former for the moment. Henry Lee, in writing to President Washington, said he



COMMODORE ROBERT HOPKINS. (*From a Print of* 1776.)

believed that nine-tenths of the American people applauded the system of neutrality declared in the President's Proclamation. Genet had endeavoured to enlist Lee on his side, and had suggested to him the desirability of the United States taking part in the war then commencing in Europe. He observed that, in case Royalty were re-established in France, the European monarchs would combine to destroy liberty in America, and that the very existence of the United States as a nation depended on the success of the Republican system in Paris, to aid which the Americans might conveniently make important diversions on their Southern and Northern neighbours—to wit, Spain in the Floridas, and Great Britain in Canada. To this argument Lee opposed their infant state as a people, their love of peace, the heavy debt which oppressed them in consequence of the last war, the probable futility of such vast enterprises, and the certainty that France would derive more benefit from retaining within her own bosom all her resources of men and money than could possibly ensue from doubtful adventures.

The dispute between the French Envoy and the American Government continued for a long while. Genet maintained that the treaty between France and the United States (the permanent existence of which was very doubtful) sanctioned such measures as those he desired to see taken, and that any difficulties thrown in their way would be infractions of that treaty, and treason against the rights of man. The Government nevertheless arrested two persons engaged in privateering. Genet at once demanded their release, and adopted a tone of menace which was not at all likely to effect his purpose. He relied upon the support which he found in a certain section of the people—that section which affected Anti-Federalist and democratic ideas. Several persons belonging to this party entertained the French Minister at great feasts, wherein red caps of liberty were circulated, and toasts of a seditious character were proposed. Some of the worst features of French political life flourished rankly in these circles. Jacobin societies were formed, and at Philadelphia a club was set on foot, the object of which was to overrule both the Legislature and the Government, after the fashion of similar associations at Paris. Emboldened by these tokens of support, Genet determined to defy even more openly the authority of the President and his Ministers. Although he had certainly given Jefferson to understand, without positively stating so in distinct language, that the privateer then being armed should not sail until the President's return from the country, he permitted that vessel to depart without awaiting any further conferences. Whilst the Government was consulting its law officers as to what would be the fittest course to pursue, the French Envoy set up a counter complaint, and alleged that the British were in the habit of taking French property out of American vessels, contrary to the principles of neutrality avowed by the rest of Europe. Jefferson replied that the British were legally entitled to do so. "I believe," he said, "it cannot be doubted but that, by the general law of nations, the goods of a friend found in the vessel of an enemy are free, and the goods of an enemy found in the vessel of a friend are lawful prize." Genet was furious. He retorted by again threatening to appeal from the President to the people; and to some extent he was supported in his estimate of the popular sympathies, for a person tried at Charleston on a charge of privateering was acquitted by the jury. The Government, however, was resolved not to be intimidated. Orders were issued against permitting privateers in the ports, for preventing captures within the American waters, and for restoring captures so made; and the American Minister at Paris was instructed to demand the recall of Genet. As if foreseeing that the end of his power was near at hand, the Envoy now observed no measure in his violence. He caused the forcible rescue of a reclaimed prize, and it sailed in possession of the original French captors. In due course, Genet's credentials were annulled by the Government which had sent him out. He feared, however, to return to his own country, where it is not improbable that his ill-success would have been avenged by his death, after the fashion then common among French Republicans. Conceiving himself much safer in the land whose Government he had outraged, he married a daughter of Governor Clinton, of New York, and remained in the United States to the close of his life, which was extended to the year 1834.

It was not merely with the French Republic that the United States came into collision on this delicate question of neutrality. The English Government was as arrogant as that of France. Orders were issued from London for stopping all neutral ships laden with provisions that might be bound for French ports. This was a serious check upon American trade, which consisted largely of exports of corn, and it is not surprising that both the people and the Government of the United States should have resisted such an assumption. It was also alleged that England was in the habit of pressing American seamen for her own navy. It is probable that she intended only to reclaim her own subjects who had become American citizens:

but even this was going much farther than could be justified; and it appears that several native-born Americans were seized also. Of course these acts excited the most vehement indignation among such of the Americans as inclined towards the French; but in truth they were not tolerable by any division of the people. When Congress re-assembled, in December, 1793, the President felt compelled to draw attention to the chief subjects of controversy. He asked for an increase of taxes, and an augmentation of the national force, to enable him to repel the designs of either France or England, and to maintain the neutrality necessary to the well-being and honour of his country. His Government was much shaken by these unusual disturbances. Jefferson in particular was in a very painful position, for in opposing Genet he had been compelled to oppose also the party to which he himself belonged. This did not draw him any the nearer to the opposite party, and his dislike and suspicion of Hamilton were as great as ever. The newspaper which expounded Jefferson's views was edited by a man named Freneau, who observed no measure in his abuse of the Government and of the President. Washington not unnaturally complained of such a licence, and Jefferson determined to retire—a measure which he had been contemplating for some time. Before leaving office (which he quitted at the close of 1793), he drew up an elaborate report on the commerce of the United States, and on the privileges and restrictions attending mercantile intercourse with foreign nations. The upshot of this document, as might be expected from its author, was to favour the interests of France as against those of England. The hostility of the latter country to American trade predisposed a great many persons, even beyond the lines of the Anti-Federal party, to receive these suggestions with favour. Jefferson was followed by Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, as Secretary of State; but the views of the retiring Minister had more influence than those of his successor.

Very early in the session of 1794, the House of Representatives exhibited a disposition to adopt hostile measures against Great Britain. The Opposition, no longer hampered by the presence of their real leader, Jefferson, in the Cabinet, felt themselves more free to attack the policy of the Government with vigour, and they were now aided by many not belonging to the same connection, who were angered by the policy of England towards the United States. Jefferson had an able auxiliary in the Lower House, in the person of James Madison, a man generally acknowledged as the leader of that House, a close thinker, a politician of large experience, and one who was destined in time to be President of the United States. Although he had hitherto been identified with the principles of the Federalists, he was at one with the Democrats on the particular matters now occupying the public mind. Like Jefferson, and like Washington, he was a native of Virginia, and the Virginians, as a rule, were less disposed than the New Englanders to take a British view of American affairs. The attention of Congress was soon called to the report of Jefferson, and to the measures which it recommended. Among those measures was a tonnage duty on British vessels, from which French vessels were to be exempt. Public opinion, irritated for a time by the insolence of Genet, had now once more gone round to the side of France. It was not that the political ideas of French Republicans had become any more acceptable to the majority of the American people; it was simply that American commerce was injured, and American pride wounded, by the British Government, and that any method of retaliating upon England was consequently acceptable to the popular mind. The Americans had recently been additionally exasperated by the removal of the Portuguese cruisers from before the Straits of Gibraltar—an act said to be owing to the representations of England, and certainly resulting in the escape of many Algerine corsairs into the Atlantic, and in serious depredations on American vessels. It was thought, moreover, that the hostile movements of the frontier Indians were prompted by the Governor of Canada and other British officials; and all these occasions of irritation, taken together, had produced a very widespread feeling of enmity towards Great Britain.

Such were the sentiments which influenced the House of Representatives in no slight degree when the debate on the commercial resolutions commenced in that Assembly. The discussions were long and violent. Mr. Smith, a Southern member, denounced the proposed plan as unjust and politically vindictive. He enlarged on the benefits of commercial intercourse with England, and maintained that it had been regulated as fairly by that country as the commerce of France by the French Republic, besides being much more remunerative. The objections to a prohibitory system he showed to be numerous, and he pointed out the inconvenience of forcing the small capital of the United States from its natural channel of agriculture into manufactures and navigation, the advantages of which were less known and more problematical. Madison very strongly expressed the contrary view. He seemed desirous of obtaining for America the same doubtful benefits which had accrued to England from her

Navigation Acts. America, he believed, would thrive more from exclusion and contest than from a conciliatory policy; and he vehemently insisted that the existing moment, above all others, was the time for effecting such a purpose, since England was then engaged in a mortal struggle with France. The plans of Madison may have been politic for the moment; but they lacked the deeper wisdom which provides for succeeding as well as for present times. He furnished for successive generations of his countrymen the basis of that Protectionist policy which exists even to the present day, and which has been so injurious to the true interests of America. His theories, however, fell in with the prevailing mood, and the anti-British resolutions were carried by a majority of five votes.

In this excited condition of the public mind, Government thought to divert the attention of the people from the vexed questions with England by undertaking an expedition against the Algerines. It was proposed to equip six frigates, to reduce those troublesome pirates to submission; naval constructors and navy agents were set to work; captains and superintendents were commissioned; and the foundations of a national fleet were thus laid. Something of a naval power had been created during the Revolution, and many gallant deeds had been performed by Hopkins, the Commander-in-Chief, and by Paul Jones. But this force had since been neglected, and even the necessity of chastising the Algerines did not do much towards reviving it. The Democrats, now all-powerful, determined not to lose sight of their complaints against England. They considered that a war on the Continent of America was imminent, and they determined to concentrate their force at home, so as to be prepared for the worst. Hostilities began to be openly talked of; Lord Dorchester, the Canadian Governor, seemed himself to contemplate a war; and frequent captures of American vessels by British cruisers excited the popular fury to the utmost. Congress therefore proceeded to consider the raising of a military force, the fortification of the ports, and other measures of protection. It was even proposed by Madison to break off all commercial intercourse with England, and to sequester her debts. Mutual accusations passed between the American and British Governments, and each charged the other with violating the treaty of peace concluded in 1783. The Americans complained that no indemnification had been made for negroes carried away at the close of the War of Independence; that the British still held possession of certain military posts on their frontiers; and that the whole policy of England was directed towards the ruin and humiliation of the United States. The British, on their side, alleged that the stipulations concerning the property of loyalists, and also in relation to debts contracted in England before the Revolution, had been disregarded. As the year advanced, the English Government moderated or withdrew some of its obnoxious acts; and this enabled the Federal or British party in America to regain something of its former strength, and to make advances towards removing the causes of dissension. The Democratic or French party became all the more violent at these prospects of pacification, and its members, imitating the habits of Parisian life, continued to establish clubs professing extreme opinions, and applauded all the most violent actions of the Republican body in France.

The condition of the country had now become so serious that the necessity for taking some step, even of an unusual character, was apparent to the President and his Ministers. It was resolved to send Jay as a special Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, for the purpose of attempting a settlement of the questions in dispute by means of a treaty. This measure of the Executive was met by a very threatening movement on the part of the Legislature. Madison's suggestion for breaking off commercial intercourse with the offending country was adopted in the House of Representatives, in a Bill prohibiting the admission of all commodities from Great Britain until the grievances complained of should be entirely redressed. The great object of this measure, it can hardly be questioned, was to render the proposed mission of Jay abortive, and to precipitate a war with England, in which the United States would have appeared as the ally of Republican France. The result might have been fatal to the rising fortunes of America, for she was certainly not then in a position to bear the drain of such a contest; but the peril was averted by the wisdom of John Adams. When the Bill came before the Senate, that body was almost equally divided, and on the third reading was absolutely so. The numbers were then thirteen to thirteen, and it devolved on Adams, as Vice-President, to give the casting vote. He did so on the side of the non-contents, and the Bill was consequently lost.

This exceptional power was very frequently exercised by Adams, and always on the side of the Federalist party. A short time previous to the rejection of Madison's commercial Bill, the Lower House had sent up a measure framed to prevent violations of neutrality like those committed by Citizen Genet, which, in spite of the President's

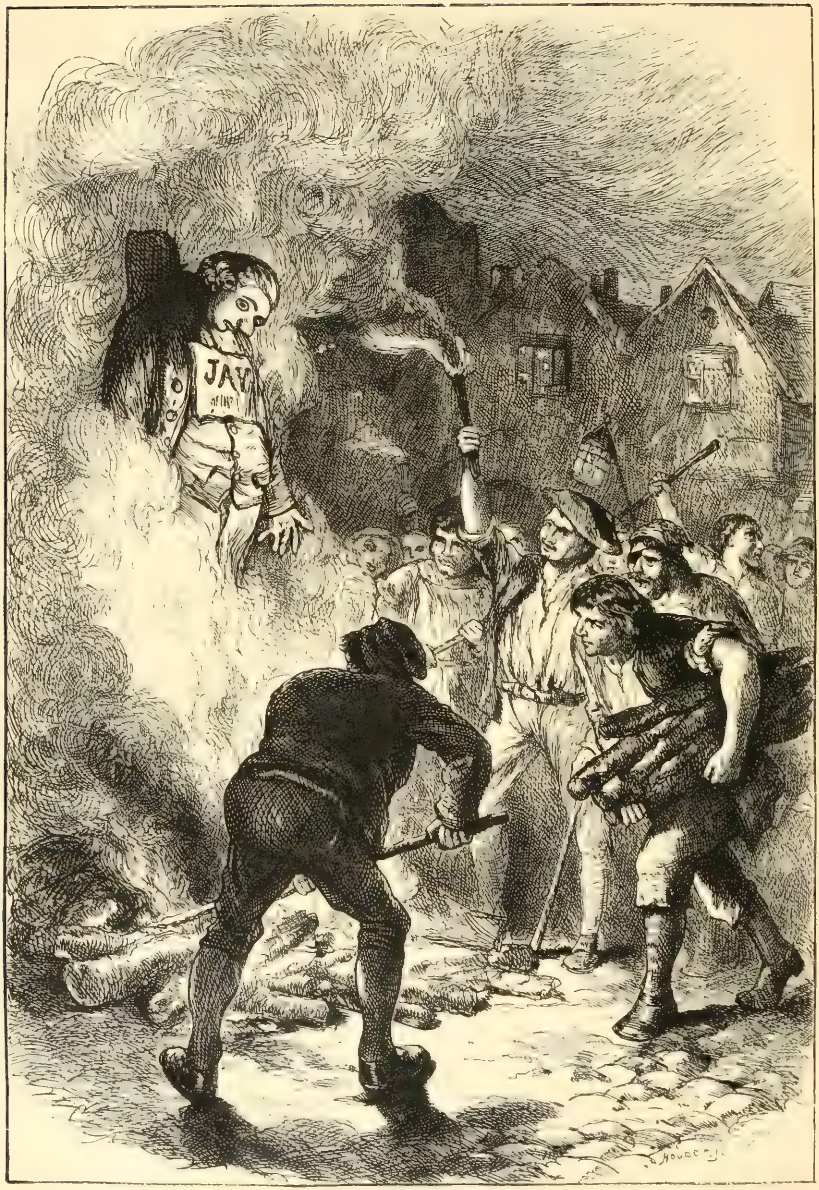
Proclamation, the law did not seem strong enough to check. This was an effect which the Democrats were by no means desirous of promoting, and the opposition to the measure was so strong that the casting vote of Adams was three times required to pass it through. The Vice-President detested the Gallic party, and saw how much of mere insubordination and anarchy lay behind its plausible phrases. Although he believed that his country was being badly used by England, and was always ready to support her rights, it is probable that, as between England and France, his sympathy was to a great extent with the former. In a letter to his wife, dated the 4th of February, 1794, he ridicules what he calls a "rascally lie," a "red-hot lie," to the effect that the Duke of York was in a cage at Paris, and that the English fleet was in the hands of the French. On the receipt of this monstrous report, the bells of Philadelphia were set ringing, and an attempt was made to get Adams to read the glorious news in the Senate; but he very wisely refused. Judging from his private and familiar letters at this time, Adams would appear to have been in a mood of general despondency and depression, like that of Hamlet after the supernatural disclosures of his buried father. He was satisfied neither with the French nor with the English, and dreaded lest his own countrymen were going wild with faction.

The retirement of Jefferson was followed in time by that of his rival, Hamilton, who, on the 31st of January, 1795, left the Ministry of Finance, in which he had effected so many remarkable results. Before quitting the scene of his labours, he issued a report on the finances of the United States, containing a further development of his plans. He was undoubtedly a man of very remarkable powers. Jefferson himself admitted that he was a Colossus to the Federal party, and a host in himself. Distinguished alike in administration and in debate, he must be reckoned among the most eminent of those statesmen who founded the American Republic. But he was hated by the Democrats, and described by them as a Royalist, mainly because he inclined to English rather than to French ideas in the working of free institutions, though it must be admitted that some of his political principles were out of harmony with the Republican institutions of America. He was more than once accused of peculation in his office, but, it would seem, unjustly. When he relinquished power, he was so far from being enriched by his association with the Government that he was actually embarrassed in his private means. Whatever blots may rest upon his private life, he had done the State good service in very difficult times. He had restored the credit of his country, and he left its service a poorer man than when he entered on that thankless task.

CHAPTER LXII.

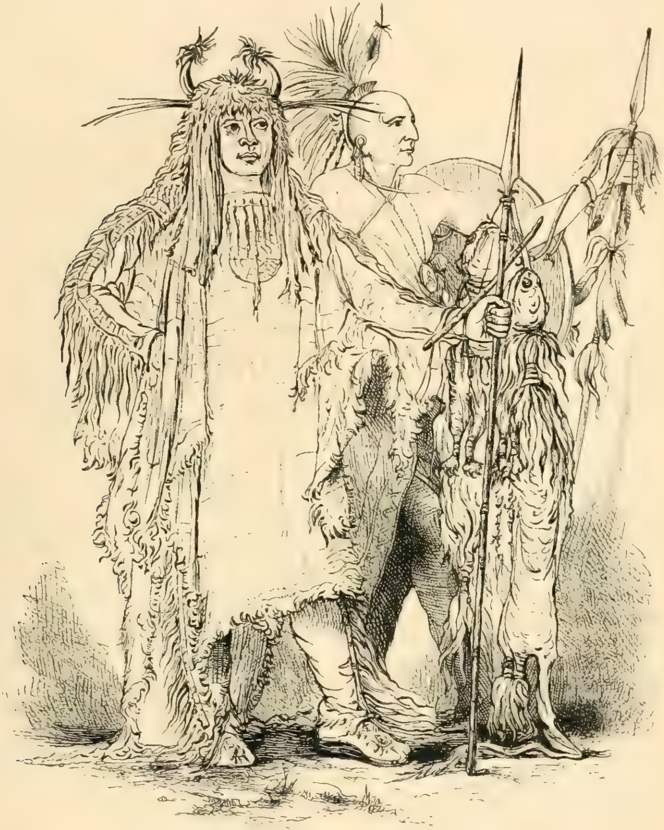
Decline of Strength in the Federalist Party—Jay's Treaty with England, and its Provisions—Vehement Popular Opposition—Unpopularity of the President in Certain Quarters—Imprudent Conduct of Edmund Randolph—His Intrigues with France, and consequent Resignation—Signing of the Treaty by the President—Treaties with Spain and Algiers—Compromise with the Barbary Pirates—Violent Debates in the House of Representatives as to the English Treaty—Approach of a New Presidential Election—Washington determined not to present himself for a Third Term—Jefferson on Re-elections to the Presidency—Insolence of France towards America—Washington's Farewell Address to the People—Summary of its Contents—Question as to its Authorship—Remarks on the Political Principles which it expressed—The Future Course of American Politics determined by Washington.

WASHINGTON felt himself considerably weakened by the retirement of Hamilton, the strongest and most gifted supporter of his Federalist policy, and of his inclinations towards peace. He had also lost the assistance of his old friend, General Knox, who quitted the War Office a little before. The retiring Ministers were succeeded by Mr. Wolcott and Colonel Pickering, and the President could now count on but slight assistance of an effective kind in repelling the attacks of the Democratic party. Unfortunately, he wanted all the assistance he could get. Jay, who had been sent as special Envoy to England in the spring of 1794, for the adjustment of the long-standing differences between the two countries, concluded a treaty, which, in June, 1795, was laid before the Senate. On the whole, it was a favourable treaty; yet some of its features were such as to excite great disapprobation. England was not likely to yield everything, and that was exactly what the Demo-



BURNING JAY'S EFFIGY.

crats desired. She had undertaken, however, to evacuate, by the 1st of June, 1796, those posts on the North-western frontiers which she had held ever since the conclusion of peace. On the other hand, the United States covenanted to give every facility to British subjects for the recovery of debts due before the termination of the war. Indemnity for illegal captures was promised on both sides. Freedom of trade was permitted, with certain modifications. Americans were allowed to trade with the West Indies in vessels under twenty tons; but they were to carry their produce to their own ports only, and were to export no such produce to Europe. These qualifications, together with an admission of the English claims with regard to contraband articles, and the fact of the treaty containing no stipulation for redressing the injuries of those who had lost negroes through the action of the British authorities, were considered by many sufficient reasons for condemning the whole agreement. When the treaty was laid before the Senate, in June, it only just received, after a fortnight's discussion, the necessary sanction of two-thirds of that assembly, and then on condition that the President should procure an alteration in the parts having reference to commerce. This was ultimately done; and indeed it was obvious that the treaty, as originally framed, would prohibit



GROUP OF FRONTIER INDIANS.

Americans from sending their staple productions, cotton and sugar, to Europe. A storm of popular fury awaited the document. One of the senators, violating his obligation of secrecy, communicated a copy to a Philadelphian newspaper, and in a little while public opinion was most powerfully agitated all over the country. Meetings were called in every town, and few dared to say a word in favour of the detested concessions. In several places, all who ventured to take the unpopular view were threatened with personal violence. Jay was burned in effigy; Hamilton was stoned at a public meeting; and the British Minister at Philadelphia was insulted. The Democrats were especially loud in their condemnation. They declared that such a treaty was an act of base ingratitude to France, and involved nothing short of treason towards America herself, whose watchword should at all times be hatred to monarchy and to England. Even the President was treated with little respect, and felt compelled to rebuke those who had sent some of the more violent addresses. Hamilton and others, however, defended the treaty by their pens, with great power and marked effect; and signs of a reaction became visible after awhile.

This reaction was strengthened by an incident which resulted in Edmund Randolph being compelled to resign his place as Secretary of State. It was discovered that he had been acting, to say the least, with very great imprudence. His sympathies, though not openly declared, were in favour of the Gallican party; and while, by his trimming policy, he gave offence to many of his own friends, he so far acted with them as to carry on relations with the French Government, of a nature not strictly official, nor consistent with his duties as a Minister. M. Fauchet, the representative of France at Philadelphia, had sent to his Government a letter, which was intercepted by the English Minister, Mr. Hammond, and laid before the President, and from which it appeared that Randolph had been plotting against the views of the Cabinet generally, and had supported his own ideas of what was right by an unauthorised use of public money. His motives may have been pure; but it was impossible, after such disclosures, to retain him in the public service, and his disappearance from office, while it did not greatly offend the Democrats, by whom he was mistrusted, rendered the position of the Federalists more easy than it had been for some time past. It was a difficult matter, however, to obtain a fitting successor to Randolph. All the most capable and influential men refused to undertake so onerous a responsibility at that period of domestic menace and foreign entanglement; and Washington was obliged to be content with Colonel Pickering, whom he transferred from the War Office.

In spite of all the popular clamour against it, the treaty with England was signed by the President on the 18th of August, 1795—the day previous to that on which Randolph resigned his office; and in October a treaty was concluded with Spain, by which the boundaries between the Spanish territories of Louisiana and Florida on the one hand, and the American Republic on the other, were defined, and the United States obtained the right of freely navigating the Mississippi, together with the use of New Orleans as a port for ten years. These concessions were very grudgingly made by the Court of Madrid, and nothing but fear extorted them. The right to the Mississippi had been resolutely asserted by the people of Kentucky, who, after demanding of Congress that that right should be maintained at any cost, made preparations among themselves for invading Louisiana. Spain was now involved in a war with Republican France, and, being anxious not to increase her embarrassments, she intimated her readiness to conclude a satisfactory treaty with the United States, if a Special Envoy were sent to Madrid for that purpose. Thomas Pinckney was accordingly despatched on the business, and the result of his labours gave general satisfaction. About the same period, a treaty was also concluded with Algiers, and with the Indians beyond the Ohio. The latter was the result of warlike operations already related; the former was perhaps in some measure hastened by the naval preparations which had been commenced the year before by the President's Government for chastising the insolence of the Algerines. The evil had indeed attained very great proportions. Between the years 1785 and 1793, the corsairs had captured and carried into Algiers fifteen American vessels, and had made slaves of a hundred and eighty officers and seamen. The treaty of November 28th, 1795, secured immunity for the citizens of the Republic, but only by the humiliating means—long practised by European Governments—of paying an annual tribute for the redemption of captives. This was to be to the amount of 23,000 dollars. It was also agreed that the United States should pay 800,000 dollars for captives then alive, and, in addition, should make the Dey a present of a frigate worth 100,000 dollars. The treaty did not last very long; but it answered its purpose for awhile.

The internal difficulties of the United States showed no signs of abatement in the session of

1796. Washington having proclaimed the treaty with England, the House of Representatives, on meeting in March, assumed a position of great hostility. The majority of that assembly complained that they had not been consulted in the matter, and they passed a vote demanding of the President the communication of the papers and correspondence relative to Jay's negotiations. This was refused by the Chief Magistrate, on the grounds that such a demand was unconstitutional, and that it would act as a pernicious precedent. The next step taken by the Lower House was even more vexatious. It lies with the President and Senate, and not with the House of Representatives, to ratify treaties; and, in the case of Jay's treaty, this ratification had already been given. But certain measures were necessary to bring it into active operation, and here the popular assembly threatened to throw all into confusion. The position assumed was that the treaty necessitated an appropriation of public money; that this could be made only by the House of Representatives; and that, consequently, the sanction of that House should have been obtained before the treaty was promulgated or ratified. The same principle has been asserted in more recent times, but seems never to have been authoritatively accepted as a correct interpretation of the American Constitution. The Opposition mustered in great force against the enabling measures, which would probably have been lost but for the extraordinary eloquence of Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts. Ames was in bad health at the time. When he rose to address the House on the side of the Administration, he was so pale and thin, and his voice so feeble, that it seemed doubtful whether he could proceed; but, kindling with his subject, he spoke with such fervour, passion, and power of reasoning, that many of his auditors were excited to tears. Fearing the effect of this impressive oratory, a member on the Opposition side of the House moved that the question should be postponed until the next day, in order to avoid acting under the influence of an emotion which their calmer judgments might not approve. These debates were continued throughout the session, and, on the final question being put, a bare majority of three voted in favour of the Government.

The earlier months of 1796 had passed away before this matter was finally settled. It was now time to consider the new election for the Presidency, as Washington's second term of office was to expire in the following year. By some, including John Adams, it was wished that he should offer himself as a candidate for a third election, as being the man most likely, by his high character and still considerable popularity, to reconcile contending factions, and guide the country through accumulated difficulties. But this was doubtless a mistaken view. Washington was no longer in the position he had occupied at his first, or even at his second, elevation. He had become thoroughly identified with a section, and, although he enjoyed the unbounded confidence of that section, he had to pay the penalty in a corresponding loss of esteem among those of the opposite camp. He was by this time the object of many virulent attacks, in which he was even accused of being a defaulter as regards the public funds; and there were some who threatened him with impeachment. The Presidential election had become an affair of party, and on party grounds it was possible to choose a more efficacious ruler than Washington. Moreover, he was utterly weary of his task, and extremely desirous of seeking, at his country estate, the repose which advancing age and long services gave him every right to enjoy. He resolutely refused all requests to allow himself to be put again in nomination; and it was felt in many quarters that such a course would be objectionable on purely constitutional grounds. It was certainly not desirable to make the Chief Magistracy a settled possession in one man's hands—to give to an elected President the character of a King in perpetuity. Jefferson, remarking in his Autobiography on the Constitution of 1787, states that his fears with regard to the re-eligibility of the President were founded on the nature of the office, on the fierce contentions it might excite among themselves if continued for life (as some desired), and on the dangers of interference by foreign nations, to whom the choice of an American ruler might be important. He found examples of this in history—as, for instance, in the Roman Emperors, the Popes, the German Emperors, the Kings of Poland, and the Deys of Barbary. He observed also in feudal records, and in the more recent case of the Stadtholder of Holland, "how easily offices or tenures for life slide into inheritances." His wish, therefore, was that the President should be elected for seven years, and be ineligible afterwards. But he subsequently thought the practice adopted a better one; viz., allowing the continuance of the office for eight years, with a liability to be dropped half-way, making that a probationary term. "The example," wrote Jefferson, near the end of his life, "of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year, and the progress of public opinion that the principle is salutary, have given it in practice the force of precedent and usage;

insomuch that, should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected on this demonstration of ambitious views." The four Presidents here alluded to were Washington, Jefferson himself, Madison, and Monroe.

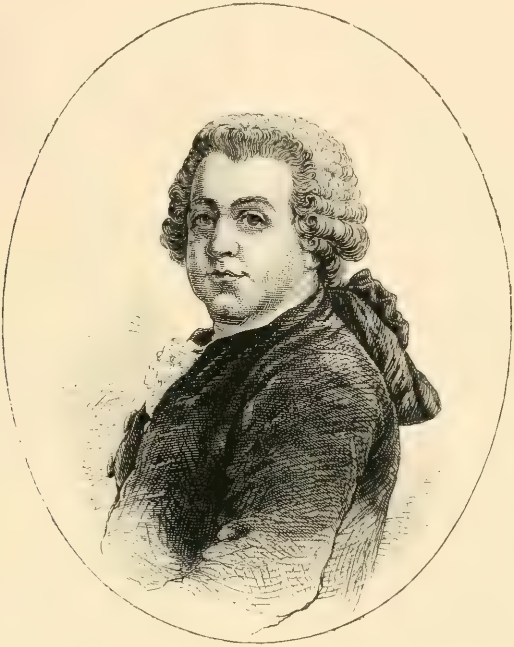
The arrival of a new French Envoy in Philadelphia stimulated to a yet higher degree the feeling of enthusiastic admiration for the Republic which had been established in Paris; and the desire for war with England became stronger in proportion. In the spring of 1794, John Adams observed to his wife that some persons were in positive horror lest peace should continue; that any prospect of peace threw them into distress; and that gleams of joy beamed from their faces whenever all possibility of it seemed to be cut off. These tendencies had become still more marked two years later; but the determination of the Government not to embroil the country with Great Britain, unless forced to do so on grounds of self-protection or of honour, was equally strong. The new Minister from Paris brought with him the Republican colours of France, which he was directed to present to Congress. They were solemnly received by the President, transmitted by him to the Legislature, and afterwards deposited in the national archives. In the House of Representatives, a resolution was unanimously adopted, expressing the lively sensations which were excited by this testimony of the existing sympathy of the two Republics, and a hope that the brilliant and glorious victories of the French people would lead to the perfect establishment of their liberty and happiness. This efflorescence of mutual civility, however, did not last long. The representative of France soon contrived, by his insolence, to disgust the people with the country on whose behalf he acted. The treaty between the United States and England was made by him a great cause of offence. The Directory, which was then the governing body in France, complained in particular of those articles which conceded to the British the right of taking French goods from neutral ships—though Jefferson in a previous year had shown that the English were entitled to do so. The French Ministers seem to have taken their stand on extra-diplomatic grounds. They had begun all things afresh, and apparently expected that other nations should accept their new ideals of right and justice. From America they hoped for special sympathy, and proceeded on the assumption that one Republic was bound to aid another, without any relation to established laws and usages. When they found the United States disinclined to follow so romantic a course, their compliments turned to bitterness and insult. They gave directions to their Envoy, M. Adet, to address Congress on the subject, and Genet's outrageous threat to appeal from the President to the people was once more uttered. Foiled in all her endeavours, France now adopted regulations injurious to American commerce, and directed her cruisers to capture in certain cases the vessels of the United States. Several hundred merchant-ships, loaded with valuable cargoes, were seized in consequence of these regulations, and confiscated. Such acts had naturally the effect of destroying that sympathy with France which had hitherto been carried to so thoughtless an excess. Even in the South, where the Gallic feeling was greater than in the North, a sense of indignation against the Directory began to appear. The conduct of affairs was rendered more difficult by the fact that the American representative at Paris, Mr. Monroe, had been acting in the interests of France, or had at any rate failed to vindicate with sufficient spirit the rights and dignity of his own Government. He was therefore recalled, and Mr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, was appointed in his stead. In the summer of 1796, the latter sailed from the United States, with instructions to use every effort compatible with national honour to restore the amicable relations which had once subsisted between the sister Republics.

It must have been with a feeling of infinite relief that Washington saw the termination of his Presidency approaching at no distant date. His Farewell Address to the people of the United States was dated the 17th of September, 1796, though his retirement from office was not to take place until the 4th of March in the following year. In this document, Washington announced the resolution he had formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a new President was to be chosen. He expressed the deep acknowledgments he owed to his country for the many honours it had conferred upon him; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it had supported his measures, and for the opportunities he had thence enjoyed of manifesting his inviolable attachment to the institutions of the land. He added that he could not refrain from offering to their solemn contemplation, nor from recommending to their frequent review, some sentiments which were the result of much reflection and of no inconsiderable observation, and which appeared to him all-important to the permanency of their happiness as a people. The love of liberty, he remarked, was so interwoven with every ligature of their hearts, that no recommendation of his was necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment. The unity of Government, by which they were constituted one people, had also by that time become dear to them. "It is justly so," continued Washington, "for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence —the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth,—as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed,—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must also exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes."

The President then went on to indicate the mutual advantages derived by the different sections of the Union from one another; but he specially warned his countrymen against the danger of characterising parties by geographical distinctions, such as Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western. One of the expedients of party, to acquire influence within particular districts, he showed to consist in misrepresenting the opinions and aims of other districts. He believed his countrymen could not shield themselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which sprang from those misrepresentations. He pointed his remarks more particularly against the inhabitants of the Western country, whose interests had been consulted in the treaties with Great Britain and Spain, but who, previous to the conclusion of those treaties, would seem to have been almost disposed to sever themselves from their brethren, and place their fortunes under the rule of aliens. The Constitution established in 1787 had a just claim, in the opinion of Washington, on the confidence and support of the entire nation. The basis of their political system, he observed, was the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions. But the Constitution existing for the time was obligatory upon all, until changed by an explicit or authentic act of the whole people. In the most solemn manner, Washington exhorted the citizens of the United States to be on their guard against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally. Such a spirit, he told them, was the worst enemy of all popular forms of Government; and, in words most necessary to be remembered by all who would give permanency to freedom, he reminded his countrymen that the domination of one faction over another is in itself a frightful despotism—one which in time leads to a despotism of a more formal and lasting kind. The disorders and miseries thus accruing "gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty."

Passing to the consideration of other matters, Washington insisted on the necessity of giving support to the principles of religion and morality, and of promoting institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. As a very important source of strength and security, public credit was to be cherished; and he remarked that one method of preserving it was to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars might have occasioned, so as not to throw upon posterity a burden which the passing generation ought to bear. It is a curious indication of a weakness in the American mind, in the stage of development through which it was then passing, to find that Washington considered it indispensable to remark that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; and that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant. As regards their general conduct to foreign nations, he begged them to observe good faith and justice towards all, but to avoid passionate attachment towards any one. Washington was here thinking, there can be no question, of the different feelings with which the population of America at that time regarded England on the one hand, and France on the other. "The nation," he wrote, "which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest." The jealousy of a free people, he very earnestly added, ought to be constantly awake against the insidious wiles of foreign influence. The great rule of conduct for them in regard to foreign countries was, in extending their commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as they had already formed engagements, such were to be fulfilled with perfect good faith; but there they should stop. The primary interests of Europe had to them only a remote relation, if they had any at all. Their detached and distant situation enabled them to pursue a course very different from that of the Old World. It was their true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any foreign country, as far as existing obligations would enable them to do so. Harmony and liberal intercourse with all nations were recommended by policy, humanity, and interest; but no exclusive favours or preferences, even in matters of commercial policy, should be allowed. As regarded the existing war on the Continent of Europe, Washington once more insisted on the fitness of observing complete neutrality—a policy, the excellence of which had been virtually admitted by all the belligerent Powers; and with words of affectionate farewell the retiring President took leave of those public duties which, under various forms, had engrossed his time and attention for five-and-forty years.

To what extent Washington was himself the author of this production has been made the subject of discussion. When the termination of the President's original period of office was approaching, he desired in the first instance not to offer himself as a candidate for re-election; and before this feeling had been removed by a deeper consideration of what was due to the exigencies of his country, he had requested Madison to furnish him with the draft of a Farewell Address. This was done, and some portions of that document were embodied by the President in the official paper actually issued four years afterwards. At the later date, Hamilton was consulted as to the terms in which this final address to the nation should be expressed. He too sent in a draft, in the composition of which he consulted John Jay. That this draft to some extent formed the basis of what was ultimately put forth, is evident; but there can be little doubt that Washington was in a great degree the author both of the sentiments and the language of that admirable piece of writing in which he retired from the field of politics. Mr. Sparks, summarising the facts of the case in the Appendix to his edition of Washington's Writings (Vol. XII.), says that what is known with certainty on the subject proves that an original draft was sent by Washington to Hamilton; that the latter bestowed great pains in correcting and maturing it; that during this process several communications passed between them; and that the final draft was printed from a copy, containing numerous alterations in the matter and style, which was unquestionably made by Washington. It is very probable, as the same authority remarks, that the language was improved by the careful revision of Hamilton, and that he suggested some of the topics, and amplified others. But the opinions there put forth are such as Washington had been in the habit of uttering for many years; and the fact that on so important an occasion he fortified his own judgment by the judgment of others, detracts in no material degree from his claim to be considered the fountain from which those principles of political wisdom issued forth. In any case, however, the interest and worth of the document remain the same. It was the concentrated expression of the best statesmanship of America at that particular date, and its value is rather enhanced than diminished if we assume that it proceeded, not from one mind, but from several. The advice which it contained was characterised by sense, probity, and noble feeling. To an old-established nation, whose principles of rule have been deduced through a long succession of ages, from ancient precedents and accumulated experience, some of the exhortations of this Farewell Address may seem almost too obvious to require so much insistence and so solemn a form. But it must not be forgotten that the people of the United States were then emerging from the chaos of a revolution; that everything had been temporarily unsettled; that the time was full of blind movements and half-developed principles of action; that there was some danger of the old landmarks being lost before new ones had been found; that there was danger even of eternal principles of justice and sanity being temporarily forgotten in the whirl and tumult of new sensations, in the fever of new experiments, in the labour, and struggle, and doubt attendant upon all new conditions. In this seething and turbid state, inseparable from the fresh beginnings of a national life, such words of temperate wisdom, of counsel derived from knowledge acquired in the actual working of the political machine, were of incalculable value. The Farewell Address of Washington was a priceless gift to the nation he had served so well; and, although it cannot be said that its advice has in all respects been observed in succeeding times, it has in the main directed the action of the United States ever since, and has been one of the sources of their immense prosperity.



JOHN ADAMS.

CHAPTER LXIII.

Effects of Washington's Farewell Address—His Speech to both Houses of the Legislature—Mutual Position of Adams and Jefferson—The Candidature for the Presidency Division in the Federal Ranks—Election of Adams as President, and Jefferson as Vice-President—Difficult Position of the Former—Inauguration of Adams—Farewell Banquet to Washington—The existing Cabinet adopted by the New President—The American Minister at Paris dismissed by the Directory—Insulting Conduct of the French Government—Three Envoys sent to Paris—Indirect Negotiations with them—Failure of the Mission—Adams's Consultations with his Cabinet as to what Course should be pursued—Suggestions of McHenry—Secret Influence of Hamilton—Message of the President to Congress—Publication of Despatches from France—Preparations for War—Washington at the Head of the Army—The New Military Appointments—Measures of Defence in America—Opposition by Jefferson—Popular Rage against France—Ambition of Hamilton—Project with regard to Spanish America—Adams's Disapproval—Efforts for Peace—War Faction in the Cabinet—Disagreements between the President and his Ministers—Opening of Congress in December, 1798—Negotiations with France through Holland—Intrigues and Difficulties—Appointment of New Envoys to France—Procrastination of the Government—The President Triumphant—Prospects of Peace—Death of Washington.

GREAT was the effect of Washington's Address on the people of America. The State Legislatures, as soon as they assembled, voted thanks to the President, expressing their cordial approbation of his conduct during the eight years in which he had filled the office of Chief Magistrate, and their deep regret that the nation was to be deprived of his services. In some States, the document was printed and published with the laws, by order of the Legislatures, in order that it might, in succeeding ages, be regarded as a classic text-book in all the leading principles of government. Congress was not sitting when the Address was published; but it sat again in December, when Washington met the two Houses for the last time. He delivered to them a speech, in which he reviewed the general condition of the country, recapitulated the acts of the year just terminating, and recommended to the consideration of members certain measures which he regarded as important. A gradual increase of the navy, a provision for the encouragement of agriculture (in which Washington always took great interest), the establishment of a national University, and the institution of a military Academy, were the topics on which the retiring President mainly insisted; and he concluded his speech by congratulating his auditors and the country on the success which had attended their experiment in self-government, and by fervent supplications that the virtue and happiness of the people might be preserved, and their constitution be rendered perpetual.

The session was distinguished by but little business of importance. The approaching elections to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency stood in the way of other matters, and agitated the thoughts of men by the contention of great principles. It was a struggle between the Federalists and the Democrats; between the English and the French parties; between those who desired above all things to maintain a strong central Government, and those to whom nothing was so dear as the rights of the individual States, and the limitation of authority. On the one side stood John Adams; on the other, Thomas Jefferson. These eminent statesmen may be described as the fathers of their respective parties—the founders of two sets of opinions which have powerfully influenced the whole succeeding course of American history. Their differences led to a personal alienation during the middle period of their lives. But two men who had so earnestly prepared the way for the American Revolution—who had shared in the production of the Declaration of Independence, and had watched the cradle of the infant Republic—were not likely to be permanently mistaken as to each other's motives; and at a later date their mutual esteem arose once more, serene and fair, above the mists of party. In truth, no reason existed why they should not always have respected one another, as main props of that political edifice which they had helped to rear. Their differences were not essential. They parted rather on the details than on the fundamentals of civil rule. Both were Republicans; both were for basing the administration on the consent of the governed; both regarded America as the great example of a free commonwealth, destined to exercise a regenerating effect on the older States of the world. But Jefferson's principles took a French colour; Adams's retained a hue which spoke their English origin. Jefferson dreaded lest the rising interests of freedom in his native land should be compromised by too great a concentration of power in the hands of Government officials; Adams feared that individual liberty might be carried so far as to endanger the right of the community to defend its corporate existence against the attacks of faction and of anarchy. Each of these sentiments was in itself legitimate and just; and it may safely be said that neither can be dispensed with in a well-governed State. It is the evenly-adjusted balance of these distinct yet not really opposing interests which constitutes the security and happiness of all the best political conditions, whether Monarchical or Republican. We may admit, without serious detriment to their fame, that both Adams and Jefferson carried their partizanship too far. Neither sufficiently recognised the truth which the other embodied; each was too apt to consider his own hemisphere the complete orb. But at the bottom of the minds of both was the same general idea—the granite of an unshaken faith in the people and in America.

In the contest now about to ensue, the Democrats had one clear advantage over the Federalists. Their allegiance was given entirely to one man, whereas their opponents were divided in their regards among divers candidates. Several influential leaders in the Northern and Eastern States were desirous of returning Alexander Hamilton; others were inclined to support John Jay; but to the greater number John Adams seemed the fittest person for filling the Presidential office. Hamilton was considered, even by many of the Federalists, too much inclined towards England, and Jay had rendered himself unpopular by his recent treaty with Great Britain. The contest, therefore, seemed likely to narrow itself into a struggle between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. But, even after it had been generally determined to support Adams's claims, an attempt was made to divide the ranks of the Federalists by starting another candidate. The idea is said to have originated with Hamilton, and to have been carried on through his political friends.* Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was the person thus put forward. He was not very widely known, nor usually supposed to be a member of the party to which Adams and Hamilton belonged. No one had ever thought of him previously as a successor to Washington, and his candidature took most people by surprise. Such a scheme could only have succeeded by some clever and underhand contrivance; but in fact it failed. Pinckney did not even obtain the second place; the aggregate number of votes given to him was only fifty-nine, and the plot, for such it seems to have been, came to nothing. Adams enjoyed the confidence of many in the Northern States; even among the Southern, he was not entirely devoid of friends and believers; and Jefferson himself observed that he was the only sure barrier against Hamilton's getting in.

The election was a very close one. The votes received by Adams were seventy-one, which was one more than the requisite number. Jefferson stood only three votes lower, and therefore became Vice-President. Although Adams was thus successful, the narrowness of his majority (and that it was a majority at all was due to a few unexpected votes from the South) showed how strong a party existed against the opinions which he embodied. He called himself the President of three votes, and felt that his position was insecure, or at least extremely difficult. Yet he determined to bate not one jot in vindication of his opinions. He was eminently a man of courage—one whose faculties were always called forth in the highest degree by the ardour of conflict. "John Adams," he wrote of himself, in a letter to his wife, "must be an intrepid to encounter the open assaults of France, and the secret plots of England, in concert with all his treacherous friends and open enemies in his own country; yet, I assure you, he never felt more serene in his life." One omen of the difficulties he would have to encounter was seen during the progress of the election. The representative of France, hoping to influence the result in a manner favourable to the claims of his country, caused the publication of a note, addressed to the Secretary of State, in which he recapitulated all the grounds of complaint alleged by his Government against the Federal Administration. This interference of a foreigner with the working of American institutions was not likely to produce any serious effect; but it showed what was to be anticipated from the animosity of France, should Adams succeed in his candidature.

The French difficulty was in fact the earliest trouble which Adams was called on to encounter. Washington, who had always been regarded as a mediator between extreme views, was now removed from the political scene. On the 4th of March, 1797, the President-elect took the oath of office, and commenced his duties. The ceremony was performed in the Hall of the House of Representatives, but without any distinctive circumstances. In his inaugural speech, Adams made it sufficiently clear that his alleged preference for a monarchy had no foundation in fact, and it was generally admitted that his statement of principles was satisfactory. Washington was present as a spectator and auditor, and afterwards dined with the chief citizens of Philadelphia at a splendid entertainment, to which were invited foreign Ministers, the heads of departments, officers of rank, and other distinguished persons. A spacious rotunda was fitted up for the occasion, the walls of which were decorated with emblematical paintings, fanciful devices, and a landscape representing Mount Vernon and the scenery around it. The remainder of Washington's life, excepting when he was again called to the head of the army, was passed in the pursuit of agriculture, which was perhaps the most absorbing passion of his nature.

Before the elevation of Adams to the chief dignity, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the new American Minister in France, had been ordered to leave that country by the Directory, which indeed refused to recognise his credentials. Matters had thus reached a very perilous stage as between the two Republics, and it is probable that even Jefferson, had he been President, would have been compelled to vindicate the dignity of his nation by resisting, whether in a greater or a less degree, the insolence and aggressiveness of France. Such a course was obviously all the more probable under the rule of Adams; yet his first steps did not show any desire to take up an extreme position. He adopted as his own the Cabinet Council left by his predecessor. Thus, he had Timothy Pickering for his Secretary of State; Oliver Wolcott for Secretary of the Treasury; James McHenry for Secretary of War; and Charles Lee as Attorney-General. It was therefore to be presumed that the former lines of policy would be continued, unless necessarily modified by a new development of events. But the conduct of France soon made it evident that very decided means must be taken for upholding the honour of the United States. Not only was Pinckney dismissed by the Directory, but it was intimated that no other Minister from America would be received until that Power had fully complied with the demands made by the French Republic. As if even this were not enough, Monroe, the former Envoy, was addressed, at his taking leave, in a long and violent tirade, which fell little short of a declaration of war. Once more the favourite threat of appealing from the Government to the people of the United States was hurled at the Federation. To have tolerated such acts would have been an abnegation of power on the part of that Government. President Adams was not the man to make this abnegation, and he accordingly convened an extraordinary session of Congress on the 15th of May, and laid before the two Houses the despatches recently received from Paris. Even then, however, a disposition was shown to adopt conciliatory measures, if such were compatible with the national honour. In the month of July, the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, appointed two Envoys to proceed to France, and endeavour, in conjunction with Pinckney, to adjust existing difficulties. On arriving there, these officials saw M. Talleyrand, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but were informed by him that they could not be received by the Directory. They were allowed, however, to remain in Paris, and informal negotiations were carried on with them. The profits made by the seizure of American prizes, in which the Government shared, were so large as to create a strong feeling against relinquishing that lucrative business. The French Government, through its agents, haggled for money in a way that was simply despicable. Talleyrand demanded a *douceur* of fifty thousand pounds for himself and others, besides a loan from America to France. The demand was resisted with just disdain; and Pinckney, on one occasion, exclaimed, in a sentence which has since become famous in America, "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute!" The greed of the Directory being thus disappointed, two of the Federalist Envoys were ordered out of the country, while the third, Mr. Elbridge Gerry, was allowed to remain, because he belonged to the party which sympathised with French views. Gerry soon found it necessary to return home, and was for awhile severely censured by his countrymen for prolonging his stay.

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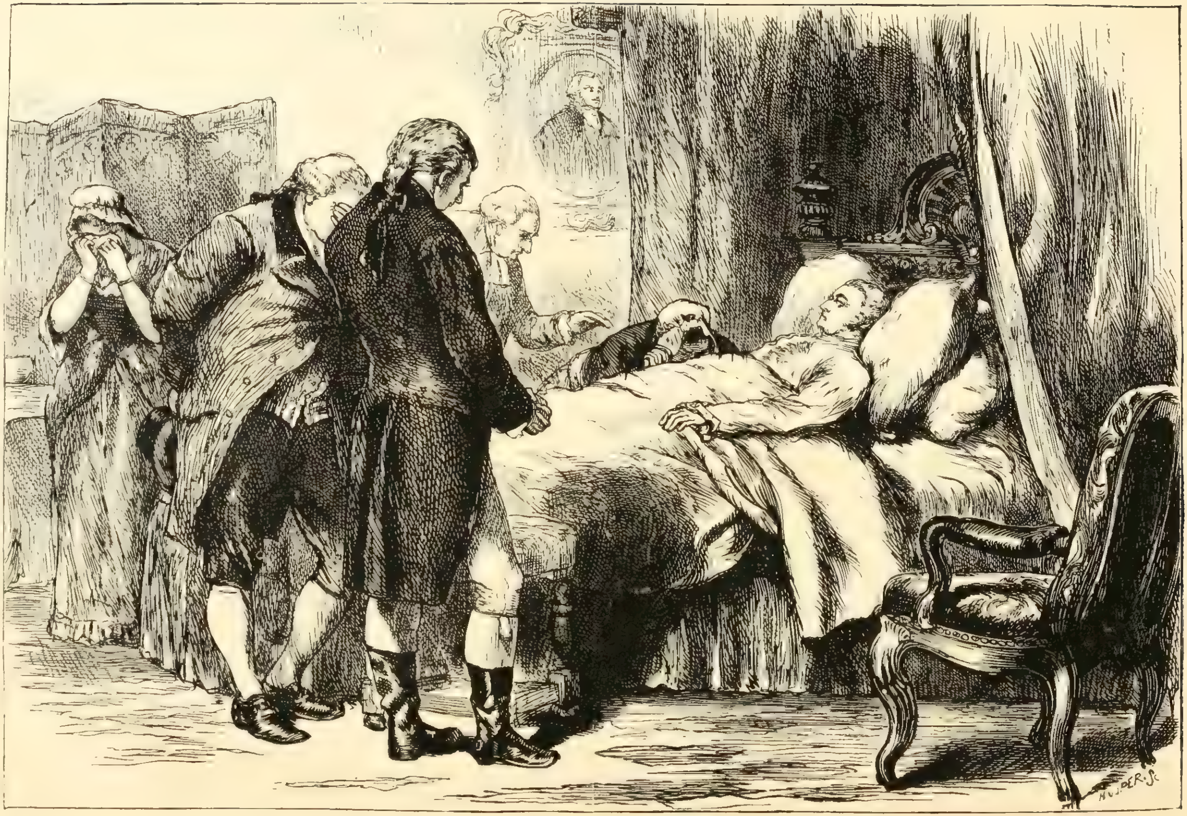
* Life of John Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 9.

At the time that this mission was resolved on, laws were passed for preparing against the eventuality of war, should the worst ensue. The President was authorised, whenever he should consider it necessary, to detach eighty thousand men from the militia of the United States; to make provision for an increase of the navy; and to augment the national revenues. But nothing definite was yet determined on, and all parties were equally reluctant to take the responsibility of so perilous a step as entering the field against France. Still, it was necessary to look possibilities in the face, and on the 24th of January, 1798, Adams, anticipating that the mission of the three Envoys would end in failure, addressed to the members of his Cabinet a letter, requesting their views of the course proper to be taken in such a contingency. He asked whether there should be a declaration of war or an embargo, and whether any change should be sought in the relations of the country with other European Powers, especially with Great Britain. The only member of the Government who, in answer to these queries, distinctly recommended a declaration of war, was the Attorney-General, Lee. The Secretary of State, Colonel Pickering, was disposed to solicit an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Great Britain, but does not appear to have made any suggestion of this nature to the President, by whom, had he done so, it would probably have been rejected. The War Secretary, Mr. McHenry, was in favour of preparation for hostilities upon a very extensive scale, and of conferring on the President, as regards the creation of a navy, powers which would, in truth, have been dictatorial. In these suggestions he was countenanced, if not prompted, by Hamilton, who appears to have been much consulted by some of the Ministers, and to have exercised over them a secret and irregular influence. McHenry deprecated a formal alliance with Great Britain, but recommended that overtures should be made, through Mr. King, the American Minister in England, to obtain a loan, the aid of convoys, and perhaps the transfer of ten ships of the line, should Congress give the authority to obtain so many; and he proposed that, in case of a rupture with France, facilities should be given to Great Britain for conquering the Floridas, Louisiana, and Spanish South America, on the understanding that all the territory on the east side of the Mississippi, together with the port of New Orleans, should be allotted to the United States. Such an alliance would have been in the highest degree imprudent from any point of view consistent with American interests. To have concluded a treaty with England, such as would have given her military power within the dominions of the United States, would have been to run great danger of an attempt by the mother country to re-establish her rule over those who were formerly her colonists. Adams would certainly have been one of the last men to accept such a suggestion; for, although denounced by the Democrats as a slave to the English alliance, he was considered by the more extreme section of the Federalists as wanting in hearty devotion to that cause.

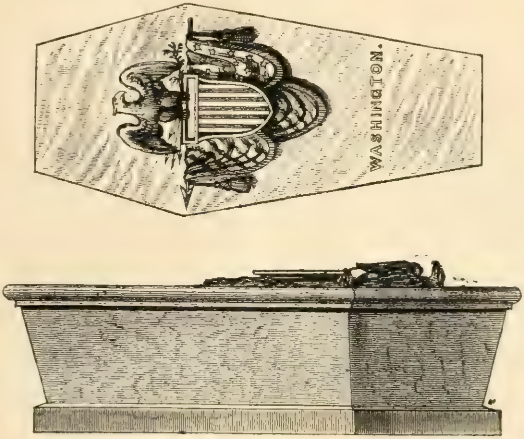
Somewhat later in the year, when intelligence had been received as to the treatment of the Envoys in Paris, Adams submitted to his advisers these two questions :—"1. Should all the particulars be disclosed at once to Congress? 2. Should the President recommend a declaration of war?" Lee counselled delay; McHenry referred to his former reply; and the other Secretaries, as before, answered not at all. Adams accordingly adopted the draft of a message prepared by Oliver Wolcott, the Secretary of the Treasury, which, without proposing any new measures, repeated former exhortations to prepare for protection and defence. This message was sent to both Houses on the 19th of March. It contained a paragraph, written by Adams himself, which said :—"The present state of things is so essentially different from that in which instructions were given to collectors to restrain vessels of the United States from sailing in an armed condition, that the principle on which those orders were issued has ceased to exist. I therefore deem it proper to inform Congress that I no longer conceive myself justifiable in continuing them, unless in particular cases, where there may be reasonable ground of suspicion that such vessels are intended to be employed contrary to law." The despatches were withheld, with one exception. That which contained a notification that the Directory had determined to forfeit all neutral ships covering any English productions, and had closed French ports even against those which had touched at any English port in their voyage, it was considered proper to communicate. The others were kept in reserve until the Envoys should be safe beyond the clutches of the French authorities. It was resolved, however, by the House of Representatives to demand their immediate production, and they were issued next day, the 3rd of April. The effect was prodigious. War seemed inevitable, and preparations were made for conducting it with vigour. In May, an army was voted, consisting of twelve new regiments, with Engineer and Artillery corps. To command this force, Washington was again summoned from his beloved retirement, and, as might have been expected of him, at once obeyed the call. He consented to occupy the position, however, only on the understanding that Alexander Hamilton should be the acting Commander-in-Chief; alleging that his years were now too many to do more than give general directions from a distance, unless his presence should be required by the urgency of circumstances. He also stipulated that the principal officers should be such as he approved; and, as on previous occasions, he declined to receive any part of the emoluments attached to his office, except as a reimbursement of sums he might himself lay out. Any assistance he could give, in arranging and organising the army, he professed his willingness to render; and, in point of fact, a large part of his time to the end of his life—now not very distant—was taken up with the administration of the new force which it was found necessary to create. The views of Washington on the existing state of affairs were conveyed by him in a letter to Adams shortly before his appointment to the chief command. "The uncertainty of the event," he observed, "creates my embarrassment; for I cannot fairly bring my mind to believe, regardless as the French are of treaties and of the laws of nations, and capable as I conceive them to be of any species of despotism and injustice, that they will attempt to invade this country after such an uniform and unequivocal expression of the sense of the people in all parts to oppose them with their lives and fortunes." It is plain, however, that the French rulers were greatly deceived as to the true state of opinion in America. They had inferred, from the general policy of the Democratic party, from the expressions of men like Jefferson, and from the extravagant opposition shown to the British treaty, that the people were in antagonism to their Government, and would not support a war with France. This impression was at the bottom of their repeated menaces to carry their appeal from the Administration to the populace. But they must by this time have discovered the egregious nature of their mistake; and their own acts had certainly been of a character to destroy whatever sympathy with the Red Republic had before existed on the western shores of the Atlantic.

Some difficulty was felt in selecting the principal officers of the new army. Many of those who had served during the Revolution were desirous of reappointment; and it became a question whether their former rank should be admitted or denied. Washington inclined to the opinion that no regard should be paid to previous rank, but that the best men should in every instance be selected, without reference to other considerations; and this opinion was at length held to be valid. For the office of Inspector-General, and as his two Major-Generals, he proposed Alexander Hamilton, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Henry Knox. These appointments were made as Washington desired; but General Knox was displeased with the arrangement, and believed that, as an older officer than either of the others, he had a claim to the post of Inspector-General. This, indeed, was the choice that Adams himself would have made; but he deferred to the judgment of Washington, who seems in this matter to have been unduly influenced by the military



WASHINGTON ON HIS DEATH-BED.

ambition of Hamilton, even to the extent of threatening to resign at once if his demands were not fully complied with—an instance of peremptoriness singularly out of keeping with the usual tenor of Washington's life. The Commander-in-Chief now engaged in unremitting correspondence with the Secretary of War, the Major-Generals, and other officers, to whom he communicated instructions derived from his own long experience and active service. A month was passed by him at Philadelphia, where he was engaged with Generals Hamilton and Pinckney in making arrangements for the raising, organising, and equipping of the forces.



WASHINGTON'S SARCOPHAGUS, MOUNT VERNON.

Amongst other measures made necessary by impending war, were the creation of a naval armament, the opening of another Department of State — that of the Navy, with a seat in the Cabinet—a land-tax, an Alien Bill (passed for getting rid of the celebrated author Volney, Collot, and other French emissaries), and a Sedition Bill, which excited great indignation in the minds of the Democrats. Communication with the offending country was prohibited; orders were issued for capturing any of her vessels that appeared off the coast; and the treaty of alliance with France was declared void, together with all other treaties concluded with that Power. At the close of a message to Congress, transmitted on the 21st of June, Adams said:—"I will never send another Minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honoured, as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." The measures which his Government sanctioned were bitterly condemned by the opposite faction for unnecessary severity towards France. Jefferson, making special reference to the withdrawal of the prohibition on merchant-ships to go armed, characterised the President's message in which this was announced as "insane." On Adams's elevation to the Presidency, Jefferson had professed his satisfaction at the high functions of the first office having been confided to such capable hands; but he does not appear to have afforded any support to the rival who had been placed above his head.

The publication of the papers, giving an account of the recent mission to France and its results, excited in many quarters the most vehement anger against the Government of France. Even Jefferson saw that the sense of indignation had too valid an excuse to be easily removed or safely resisted, however much he might carp at the measures adopted by Government. The return of the Commissioners increased this emotion to an incalculable degree. It is doubtful if England herself was ever held in such popular abhorrence in America as was that country which had long been the idol of the people, their refuge in war, and their model of noble endeavours in the field of political action. The great difficulty of Adams at this time was to moderate the popular fury, and restrain it within the bounds of prudence. He desired nothing more than a defensive war; the fiery spirit of Hamilton would have been contented with nothing less than a war of offence. The latter statesman contemplated the ultimate establishment of an army of fifty thousand men, and it would appear that he wished that army to be permanent, and to be used in the furtherance of ambitious views. Hamilton had in fact connected himself with an immense project for revolutionising South America. The plan had been conceived in the previous year by Francisco de Miranda, a Spanish-American General, who had for some time fought on the side of the French Republicans, but who, having had a quarrel with the Directory, was now in London, awaiting the decision of the Premier, William Pitt, as to the degree of assistance which Great Britain would be willing to render to his scheme. It was a part of Miranda's plan that England should supply some twenty ships, together with money and men, and that the United States should furnish seven thousand troops, to be maintained throughout the war, whatever its duration. While the negotiation was proceeding, Hamilton was in confidential communication with Miranda. He desired that all the troops should be supplied by the United States, an arrangement which was accepted by the projector; and the command of the troops so supplied was to be bestowed upon himself. This seems to have been the reason why Hamilton urged the creation of so large a military force, and obtained for himself what was virtually the principal military position in the country. The design, however, would have involved a gross breach of faith, for the United States had no quarrel with Spain, and could only have attacked her with the licence of a pirate. The countries of South America thus conquered were to be made independent "under a moderate Government, with the joint guarantee of the co-operating Powers, stipulating equal privileges in commerce." Such, at least, is the statement made by Hamilton in a letter to Rufus King, at London. Hamilton was haunted by fears of a social revolution, and his hope of escape from that danger was in giving to the United States the character of a military Power, and possibly in the ultimate establishment of a form of Government very different from that which then existed.

The enthusiastic and almost universal feeling in favour of resisting France was a great support to Adams in the difficult task with which he now had to deal. Addresses poured in upon him from all quarters, expressing the utmost satisfaction at the decided yet moderate stand which he had taken. The effect of this outburst of national spirit was felt no less in France than in America. The Directory saw that they must retreat from the position which they had so rashly taken up. They disavowed the agents who had made proposals for bribes and subsidies, and threw out suggestions indicating a disposition to come to some amicable arrangement. When intelligence of this altered disposition at Paris reached America, the President was passing the summer recess in his farm at Quincy. His mind was at that time greatly distracted by domestic anxiety; for Mrs. Adams, the cherished companion of his life, on whose counsel and sympathy he had relied for many years, was so seriously ill that for a time her recovery seemed extremely doubtful. Under these distressing circumstances, he had to resist the insolence of a foreign country, to direct the fortunes of his own, and to act against the plots and counter-plots of those who would have imposed their will on his. It was at that moment that a letter from Francisco de Miranda reached the President. This communication stated that the South American project had been listened to by Great Britain with some favour, and the co-operation of the American Government was solicited. Adams was not then aware that Miranda's Utopian plan had the support of Hamilton, nor that it was favoured by members of his own Administration. His estimate of the project, however, would probably have been the same in any case. As it was, he wrote to the Secretary of State:—"We are friends with Spain. If we were enemies, would the project be useful to us? It will not be in character for me to answer the letter [viz., Miranda's]. Will any notice of it, in any manner, be proper?" The Secretary of State, Pickering, who is believed to have been one of those who desired to promote the scheme, made no answer to the questions thus put to him, and the whole matter came to an end.

It was on the 1st of October, 1798, that Elbridge Gerry arrived from Paris. The first expression of popular dissatisfaction with that Envoy, for remaining in France after his colleagues had departed, was in time greatly modified by the intelligence which he brought, pointing to a desire on the part of the French Directory to retrace their steps. A few days after the return of Gerry, Adams received from Mr. Murray, the Minister of the United States in Holland, a letter revealing the uneasiness of France at the prospect of an alliance between Great Britain and some of the other countries with which she was at issue. It therefore appeared to Adams that the calamity of war might yet be averted. On the 20th of October he wrote to Colonel Pickering, reminding him of the approach of the next session of Congress, and expounding certain general ideas which he conceived should be maturely considered, and, as soon as possible, submitted to the judgment of the other Cabinet Ministers. The two main points for consultation were—first, whether it would be expedient for the President to recommend a declaration of war with France; secondly, whether any further proposals of negotiation could be made with safety, or any new Envoy named, who might be prepared to embark at once, in case assurances should be given that he would be received. No answer was returned to either of these questions. The Cabinet, influenced by Hamilton, were opposed to Adams, and resolved on over-ruling his policy whenever they could. They considered that he was not sufficiently zealous in resisting the arrogance of France, and they determined, if possible, to force on a war between that country and America. A council of their supporters, including Washington, Hamilton, and Pinckney, was accordingly summoned, and at this meeting a draft was prepared for the use of Adams in his opening speech.

The President arrived in Philadelphia from his country house about the end of November. Shortly afterwards he met the members of his Cabinet, and put to them the two questions contained in his letter of the 20th of October, to which no reply had yet been given. It was evident that Adams was disinclined to a declaration of war, and, although most members of the Government had formed a different view, it was resolved to omit the subject altogether from the speech to Congress at the approaching session. As regards the renewal of negotiations with France, Adams was willing to make such an attempt, though not without some manifestation by that Power of a sincere desire to re-establish the old friendly relations. For his opening speech he prepared a paragraph on the subject, which explicitly declared the President's disposition to send a Minister to Paris, or to receive one from the Directory, whenever assurances should be given that any representative of the United States would be met in a becoming manner. The paragraph was not sanctioned by the Cabinet, who now brought forward the draft to which allusion has been made, and which in the main was accepted by the President. He demurred, however, to a clause so constructed as to shut him out from sending a mission to France, even should there be signs of a more pacific disposition on her part, unless she should in the first instance send an Envoy to America. The President had hitherto been over-matched by his Cabinet. They represented opinions more extreme than his own, and they had been enabled to force those opinions on their unwilling chief. But Adams now resolved to submit no longer to this dictation. Several members of the Government insisted with great warmth on the adoption of the passage; Adams as resolutely refused. He was determined to introduce some modification into the objectionable phrases; and in the end he succeeded. The paragraph, as it stands in the speech actually pronounced, ran as follows:—

"But, in demonstrating by our conduct that we do not fear war in the necessary protection of our rights and honour, we shall give no room to infer that we abandon the desire of peace. An official preparation for war can alone insure peace. It is peace that we have uniformly and perseveringly cultivated; and harmony between us and France may be restored at her option. But to send another Minister without more determinate assurances that he would be received, would be an act of humiliation to which the United States ought not to submit. It must, therefore, be left to France, if she is indeed desirous of accommodation, to take the requisite steps. The United States will steadily observe the maxims by which they have hitherto been governed. They will respect the sacred rights of embassy. And, with a sincere disposition on the part of France to desist from hostility, to make reparation for the injuries heretofore inflicted on our commerce, and to do justice in future, there will be no obstacle to the restoration of a friendly intercourse. In making to you this declaration, I give a pledge to France and to the world that the executive authority of this country still adheres to the humane and pacific policy which has invariably governed its proceedings, in conformity with the wishes of the other branches of the Government, and of the people of the United States. But, considering the late manifestations of her policy towards foreign nations, I deem it a duty deliberately and solemnly to declare my opinion that, whether we negotiate with her or not, vigorous preparations for war will be alike indispensable. These alone will give us an equal treaty, and insure its observance."

The Speech was delivered in Congress on the 8th of December, in the presence of Generals Washington, Hamilton, and Pinckney, then assembled at Philadelphia for the organisation of the army. It recommended a large extension of the navy, so that the coasts might be watched, the national trade be protected, and the safe transportation of troops and stores be secured. The policy of the President, however, continued to meet with great resistance. An attempt was made by some members of Congress to bring on a declaration of war; but the attempt resulted in failure. At the commencement of 1799, the President and his Ministers were hopelessly at issue, and the latter omitted no opportunity of defeating or embarrassing the plans of the former. The feeling of the country, except in a few circles, was much in favour of war. France had as yet given but slight indications of a desire to adopt more conciliatory measures, and there was every probability that a collision would be precipitated, and all the evils of a disastrous struggle be forced on a country which had not yet recovered from the effect of former contests. The position of Adams suffered from the difficulties which naturally belong to moderation. The President was not loved by either of the contending parties, since he held aloof from the exaggerations of both. He was disliked by the Democrats, because he would not be the servant of France; he was equally disliked by the Ultra-Federalists, because he declined to rush headlong into a wild crusade against the Directory and its principles. Nothing, however, was more conspicuous in Adams than strength of will. Although Congress was not heartily in his favour, and his own Ministers were very much against him, he persevered in his views—a course wherein he was greatly encouraged by a communication received from Mr. Murray, in Holland, the tendency of which was to show that the French had really become more pacific in their ideas. The Dutch had made an offer of mediation, and, on the 21st of January, the terms of the Directory's answer to this offer reached the American President. It was there stated that the French had already clearly intimated at Philadelphia their hearty desire for reconciliation, and the Government of the United States was charged with the consequences if it should persist in manifesting an implacable spirit.

Adams saw that the effect of these French statements, as soon as they became public, would be to increase the desire for peace on the part of the Democrats, and to give them the power of saying that it was America which held back from a friendly arrangement. Ten days later came a letter from Mr. Murray, containing particulars of his interviews with M. Pichon, the French Agent at the Hague, respecting the nature of the assurances required by the President in his message of the 21st of June, 1798. Talleyrand had addressed a despatch to M. Pichon, in which he reiterated the profession of a desire to come to a good understanding with America, and, adopting the very words used by the President on the 21st of June, had promised that a new Envoy, if sent, would be "received as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." This gave a very decided turn to affairs in the direction of peace; yet Adams, knowing the warlike tendencies of his advisers, hesitated as to calling them together with a proposal for new attempts at negotiation. The course which he adopted was to send a communication to the Senate, nominating Mr. Murray, then Minister at the Hague, as Minister to France. In bringing forward his recommendation, he provided that no advance should be made beyond that appointment, until further assurances had been given by France, of such a nature as the dignity of the United States required. The Senate was much agitated by this message. The Federalists feared that their opportunity for forcing a war had passed; the Democrats affected to think that the President had kept back Talleyrand's letter, in order to let the war-measures go on. After two days' delay, the nomination of Mr. Murray was referred to a committee of five persons, all of them Federalists. The members of that committee determined to visit the President personally, and to obtain from him, if they could, such modifications of the proposed measure as would have been equivalent to its destruction. Adams, however, told them that he would neither withdraw nor alter the nomination. The committee, as extreme Federalists, and therefore desirous of a war with France, were of course disinclined to send any mission at all; but, finding that they could not induce the President to abandon his plan, they proceeded to make objections to the particular diplomatist who had been selected. Adams replied that, should the Senate think proper to decide against Mr. Murray, he might then propose to join with him two other individuals. On the following morning, he nominated Oliver Ellsworth, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Patrick Henry, of Virginia, as fellow-commissioners with Mr. Murray; thus anticipating any further action on the part of the Senate.

The news of these appointments was received, as might be supposed, with very opposite feelings by the two parties into which the country was divided. Jefferson, as the head of those who admired French institutions, declared that the nomination silenced all arguments against the sincerity of France, and rendered desperate every further effort towards war. To Mr. Hamilton and his friends, the act of Adams seemed nothing less than a dishonest desertion of the policy which they believed to be necessary to the honour and safety of the Federation. Men of more moderate and less factious habits, however, saw the wisdom of the President's course, and upheld him in his endeavours, at once to save the reputation of the country, and to avoid the dangers of war. The carrying out of the proposed plan did not prove a very easy task. Patrick Henry, while agreeing in the advisability of sending Envoys, was unable to take his place in the Embassy, and Governor Davie, of North Carolina, was substituted for him. The Opposition adopted every means of delaying the preliminaries, in the hope that matters might yet assume a different complexion. In this they were aided by a piece of imprudence on the part of Adams. He left Philadelphia for the summer recess, after maturing with his Cabinet the points fixed upon as *ultimata*, in case the negotiations with France should be renewed, and after preparing certain papers necessary to the vindication of the direct tax recently imposed for defraying the additional expenses incurred by the preparations for war. It would have been wiser to remain at his post, since he well knew that he had unwilling subordinates. In the absence of the President, every kind of procrastination ensued. On the 6th of March, Mr. Murray was informed that a distinct pledge must be obtained from the French Foreign Minister, that the Envoys should be received and treated with due respect; and that no indirect unofficial communication would be permitted, nor any variation of the designated policy be listened to, unless the Directory should themselves prefer to send a Minister to Philadelphia. These instructions did not reach Murray until May. Talleyrand repeated the assurances previously given, and complained of the delays which were now being unnecessarily made. The French Minister's note arrived in America on the 30th of July. Adams then urged upon the heads of Departments the propriety of completing all arrangements for the Commission with the utmost despatch. They acted, nevertheless, with elaborate slowness, in the manifest hope of defeating the attempt at peace. Indeed, the plot at length became so serious, that Mr. Stoddert, the Secretary of the Navy, wrote to Adams that his presence was absolutely necessary at Trenton, whither the public offices had been temporarily transferred, in consequence of an outbreak of yellow fever at Philadelphia. The Cabinet, it appeared, had been discussing the advisability of suspending the mission for some time. This idea was suggested by intelligence recently received from Paris, announcing that the rule of the Directory was at an end, that Talleyrand and many of the other Ministers had resigned, and that there were strong probabilities of the Jacobins being restored to power. The altered condition of affairs in France offered a valid excuse for re-considering the course which had been adopted so many months before; and the President himself saw that it would be reasonable to suspend the mission for awhile, until the result of the new revolution should be ascertained.

Adams arrived at Trenton on the 10th of October, and at once met the members of his Cabinet. Nothing was then decided; but the war-party soon obtained an accession of strength by the news of British and Russian successes over the French. It was thought by many that the French Republic would soon be at an end, and the Bourbons reinstated in power. The defeat of the contemplated mission was now regarded as almost certain by the war-party; but they were in fact on the eve of a great reverse. On the evening of the 15th of October, Adams summoned his Cabinet to a meeting. When its members had assembled, the President laid before them the draft of instructions to the Commissioners which had been prepared by the Secretary of State. After a long discussion, this document met the unanimous approval of the Ministers. The Cabinet Council broke up about eleven o'clock at night, believing that the great struggle, as to whether the Commission should be sent at all, was only postponed until the next day. Very early on the following morning, however, two of their number received from the President a brief direction in writing, that the papers agreed upon for the use of the Commissioners should be forthwith made out, and that the frigate *United States* should be put in readiness to receive them, and set sail for France on or before the 1st of November.* On the 5th of that month the Commissioners started for Europe, and the ultimate result of their negotiations was to re-establish peace between the two countries.

But, almost before they could commence their duties, the head of the American army, and, taken altogether, the greatest character of that epoch and nation, had attained his final rest. A neglected cold had caused the death of Washington, on the 14th of December, 1799, after little more than a day's illness. He expired, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, in his beloved house at Mount Vernon, surrounded by that quiet and that domestic affection which he coveted above all things, and which came as a sacred solace and conclusion to a life of turmoil, danger, and contest. It may be said of him, as of many other great men, that his work was finished before he himself departed. Had he lived longer, he would perhaps have added nothing to his fame. He had helped to free his nation; he had lived to organise the political constitution of his country; he had added eight years of wise administration to eight of sterner service, and to a long career of preparation for the one great task. It would be difficult to imagine how anything more could have been placed upon the record, worthy of that which had already been accomplished. With men of special greatness, death is the completion and consecration of the full magnificence of their lives; and such, it may be said, was the case with Washington. The popular grief at his loss was universal and profound. It did not even cease with America, but was reflected from the greatest natures in other countries also. When the fact became known in France, Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul, issued to the army, on the 9th of February, 1800, the following order of the day:—"Washington is dead! This great man fought against tyranny; he established the liberties of his country. His memory will always be dear to the French people, as it will be to all free men of the two worlds; and especially to French soldiers, who, like him and the American soldiers, have combated for liberty and equality." It was directed that black crape should be suspended from all the standards and flags throughout the French Republic for ten days. Splendid military ceremonies took place in the Champ de Mars, and a funeral oration was pronounced in the Hôtel des Invalides, at which the civil and military authorities of the capital were present. But a yet grander testimony, because of the generous sentiment it embodied, was rendered by the Power with which Washington had so long been at war. A British fleet lying at Torbay lowered its flags half-mast on receipt of the intelligence. The bitter contest was now at an end, and it was not for England to refuse her recognition of that lofty spirit which had conducted America to independence.

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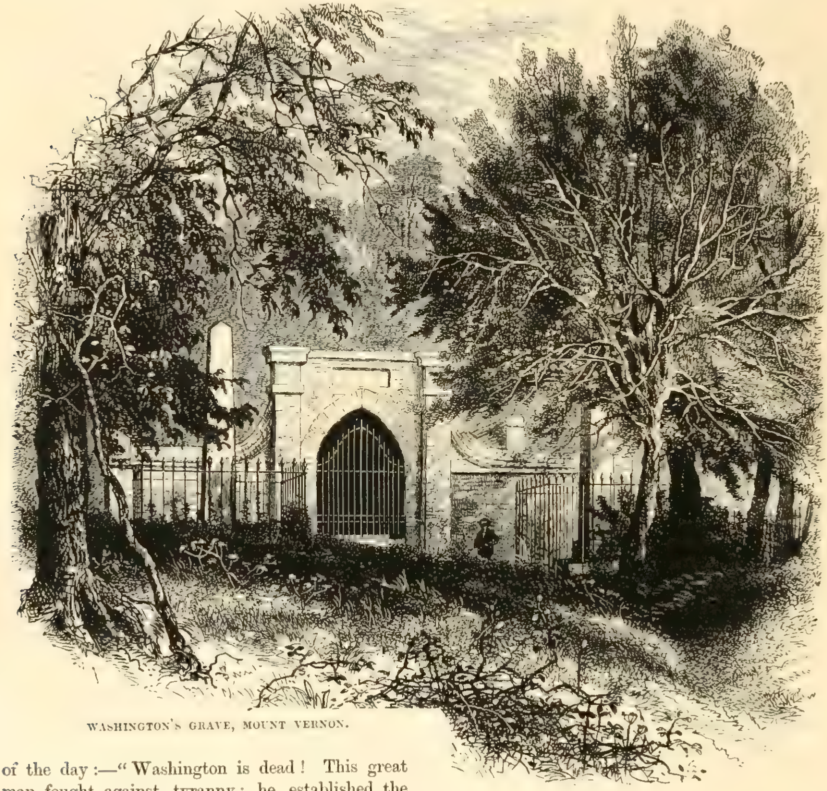
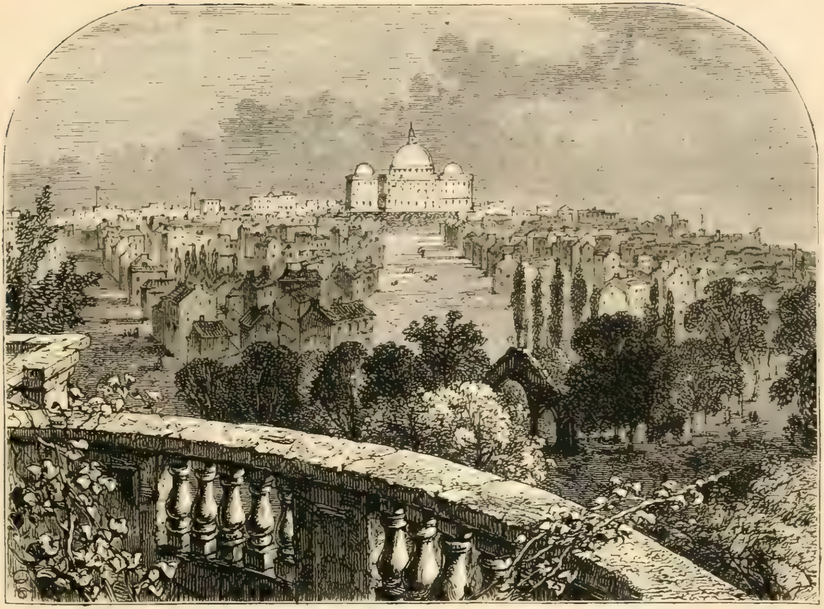
* In this narrative of the events of Mr. Adams's Administration, great use has been made of the Life of that statesman, by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, which was published at Boston, U.S., in 1856, and which, as regards many matters, was based on information not previously given to the world.



WASHINGTON'S GRAVE, MOUNT VERNON.



VIEW OF WASHINGTON FROM THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Reaction against the War-Party—Effect of the Death of Washington—Honours paid to his Memory—Designs of Hamilton's Friends—Changes in Adams's Cabinet—Foes in the Government—The Alien and Sedition Laws—Their Unpopularity, and Eventual Repeal—Insurrectionary Movement in Pennsylvania—The Case of John Fries—Naval Actions between the French and Americans—Conclusion of a Treaty between the United States and France—Its Leading Provisions—Removal of the Federal Government to the City of Washington—The Approaching Election for President—Intrigues against Adams—Designs of Alexander Hamilton—Treacherous Conduct of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury—Publication by Hamilton of his Letter concerning the Conduct of Adams—Effect of the Pamphlet in dividing the Federal Party—The Success of Jefferson rendered almost certain—Final Acts of Adams—Opening of the Second Session of the Sixth Congress—Election of Jefferson as President, and of Aaron Burr as Vice-President—Departure of Adams from the Seat of Government—The Census of 1800.

WITH the despatch of the commissioners to France, a reaction against the extreme war-party set in. In the House of Representatives, the moderate Federalists, coming in the main from the Southern and Middle States, were attaining a preponderance, under the leadership of John Marshall, of Virginia, who not long afterwards became Chief Justice of the United States. The violence of the Senate, however, knew no abatement, and in that assembly the President's address at the opening of the next session of Congress was very coldly received. The speech was short, and, as regarded the state of affairs between America and France, simply recommended, in earnest terms, a perseverance in defensive measures pending the negotiations. For a time, the fervour of party conflict was suspended by the national grief at the loss of Washington, and by the agreement of all sections to do honour to the memory of that first of American citizens. On receipt of the intelligence, Congress immediately adjourned, and the House of Representatives, on assembling the next day, resolved that the Speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, that the members should wear black during the rest of the session, and that a committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable method of paying homage to so great a man. The Senate addressed a letter of condolence to the President, in which they said:—

"With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory." Adams, in his reply to this address, observed:—"In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me only to say that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities; I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity; with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy. The life of our Washington cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of Royalty could have only served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it. Malice could never blast his honour, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory. For his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal."

In accordance with the resolve of Congress, a funeral procession started, on the 26th of December, from the Legislative Hall to the German Lutheran church in Philadelphia, where an oration was spoken by General Lee, one of the most intimate of Washington's friends. Other funeral addresses were delivered in various parts of the Union, and the people wore crape on their left arm for thirty days. Never was a public man more generally and more sincerely mourned, and to our own time Washington retains in the hearts of his countrymen a position almost analogous with that of the semi-mythical heroes of antiquity in the affectionate remembrance of the nations which they raised from barbarism, or rescued from the tyranny of alien foes. The friends of Alexander Hamilton had, in the early summer of 1799, appealed to Washington to put himself forward once more as a candidate for the Presidential office. The idea was to some extent, though secretly, supported by the members of Adams's Cabinet; it met with great favour in the New England States; and Gouverneur Morris, of New York, was commissioned to address to the Commander-in-Chief a specific request to this effect. Death prevented his knowing anything of the design; and it is probable that he would have refused to connect himself with it. He had done enough for duty, for fame, and for immortality, and it was not for him to stoop to the vulgar level of party intrigues.

The relations between Adams and his Ministers became every day more difficult and unsatisfactory. The latter were much under the influence of Hamilton, and that influence was not at all favourable to the President. Adams accordingly resolved, in the early part of 1800, on changing some of them, but was anticipated, as far as concerned his War Minister, by the resignation of Mr. McHenry. His place was filled by Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts; and at the same time Colonel Pickering was succeeded in the State Department by John Marshall, of Virginia—a lawyer of plain, blunt habits, but known to be well-disposed towards Adams. The change was for the better in some respects, but it set loose against the President the pent-up antagonism of Pickering and McHenry, who did not scruple to supply Hamilton with facts, derived from their recent official positions, which they thought would have the effect of damaging the Chief Magistrate in the popular estimation. Worse than this was the treachery of Oliver Wolcott, who, while retaining office as Secretary of the Treasury, and receiving the entire confidence of Adams, regularly supplied to his enemies the most confidential details of the Administration.*

The position of the President was harassed from two sides—that of the more extreme Federalists, who wanted him to make war on France, and that of the Democrats, who thought France had been opposed too much. The latter had many opportunities for enforcing their views with effect. The Alien and Sedition laws were unpopular, and were in truth of so arbitrary a character as to furnish very good texts for the Opposition to dilate upon. It does not appear that Adams had anything to do with suggesting either of these laws; they were no part of his distinctive policy; yet he was doubtless responsible for them to the extent that he did not exercise his constitutional right of veto, but suffered them to pass, and afterwards used them whenever he found it convenient. The Alien Act—which authorised the President to expel from the country any foreigner, not a citizen, who might be suspected of conspiring against the Republic, or to imprison him if he persisted in remaining—was vindicated on the ground that there were at that time more than thirty thousand Frenchmen in the United States; that these were devoted to their native country, and were for the most part bound together by clubs or in some other way; and that there were also within the limits of the Federation at least fifty thousand persons who had been subjects of Great Britain, some of whom were persons of questionable character. The Sedition Act punished with heavy fines and imprisonment those who might circulate "any false, scandalous, and malicious writing against the Government of the United States, or either House of Congress, or the President." If the former of these laws was justified by existing circumstances, it can hardly be said that the latter was capable of defence. It was denounced by Jefferson, and not without reason, as calculated to sap the very foundations of Republicanism: one might go farther, and say that it was out of harmony with any political system, whether Republican or Monarchical, which professes to entertain a regard for personal liberty. Undoubtedly every State has the right, when necessary, to frame and enforce the most stringent and exceptional laws; but there does not seem to have been anything in the condition of America at that period to warrant so despotic a measure as the Sedition Act, which was plainly capable of being used for party purposes, and applied to the suppression of legitimate differences of opinion. At the close of the eighteenth century, two hundred newspapers were published in the United States, of which about a hundred and seventy-five were in favour of the Federalists; the remainder, which were for the most part conducted by aliens, were imperilled by the objectionable statutes.* The Legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky declared both the Sedition and the Alien Acts to be unconstitutional, and they were eventually repealed. It was a happy release to be rid of them; yet it is well known that they had the approval of Washington.

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* Life of Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 10.

Another cause of unpopularity was found in the war-taxes imposed by Adams's Administration. These provoked an insurrectionary movement in Pennsylvania in 1798, which it was found necessary to put down by a display of military force, and which afterwards led to an awkward difference of opinion between Adams and his Ministers. One of the persons arrested as a leader in these commotions was a man named John Fries, who was tried on a charge of treason, and found guilty by the verdict of a jury. Mr. Wolcott, in communicating the fact to the President, with whom it lay to sanction or remit the sentence of death, mentioned that the counsel for the prisoner had insisted that the offence committed did not amount to treason, and had reported a remark made by Fries, that persons of greater consequence than himself had been at the bottom of the business. The President evinced a disposition to exercise his constitutional right of setting aside the verdict; his Ministers saw no reason why the law should not take its course, and conceived that an example should be made. This was in May, 1799. Subsequently, the court which had condemned Fries granted a new trial, on the ground that one of the jury was proved to have prejudged the case. The second investigation took place before another judge; but Fries was again condemned. At the same time, two other persons lay under sentence of death for similar acts. When the question again came before the President, which was in May, 1800, he directed that a pardon should be made out for all the offenders. His Ministers were annoyed at this determination; and it was broadly asserted that the act was prompted by a desire to stand well in Pennsylvania, and to propitiate the Democratic party. It is possible that political considerations did in truth influence the President in the course which he followed.

Although there had been no actual declaration of war between the United States and France, hostilities had occurred at sea, both in 1799 and 1800. In February of the former year, the American frigate *Constellation*, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by Commodore Truxton, and the French frigate *L'Insurgente*, of forty guns, came into collision. The French frigate had previously taken the American schooner *Retaliation;* but she was now captured by the American Commodore. In a subsequent action, the same gallant officer compelled another French frigate, of fifty guns, to strike her colours; but she afterwards escaped in the night, after a loss of one hundred and sixty men in killed and wounded. The latter action took place on the 1st of February, 1800, when the disagreements between France and America were drawing towards a close. Napoleon Bonaparte had by that time seized on the supreme power. He was not at all inclined to add the American Republic to the formidable array of enemies whom he was called on to encounter; and he evinced every disposition to come to terms with the Government of the United States, provided the Commissioners appointed by Mr. Adams did not assume too arrogant a tone. Those gentlemen saw the necessity of peace, and made due recognition of the dignity of France. They concluded a treaty, which bears date September 30th, 1800, and which, without removing all the causes that had led to dissension, gave partial satisfaction to the people of both countries. When the documents arrived in America, the only article to which serious exception was taken was the second, by which the old treaties, giving a guarantee of mutual support in case either Power should be attacked by England—an obligation which had been the origin of the recent disagreements—were annulled, without, however, any settlement of the question of indemnity for past grievances, which was postponed to a future date. This left open a large field for possible, or even probable, quarrels at no distant time; and the Senate, in ratifying the treaty, excepted the second article, which they desired to see expunged, and at the same time suggested a provision to the effect that the agreement should be in force for eight years only. The President accepted the ratification in this form, while avowing his opinion that the treaty was better as it originally stood. When the modifications were submitted to Bonaparte, as First Consul, they received his assent, but with the addition—"Provided that by this retrenchment the two States [America and France] renounce the respective pretensions which are the object of the said article." The effect of the proviso was unfortunate, for it took away from the Americans the right to make any claim for compensation on account of French seizures of American vessels, by which from twenty to thirty millions of dollars had been lost. On the return of the Commissioners to America, the provisional army of the United States was disbanded, and one great cause of popular dissatisfaction was destroyed. A little before the attainment of this result, a negotiation, set on foot by Mr. Marshall, the new Secretary of State, put an end to certain irritations consequent on the inability of two different commissions, under Mr. Jay's treaty with Great Britain, to come to an understanding.

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* Lossing's History of the United States.

The year 1800 was also distinguished by the formation, in May, of a distinct Territorial Government for the country between the western frontier of Georgia (previously claimed by that State) and the Mississippi River, known as the Mississippi Territory; and by the removal of the Federal Government to the district of Columbia, which took place during the summer. The district of Columbia was originally a tract of country ten miles square, situated on both sides of the Potomac, about a hundred and twenty miles from its mouth, measuring by the river's course. It was ceded to the United States by Maryland and Virginia in 1790, in order that it might be made the capital of the Union. At the present day it includes the cities of Washington and Georgetown, having been curtailed of its first proportions by the retrocession to Virginia, in 1846, of all that portion which lay on the right or western bank of the Potomac, including the city of Alexandria. The city of Washington stands on a point of land between the chief river and a stream called the Eastern Branch. It was laid out in 1791, and the erection of the Capitol or Senate House, which stands on an eminence near the middle of the city, was commenced on the 18th of April, 1793, when President Washington laid the corner-stone of the north wing. Great additions have been made to this building in later times, and it is now one of the largest and finest edifices of the kind in the world. The President's official residence, known as the White House, is situated some distance westward from the Capitol, and is itself a stately mansion. The appearance of the city generally is imposing, from the great number of stone edifices of large dimensions; but, except during the sessions of Congress, it is wanting in animation, for, after all, it is only the official seat of the Federation, and possesses no independent life. The regularity of the streets, which are mostly at right angles to one another, detracts from picturesqueness, and the large spaces of open ground have obtained for this capital the title of "the City of Magnificent Distances." The Government of the district is vested solely in Congress; the inhabitants send no representatives to that body, and have no voice in the election of Federal officers. The Judiciary of Columbia consists of a Circuit Court, presided over by a Chief Judge and two Associate Judges, a Criminal Court, and an Orphans' Court. The country where the city of Washington now stands was explored in the early part of the seventeenth century by the adventurous navigator, Henry Fleet, with whose exploits our readers are familiar.*

In view of the approaching re-election to the Presidential office, all parties were now busily engaged in agitating the country. The Federalist candidates were Adams himself, who desired a renewal of his term, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney; and the support of Hamilton and his friends was secretly given to the latter. Great activity prevailed in that section of the Federalist ranks, with a view to defeating the candidature of the existing President. Everything that could possibly be made to bear a character disadvantageous to the Chief Magistrate was industriously circulated, and not without effect. Those who had been his confidential Ministers co-operated with others who had not stood in that relation, to decry his character for political sagacity, and even for political honesty. Their proceedings were not unknown to Adams, who alleged that his Federal enemies were inflamed against him because he had refused to lend himself to their schemes for an alliance with England, and a war against France. Hamilton had recently applied to the Secretary of the Treasury for details of confidential transactions in the Cabinet, to be communicated to those whom he described as "discreet persons." Wolcott, in replying on the 7th of July, agreed to furnish the requisite information, alleging that in his opinion it would be a disgrace to the Federal party to permit the reelection of Mr. Adams. It was also resolved by Hamilton to write to the President himself for explanations of certain remarks made by him in the course of conversation, to the effect that there was a British faction, of which he, Hamilton, was a leading member. On the 1st of August this demand was forwarded to Adams, who made no reply, considering that it would not be fit for one holding his position to enter into a merely personal altercation. Even, however, before Hamilton could have received any answer, supposing it had been thought meet to send one, he wrote to Wolcott, intimating his intention to make a public statement of his opinion of Adams. Hamilton's confidential friends —Oliver Wolcott himself, Fisher Ames, and George Cabot—were alarmed at the idea of an open attack upon the President, dreading the imputation of breach of faith to which it would expose them, since it had been agreed by the Federalists generally to support Adams and Pinckney, as alternative candidates for the chief office. They advised Hamilton, however, not to refrain from his attack, but to conduct it anonymously. Nevertheless, he determined to make his assault without disguise, and on the 26th of September he transmitted to Wolcott a draft of what it was proposed to put forth, with a request that he would note exceptionable ideas or phrases. Hamilton had derived some of the most delicate of his facts from three of the President's Ministers, and particularly from Wolcott himself; and he would not take the contemplated step without the consent of that gentleman. It was no part of his plan to produce evidence of the truth of his allegations; he would stand, he said, on the credit of his veracity. In answering this letter, Wolcott hesitated a good deal as to what would be the safe course to pursue. He could not make up his mind whether such a publication would injure or advance the cause of Adams. Hamilton accordingly determined to go his own way. He put his statement into print, and was still deliberating what he should do with it when Aaron Burr, always his enemy, and in the end the instrument of his violent death, contrived by some unexplained means to get access to the sheets while passing through the press, and caused extracts to be published in the Opposition newspapers. This was made by Hamilton an excuse for a complete publication of the remarks on Adams, and they were issued under the title of "A Letter from Alexander Hamilton concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq., President of the United States." The pamphlet appeared in the last days of October, and very shortly afterwards the different States were to make choice of that electoral body by which the President is appointed.

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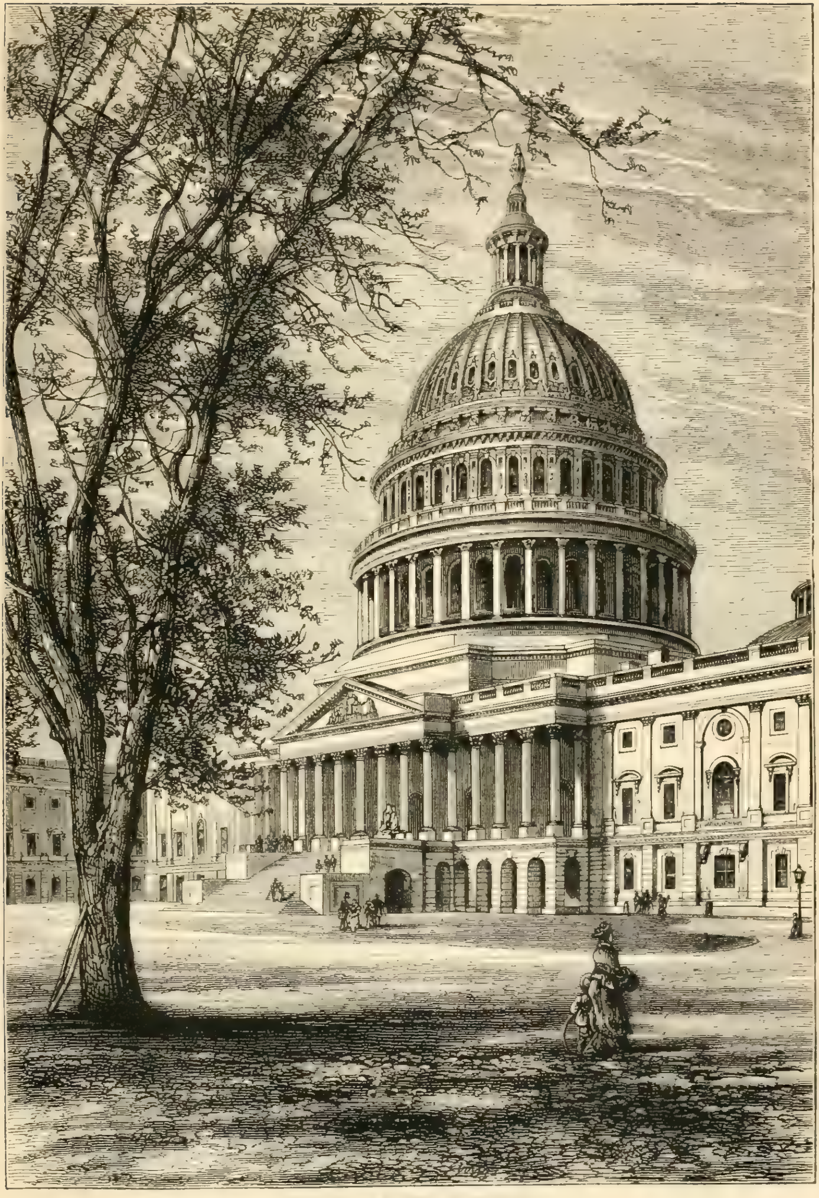
* See Vol. I., chap. 31, of this History.

The criticism was written with much bitterness. The main charges brought against Adams were, that he had resolved on sending Mr. Murray to France without consulting his Cabinet; that he had afterwards persevered in despatching Messrs. Ellsworth and Davie to the same country, in opposition to the advice of many of his party; and that he had pardoned John Fries, who ought rather to have been hanged. Yet, notwithstanding these accusations, which the author manifestly regarded as having a serious character, Hamilton still advised his friends not to withhold from Adams a single vote. The conclusion was of course discredited by the premisses, or the premisses invalidated the conclusion. Perhaps on this account, the publication was not well received by thoughtful politicians. Some even among his friends expressed to Hamilton their disapprobation of what he had done. Yet the pamphlet had a damaging effect, not so much on the reputation of Adams as on the union and stability of the Federal party. By dividing the votes of that party, it destroyed all chance of success for the higher office at the approaching election. The triumph of Jefferson, which now became almost certain, was due not only to the gathering strength of his own adherents, but to the feud existing in the ranks of his opponents, which this unlucky publication fomented and developed. Up to that date, Jefferson himself had doubted whether he should be able to defeat his chief adversary; but, after the issue of the pamphlet, he saw his chances to be immensely increased, while the probability of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney obtaining even the Vice-Presidency was proportionably diminished. The real design of Hamilton and his friends was to get Pinckney elected to the chief office; but he appears to have had too much honour to avail himself of these intrigues for his benefit. He insisted upon standing or falling together with Adams.

The result of the election was the choice of Jefferson as President, and of Aaron Burr as Vice-President. But that result could not at once be ascertained or determined. Each of these two candidates received seventy-three votes, an excess of three on the number required by the Constitution. The task of choosing between the two devolved on the House of Representatives, where the Federals had a numerical majority; but that majority could not on the present occasion be put in force, because, in the exercise of this particular function, the Constitution appoints that the House shall vote by States, and of the States, taken individually, there was ultimately a preponderance against Adams. The Second Session of the Sixth American Congress began on the 22nd of November, 1800, with a speech from the President, which is stated to have been more his own work than any of its predecessors. After alluding to the inauguration of the new seat of Government at Washington, and recommending to the care of Congress the territory thus set apart, he described the relations of the country with foreign lands, and the state of the negotiations still pending with Great Britain and France. Then, turning to domestic affairs, he referred to the reduction lately effected in the army, recommended further measures for the establishment of a defensive naval force, and insisted on the necessity of amending the judiciary system. He spoke of the revenue for the year as being in a prosperous condition, the amount received exceeding that of any former period of the same length; and, winding up with some general remarks, he observed:—"As one of the grand community of nations, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the important scenes which surround us. If they have exhibited an uncommon portion of calamity, it is the province of humanity to deplore, and of wisdom to avoid, the causes which may have produced it. If, turning our eyes homeward, we find reason to rejoice at the prospect which presents itself; if we perceive the interior of our country prosperous, free, and happy; if all enjoy in safety, under the protection of laws emanating only from the general will, the fruits of their own labour; we ought to fortify and cling to those institutions which have been the source of much real felicity, and resist with unabating perseverance the progress of those dangerous innovations which may diminish their influence." It cannot be doubted that Adams was here glancing at the principles of the Democratic party, now standing on the threshold of power.

The question with regard to the Presidency—whether Jefferson or Aaron Burr should occupy the first place—was not decided until February, 1801; nor was the result then arrived at without thirty-five ballotings in the House of Representatives. Some of the Federalists suggested the appointment of a temporary Executive, and the ordering of a new election; but the Democrats were determined not to give up their chance for Jefferson. The number of States at that period was sixteen, and the concurrence of nine of these was necessary to a Presidential election. Jefferson at first had only eight in his favour; yet in the end he prevailed, owing to the divisions and jealousies of the Federal party. In this way the great Democratic leader succeeded to the supreme power, while the post of Vice-President was assigned to Burr, a man of very indifferent character, who had intrigued with both sections for the promotion of his own ends. The official life of Adams terminated in his nominating several of his party to high judicial functions, in accordance with a measure recently passed for re-organising the Federal Courts. That Act had reduced the future number of Justices of the Supreme Court, and had increased the District Courts to twenty-three, distributed into six circuits, to be travelled by three Judges in each. Adams considered it necessary that these high judicial posts should be filled by members of the Federal body as a counterpoise to that reaction in favour of the Democrats which he foresaw would follow the election of Jefferson to the Presidency; but the precaution proved unavailing. Just then, Mr. Oliver Ellsworth resigned his position as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Adams offered the place to Jay, and, on that gentleman declining to serve, because of bad health, conferred it on John Marshall, who, not long before, had been made Secretary of State. The other appointments were conceived in the same spirit and with the same object, and Jefferson always resented them very strongly, as a check on the designs which he determined to carry out as soon as power had passed into his hands. Wolcott, who at the close of 1800 had resigned his office as Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed by the retiring President one of the Judges of the Circuit Courts—an appointment which, according to the new law, was to endure for life. Adams, though knowing that Wolcott suppórted the views of Hamilton, never suspected him of having acted treacherously, and to the day of his death absolved him from all suspicion of bad faith. In acknowledging the President's kindness, Wolcott wrote to his superior:—"Believing that gratitude to bene-



VIEW OF THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

factors is among the most amiable, and ought to be among the most indissoluble, of social obligations, I shall without reserve cherish the emotions which are inspired by a sense of duty and honour on this occasion." It would have been better had Wolcott paid more regard to the sense of duty and honour when he was in the Ministerial service of the President.

The inauguration of Jefferson took place on the 4th of March, 1801. It would certainly have been more courteous had Adams remained at the Federal capital until the installation of his successor; had he been present at the ceremony, and spoken some words of formal compliment. But he was a man of quick and passionate nature—a failing not seldom found in combination with real nobility of soul, yet a fault none the less. He distrusted Jefferson as a politician; he believed that he was personally opposed to him; and he did not care to grace the spectacle of his rival's entry into power. He was irritated also by the defection of those of his own party whose treachery had caused his defeat. Moreover, he had recently endured a severe affliction in the loss of his second son, Charles, who had died at New York, leaving behind him a widow and two infant children. From all these causes, the retiring President felt unable, or at least unwilling, to do towards Jefferson what Washington had done towards himself. He left the half-formed city on the banks of the Potomac previous to the 4th of March, and from that time to the end of his long life ceased to have any vital influence on the course of American politics.*

During the last year of Adams's Administration, the second Census of the people of the United States commenced, though it was not completed until 1801. The population was then ascertained to be 5,305,925, showing the remarkable increase of 1,376,098 in the previous ten years. A still greater augmentation was noticeable in the Federal revenue, which had been only 4,771,000 dollars in 1790, whereas in 1800 it had run up to 12,945,000. The exports of the Republic had during the same period swelled from nineteen to ninety-four millions of dollars, and in every direction were seen the most remarkable evidences of national growth and prosperity. The institutions of the country, insuring at once freedom and safety, had much to do with these favourable results. In 1801, the Americans had every right to look with satisfaction on the progress of their great experiment in popular self-rule.

CHAPTER LXV.

American Politics of the Eighteenth Century and of the Nineteenth—The Balance of Power passing from the North to the South—Jefferson and his Party—Their Predominating Influence for Sixty Years—The New Cabinet—System of Official Changes on the coming into Office of a New President—Jefferson's Reforms in the Administration of the Country—His Letter to Kosciusko—Formation of the State of Ohio—Retrocession of Louisiana from Spain to France—Jealousy excited in America—Jefferson's Instructions to the American Minister at Paris—Sale of Louisiana to the United States—Bonaparte's Object in parting with the Territory—American Views on the Subject—War with the Algerines—Gallant Exploit of Lieutenant Decatur—Attack on the Tripolitans—Conclusion of Peace—Exploring Expedition towards the Pacific—Death of Alexander Hamilton in a Duel with Aaron Burr—Jefferson's Measures for the Freedom of Religion—Designs of Aaron Burr in the West—His Trial and Acquittal—Character of the Man.

ADAMS's term of office just conducted the American people within the porches of the nineteenth century. It may be said, moreover, to have wound up a certain phase of American politics which was characteristic rather of the century which had expired than of that which was commencing. Until then, the leading party in the Union was that of the New England States—modified, no doubt, by the opinions of the Southern and Middle States, but on the whole predominant. The principles which the Puritan founders of Massachusetts and her sister colonies had brought out with them, and which they lost no opportunity of asserting, were the principles of the American Revolution. Men from all parts of the Confederation thought and acted in the great cause; but the ideas they received and propagated were the ideas of the North. So, in the final settlement of the Federal Government, the political maxims by which the Constitution was shaped were mainly derived from the Pilgrim Fathers and their descendants. Adams, as a New Englander, shared the general sentiments of his school; though, with the moderation of a practised statesman, he had declined to go the extreme lengths to which some would have pushed him. With the year 1801, a total change took place in the policy of the Federal Government. Jefferson, the new President, had long forsaken the Northern supporters of the Declaration of Independence and of the existing political condition. He had founded a party, the great objects of which were to weaken the general powers of the Union, and to circumscribe authority within the narrowest limits. To that party he had given the energy of his genius, the strength of his will, and the force and mastery of his organising abilities. The mistakes of Adams's Presidency—mistakes for which the subordinates were more responsible than the chief—had vastly improved the position of Jefferson and his adherents, and the new President found himself at the head of a numerous body of supporters, with an ever-increasing accession of opinion in most parts of the country. In the period during which he held office, he was enabled to give a new direction to American affairs, and to create an impulse which, with but few checks or reactions, continued for sixty years. Adams represented the eighteenth century, with which he retired; Jefferson, the nineteenth, with which he began his rule.

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* Life of Adams, by his Grandson, chap. 10.

On assuming office, Jefferson was nearly fifty-eight years of age. He was therefore between seven and eight years younger than his rival, and represented a somewhat more modern tone of thought. Starting on his career with the entire confidence of the Democratic party, he was regarded with proportionate distrust by the Federals; but his inaugural speech was of a nature to allay their fears. None the less was Jefferson determined to carry out those projects of reform which he conceived to be necessary to the existence of Republican institutions. He retained for awhile Adams's Secretaries of the Treasury and the Navy (Samuel Dexter and Benjamin Stoddert), but not for long, and the other posts were at once filled by his own supporters. Since Jefferson's time, it has been usual for American Presidents, on coming into power, to effect a complete change in the Administration, and to make the new appointments in strict conformity with party lines. There is of course something to be said for this system, because it is obviously easier for a man to work with his own political followers than with those who are perhaps biassed in favour of different opinions. But the custom is attended by serious evils, for it introduces a revolutionary element, of frequent recurrence, into the conduct of affairs, and opens the door to a vast amount of faction. Americans themselves have seen its disadvantages, and Nathaniel Hawthorne has made it the subject of ridicule in one of the most popular of his works.* But to Jefferson it appeared an indispensable concomitant of democratic rule. James Madison became Secretary of State; Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War; and Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General. Madison, some years before, had been one of the most energetic of the Federals, but had long gone over to the opposite party. Before the end of the year, Albert Gallatin had succeeded Dexter in the Treasury, and Robert Smith had been made Secretary of the Navy, in place of Stoddert.

With as little delay as possible, Jefferson set to work reforming and retrenching. He reduced the army and navy; he cut down the diplomatic corps; he submitted to Congress a Bill for diminishing the Judiciary; and he proposed the remission of taxes. The alterations in the judicial system, to which Congress had consented a little before the termination of the late Presidency, and whereon Adams relied for counteracting the effect of his successor's political measures, were now swept away by the same body which had so recently sanctioned them. This repeal annihilated the offices of sixteen judges who had only just been appointed. It was contended by the Democrats, and not without some reason, that the creation of so many new offices by the party which was just going out of power could have had no other object (since they were not required by the state of legal business) than to make lucrative and influential appointments, at the public expense, for the supporters of the late Administration; and it was said that the signing of the new judges' commissions was continued by Adams until the last hour of the last day of his Presidentship, in order to retain all the influence in his own hands. During the same session—the first under Jefferson's rule—the internal or Excise duties, always unpopular, and now no longer necessary, were abolished; and this enabled the President to do away with a number of offices which had proved burdensome to the country. Measures were taken for gradually paying off the debt, and a consequent diminution of patronage removed one of the chief sources of complaint with the Democrats. Reduction of imposts is a benefit when it is not purchased at the expense of the national service; but it should be recollected, in fairness to the Administrations of Washington and Adams, that the difficult relations then existing between the United States and France rendered an exceptional expenditure unavoidable, and that it was the treaty with Bonaparte, procured by the wisdom, firmness, and moderation of Adams, which enabled Jefferson to annihilate so much onerous taxation, and to dispense with so many unfruitful officials. The paying off of the national debt was another very excellent work; but it could hardly have been effected had not Hamilton already placed the finances of the Republic in a more healthy condition than he found them. Jefferson, in short, availed himself, in some respects, of the altered and more easy posture of affairs to which he succeeded; but that better state had in part been brought about by the acts of his predecessors, many of which, however distasteful, had for the time been necessary.

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* Introduction to "The Scarlet Letter."

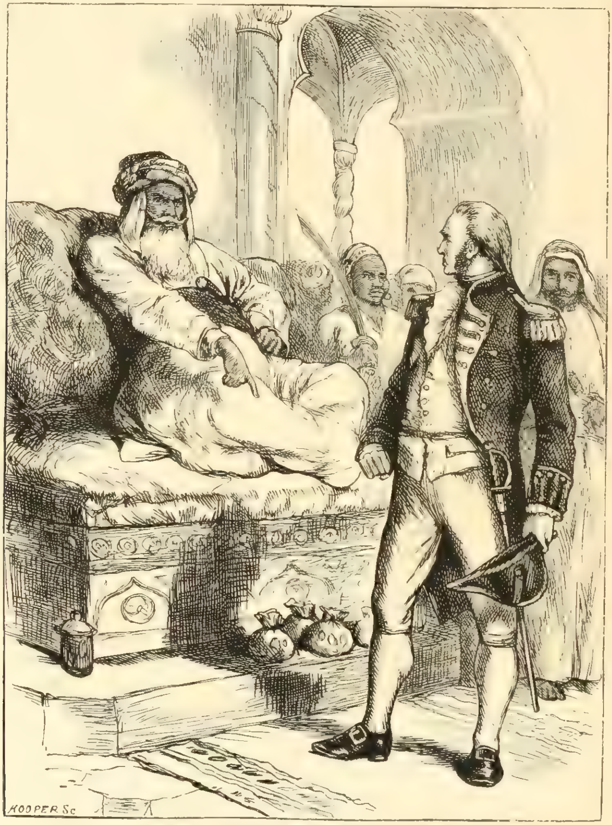
In some other respects, the changes introduced by the President seem to have been prompted by no other motive than a desire to please the most extreme among the Democrats. The receptions which Washington and Adams used to give, and which their opponents characterised as levées similar to those of Royalty, were abandoned; and the practice of delivering in person the Presidential address to Congress at the opening of the session was set aside for a written Message, which was believed to be a more Republican mode of procedure. How freedom, or any other human interest, was a gainer by these two changes, it would puzzle a wiser than Œdipus to discover. Jefferson, however, was very well satisfied with what he had accomplished, and, writing to the Polish patriot, Kosciusko, after he had been some months in power, he said:—"The session of the first Congress convened since Republicanism has recovered its ascendency, is now drawing to a close. They will pretty completely fulfil all the desires of the people. They have reduced the army and navy to what is barely necessary. They are disarming executive patronage and preponderance, by putting down one-half the offices of the United States which are no longer necessary. These economies have enabled them to suppress all the internal taxes, and still to make such provision for the payment of their public debt as to discharge that in eighteen years. They have lopped off a parasite limb, planted by their predecessors on the judiciary body for party purposes; they are opening the doors of hospitality to the fugitives from the oppressions of other countries; and we have suppressed all their public forms and ceremonies, which tended to familiarise the public eye to the harbinger of another form of government. The people are nearly all united; their quondam leaders, infuriated with a sense of their impotence, will soon be seen or heard only in the newspapers, which serve as chimneys to carry off noxious vapours and smoke; and all now is tranquil, firm, and well, as it should be."

In the year 1802, a part of the North-western Territory, which had been first organised in 1787, was erected into an independent State, with the title of Ohio. It contains an area of 40,000 square miles, but a good deal of the soil is marshy. The population increased with extraordinary rapidity after the large cession of Indian lands in 1795, consequent on the successful war which had been carried on by General Wayne. The sense of security thus produced caused a rush of emigration towards the North-west, and in 1802 Ohio had a population of about 72,000. The Constitution was framed in November, and by this instrument it was provided that slavery should for ever be excluded from the State. In 1851 another Constitution was adopted, but the curse of negro bondage has never been admitted within the limits of this western Government. The country bordering on the Ohio River is very interesting from a historical point of view, because it was here that those collisions between French and Anglo-American colonists took place which led to the war terminating in 1763, and to the loss of Canada by the Crown of France. The earliest operations of Washington, while he was yet a soldier in the British service, were in this region, though not within the present State of Ohio. The whole Western Territory was long in dispute between France and England; but that part which was made an independent State in 1802 was in almost undisputed possession of the savages until the latter years of the eighteenth century.

Another western land, not then within the dominion of the United States, appeared for awhile likely to give occasion for a war. By the Treaty of Amiens, in 1802, peace had been re-established between France, Great Britain, Spain, and Holland; and Napoleon Bonaparte, relieved from the cares which had but recently pressed on him, began to turn his attention to the development of a French colonial empire, not only in the West Indies, but in the province of Louisiana, which in 1800 had been re-conveyed to France by Spain. Such a policy, had it been carried out, would have given France the command of the Mississippi and of the Gulf of Mexico; and the arrangement was highly favoured by England, because it would act as a check upon the Americans. The transfer, however, had not yet taken place, and Jefferson saw that it might be avoided. He therefore wrote to Mr. Livingston, the American Envoy at Paris, directing him to represent to the French Government the inexpediency of France assuming such a position on the American Continent. He was to urge that France, as matters then stood, offered no point of collision with the United States; that she was in consequence regarded as the "natural friend" of those States; that there was only one spot on the globe, the possession of which made the possessor the natural and immediate enemy of the American people; that this was New Orleans, through which three-eighths of American produce was compelled to pass, to find a market; that France, by the occupation of that city, would place herself in an attitude of defiance and hostility; that under such circumstances it would be hopeless to think of amity between France and America; and that the latter country would be compelled to fling herself into the arms of Great Britain, and to unite with that Power in sweeping France from the seas, and subverting all her West Indian dominions. In the event of France determining to retain Louisiana, Livingston was instructed to demand the cession of New Orleans for a sum of money; though this alternative, it was added, would not be likely to remove the cause of irritation arising from the propinquity of France. It was also desired, in the latter case, that Spain should be persuaded to sell the Floridas.

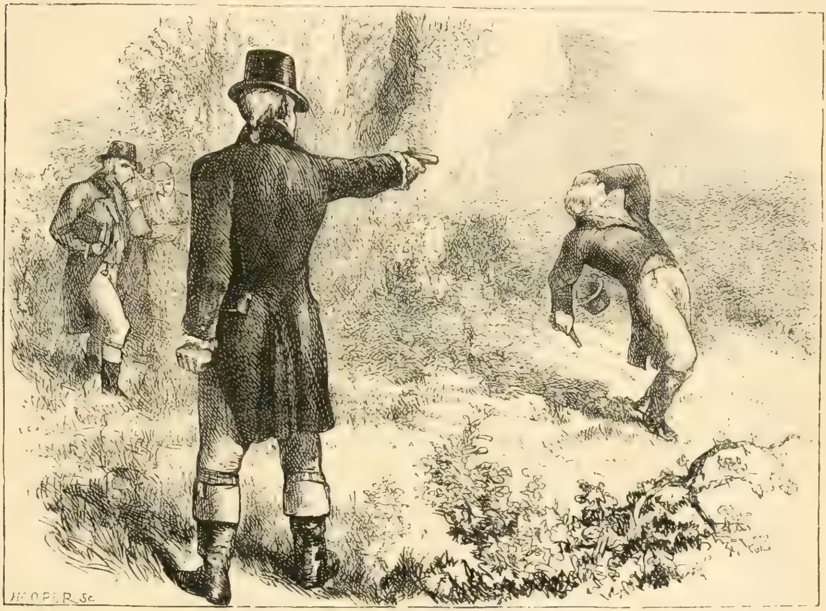
While the matter was pending, an inconsiderate action of the Spaniards nearly precipitated hostilities. In October, 1802, while they still held possession of Louisiana, the right of depositing cargoes at New Orleans, secured to the Americans for ten years by the Treaty with Spain in 1795, was suddenly withdrawn. The people of Kentucky and Ohio, to whom the privilege was a necessary concomitant of their prosperity, were highly exasperated at this breach of faith, and it was proposed in Congress to take possession by force of the whole of Louisiana. There can be no doubt that such a resolve would have been highly popular with the western men; but fortunately a more conciliatory course became possible. The peace between France and England was evidently destined to be short-lived. Bonaparte foresaw that he would soon be again cut off from a free use of the ocean, so that it would then be impossible to maintain a French colony in America; and he had a firm conviction that to strengthen the United States was to weaken England. He therefore proposed to the American Government that it should purchase Louisiana, and the offer was at once accepted. This immense and fertile region, watered by one of the finest rivers in the world, containing a city capable of being made, as it has in fact become, a magnificent seat of commerce, and conferring the command of all that part of America, was added to the United States for 15,000,000 dollars (about 75,000,000 francs, or £3,000,000). The bargain was concluded on the 30th April, 1803, and the Americans took peaceable possession on the 20th of December. The territory then contained about 85,000 mixed inhabitants (of French and Spanish origin), and 40,000 negro slaves. That part embracing the present State of Louisiana was called the Territory of Orleans; the remainder was designated the District of Louisiana, and it comprised a large tract of country extending westward to the Pacific Ocean. The government of Louisiana was offered to Lafayette, and declined by him; but he received a grant of twelve thousand acres in the new territory. Napoleon was well satisfied with the result of the negotiations. He observed that the new accession of territory would permanently strengthen the power of the United States, and that he had just given to England a maritime rival who would sooner or later humble her pride. Some among the Americans were not so well pleased. It was objected that the Floridas and New Orleans would have been a more important acquisition than the whole of Louisiana; to which Jefferson astutely replied that the Floridas, being now surrounded, must in time be absorbed in the Union. Not many years elapsed before his words proved true, and in the meanwhile the possession of Louisiana assured to the Americans an immense extension westward. This very fact, however, was regarded by several as a source of danger. The Western States, it was argued, had already a considerable tendency to separate from their Eastern brethren; and, now that they were reinforced by this enormous region, would form a distinct Confederation.

The United States were now again involved in trouble with the Algerines. Notwithstanding the arrangement of 1795, the Barbary pirates continued to make exactions on American commerce. Captain Bainbridge had been in the Mediterranean in 1800, charged with delivering the annual tribute-money; and while performing this distasteful office, in the September of that year, the Dey of Algiers had demanded the use of his vessel to carry an Ambassador to Constantinople. Bainbridge refused, when the Dey insolently replied, "You pay me tribute, by which you become my slaves, and therefore I have a right to order you as I think proper." The American Commander was not permitted to pass out of the harbour without complying, and, as the Castle guns could have sunk his frigate, he had no choice but to submit. In the following year he was again sent to the Southern coasts of the Mediterranean, that he might render some protection to American commerce; and in 1803 Commodore Preble was despatched thither to humble the sea-rovers. The Emperor of Morocco was brought to terms, and the squadron then sailed to Tripoli. The *Philadelphia*, commanded by Bainbridge, struck on a rock in the harbour, while reconnoitring, and was captured by the Tripolitans on the 31st of October. Her officers were treated as prisoners of war, but, as was usual with these corsairs, the crew were sent into slavery. The Pasha of Tripoli was the more disposed to make war on the United States, as he, together with some of the other Barbary Powers, had been unable to obtain a share in the tribute, which was monopolised by the stronger of those States. Jefferson (who must now have additionally regretted the failure of his attempt, some years before, to form a league of European countries against the Algerines) found it necessary to augment his navy, which not long before he had reduced. The service became popular, and a general determination was formed to resist with spirit the insolence of these barbarians. On the evening of the 3rd of February, 1804, Lieutenant Decatur, with only seventy-six volunteers, sailed into the harbour of Tripoli in a small vessel which he had captured from the enemy, and, running alongside Bainbridge's former ship, the *Philadelphia*, which was guarded by a large number of Tripolitans, and had been moored near the Castle, boarded her, killed or drove into the sea those who were in possession, set her on fire, and, without losing a man, escaped under cover of a heavy cannonade from the American squadron, replying



CAPTAIN BAINBRIDGE AND THE DEY OF ALGIERS.

to the batteries on shore. Tripoli was afterwards bombarded by the vessels of the United States, and on the 3rd of August the Tripolitan gun-boats were engaged in a severe action with the attacking force. Negotiations for peace were opened in 1805, through the mediation of Hamet Caramelli, brother of the reigning Pasha. The circumstances of this negotiation were very singular. Hamet, who was an exile in Egypt, asserted that he was the rightful heir to the throne, from which his brother had excluded him by an act of usurpation. Captain William Eaton, the American Consul at Tunis, knowing of the existence of this claimant, thought he might turn his pretensions to account, and, with the sanction of his Government, obtained his cooperation in measures against the reigning Pasha. After an interview with him at Alexandria, in Egypt, at which the details of the plan were settled, Eaton set out on his journey to Tripoli, with seventy of his own sailors, Hamet and his adherents, and a few Egyptian troops. Marching a thousand miles across the Libyan Desert, with terrible fatigue and suffering, the allies reached Derne, a Tripolitan city of the Mediterranean, on the 27th of April. This place they captured, and on the 18th of May fought a battle with the enemy, whom they defeated. Again routing the forces of the Pasha, a month later, they pressed on towards Tripoli. But the news of their approach had so alarmed the ruler of that State that on the 3rd of June he made peace with Colonel Tobias Lear, the American Consul-General in the Mediterranean. Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the American prisoners, and an engagement was made to withdraw all support from the pretender. This of course put an end to Hamet's attempt upon the throne, and, not unreasonably considering himself aggrieved, he afterwards went to the United States, and applied to Congress for remuneration. He did not get as much as he wanted; but Congress voted for his temporary needs a sum of 2,400 dollars.



DUEL BETWEEN BURR AND HAMILTON.

During the development of these events, affairs in America progressed in a peaceable and orderly fashion. The President recommended an appropriation for defraying the expenses of an exploring expedition across the Continent from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and, the suggestion being adopted by

Congress, an expedition was organised, the members of which, to the number of thirty, left the Mississippi on the 14th of May, 1804. They were absent about two years and a quarter, and returned laden with information which gave a more clear conception than had hitherto existed of the vast and important region lying between the great river and the Western Ocean. One tragical incident threw a lurid stain on the political contests of America during the year 1804. A quarrel occurred between Alexander Hamilton and the Vice-President. The former had reflected upon the character of the latter in public, and had in this way caused him to lose his election as Governor of New York; and Burr demanded a retractation, which Hamilton refused. Burr challenged him, and they met on the 12th of July at a spot on the west side of the Hudson, near Hoboken, where, by a strange fatality, a son of Hamilton had perished in a duel some few years before. Hamilton discharged his pistol in the air, but the fire of Burr's weapon took deadly effect. The wounded man expired next day, at about forty-seven years of age, and the event produced a general sense of indignation throughout the Union. At the re-elections for the offices of President and Vice-President, Burr was set aside in favour of George Clinton, of New York, while Jefferson was again chosen for the chief position. Burr found himself utterly discredited in the older parts of the Federation, and, believing that the Spanish and French population of Louisiana would not submit to the rule of the United States, he departed for that territory in April, 1805, to take advantage of any insubordination which might exist. His more immediate object, however, seems to have been to form an army of adventurers for the invasion of Mexico. Many of the new settlers in Louisiana were persons of desperate character, and Burr was soon joined by General Wilkinson, Commander-in-Chief of the Federal army in those parts, and a man who afterwards proved himself capable of more loyal conduct. Besides his military position, Wilkinson was acting as Governor of Louisiana, so that his conspiracy with Burr is open to a double imputation of bad faith. The Eastern States, however, knew nothing of what was being plotted. They were glad to be rid of one whom they described as the murderer of Hamilton, and as yet they did not guess the full extent of Burr's political dishonesty.

The Democratic policy of Jefferson continued to receive the support of a large section of the American people. In many points, that policy was characterised by a spirit of wise and liberal statesmanship, peculiarly adapted to the nature of American life. In one respect, however, the President was regarded with distrust by a considerable number of his countrymen. As a man standing equally aloof from all established religious sects, he was disinclined to the predominance of any one over any other. He objected to the principle of Church establishments, and, in his native State of Virginia, had effected the erasure from the statute-book of all laws giving an exceptional position to any religious body. His measures in favour of religious liberty excited considerable opposition in many quarters; but they triumphed, because they were true expressions of the American genius, of the legitimate tendencies of the nineteenth century, of the highest liberality and the deepest justice. In some personal reminiscences which Jefferson wrote towards the latter end of his life, he alludes to his action in this matter as among the chief services which he believes he rendered to his State. "The attack on the establishment of the dominant religion," he says, "was first made by myself. It could be carried at first only by a suspension of salaries for one year, by battling it again at the next session for another year, and so on from year to year until the public mind was ripened for the Bill for establishing religious freedom which I had prepared for the revised code also. This was at length established permanently, and by the efforts of Mr. Madison, being myself in Europe at the time that work was brought forward." The entire freedom with which the religious life in America is now enabled to assume whatever forms it pleases, without injury or prejudice to the views of others, and which was so emphatically asserted by Jefferson in Virginia, is one of the greatest glories of that Confederation which the descendants of Englishmen have established on the western side of the Atlantic. There is no reasonable middle ground between the principle of the Papacy and that of the perfect liberty of the individual to determine for himself the rule and practice of his faith. If this development of modern ideas is difficult to realise in older States, where it is never easy to escape altogether from the traditions of an earlier and a darker age, that is no reason why America, circumstanced as she was, should voluntarily adopt the shackles of a social condition which in other respects she had cast off. In America at the present day, religious establishments do not exist; but in no country is there a wider range of religious sentiment, or a deeper sense of religious claims. The principles of Jefferson, however, made him numerous enemies among the fanatical and the timid, who did not forget his Virginian policy of earlier years when he had attained the higher dignity of President of the United States.

It was not long ere the designs of Aaron Burr began to attract attention. Surrounding his plans with an air of mystery, and giving to them a character of vastness and splendour which kindled the imaginations of the enthusiastic, he contrived to obtain the support of some honourable men, as well as of several who were quite the reverse; among the former, of Andrew Jackson, then in command of the militia of Tennessee, and in after years seventh President of the United States. Several persons in the West believed that the Government was secretly favouring Burr's projects against Mexico, and on that account gave the schemer their countenance and aid. In the summer of 1806, he was busy organising a military expedition, purchasing and building boats on the Ohio, and engaging men to descend the river. His declared object was to form a settlement on the banks of the Washita, in Louisiana; but it was suspected by the authorities that the true object was either to gain possession of New Orleans, and make it the seat of an independent Government, of which Burr himself should be the head, or to invade Mexico from the territories of the United States. Probably both ideas were combined in the daring and unscrupulous intellect of this adventurer. It is even said that he intrigued with the Spanish Governor of Mexico for separating the Western from the Atlantic States, and forming a new Confederation, in which of course the two arch-conspirators would be the ruling spirits; but the friends of Burr have always denied that he had any such intention. However that may have been, he was manifestly carrying out some secret plot, which could not fail to excite suspicion. Jackson, who had at first listened to his fervid representations, began to see in them an element of disloyalty; and he found himself abandoned by all but the desperate and disreputable. Information of what was going on was conveyed to the Government. Agents were sent to watch him, and at Natchez, while on his way to New Orleans, he was cited to appear before the Supreme Court of the Mississippi Territory. Sufficient evidence to convict him, however, was not forthcoming, and he was discharged. But his schemes were destroyed, and a fear of renewed proceedings paralysed all action on his part. Hearing that several of his accomplices had been arrested at New Orleans and other places, he fled in disguise from Natchez, but, being apprehended in February, 1807, was taken a prisoner to Richmond, Virginia. In the following August he was tried upon two indictments, charging him with treason against the United States, and with preparing and commencing an expedition against the dominions of Spain. The judge was John Marshall, and he leant to the side of the prisoner. A large amount of political feeling was evoked by the trial. Burr had at one time belonged to the Federal party, and the members of that body took up his cause somewhat warmly. Marshall and the other judges were Federals, and the Government complained of being obstructed in its endeavours to vindicate the good faith of the country. The President was even summoned to appear before the court which was engaged in the trial of Burr. Much discreditable altercation took place between the executive and judicial authorities, and the institutions of the United States were lowered in the eyes of foreigners, and even of many of their own citizens, by this admixture of political feeling in a matter which should have been guided by no other sentiments than those of law and justice. The result of the second trial of Burr was that he was again acquitted. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the American people believed him to be guilty, and he was so generally deserted that a further prosecution of his designs, whatever they were, became impossible. He fell into a state of abject wretchedness, and was never again able to exercise any control over American affairs. He was a native of New Jersey, where he was born in 1756; and in his twentieth year accompanied Benedict Arnold in the expedition against Quebec. Quitting the army in 1779, he studied the law, and in time entered the field of politics; but his position there was never very eminent. His death took place on Staten Island, near New York, in 1836, at the age of eighty years. He was a man of ability and enterprise; but a defective moral sense destroyed all the better germs of his nature, and involved his whole career in ruin.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Jefferson's Second Term of Office—Successes of the Previous Four Years—Decline in Popularity—Disagreements with Spain—Opening of Congress in December, 1805—Opposition to the Administration in regard to their Spanish Policy—Defection of John Randolph—The Proposed Purchase of Florida prevented by the Tactics of the Opposition—Disagreements with Great Britain as to the Belligerent Rights asserted by that Power—Searching of American Vessels, and Impressment of Seamen—Conflicting Views on the Subject among the Federals and Democrats—Blockade of German and French Coasts by the British Government—Retaliatory Measures by Napoleon—Sufferings of American Commerce in consequence—Capture of American Vessels—Hopes of a General Peace in Europe—Jefferson's Letter to the Emperor of Russia—Collision between an English and an American Vessel—Opinions of Jefferson on Alliance with England or France—Conclusion of a Treaty between England and the United States—The President refuses to ratify it—Further Negotiations, without Result—Affairs of the *Leopard* and *Chesapeake*—Excitement in America—Measures of the President—Proclamation of the English Sovereign with respect to British Seamen in Foreign Service—British Orders in Council and French Decrees restraining the Trade of Neutral Nations—Destruction of American Commerce—Act of Embargo passed by Congress—Negotiations with England on the Affair of the *Chesapeake*—Failure of the Attempt—Opposition to the Embargo Act in America—Election of James Madison as President—His earliest Measures—Renewed Negotiations with England—The Question left unsettled—Severe Measures of the Emperor Napoleon—Arbitrary Proceedings of Great Britain—Another Collision at Sea—Symptoms of Approaching War.

JEFFERSON'S second term of office commenced on the 4th of March, 1805; and it was not long ere he discovered that, as in the case of Washington, it was not to be so easy a period as the first. His administration during the previous four years had been singularly successful. He had reduced the public debt more than twelve millions; he had at the same time lessened the taxes; he had doubled the area of the United States by his judicious treaties with France and with the native Indians; he had chastised the Barbary pirates, and advanced the reputation of his country as a naval Power. The reward of these services was, that he received more votes at his re-election in 1804 than at his first appointment to the Presidency in 1800.* But popularity is a very fleeting possession, especially in States where party feeling is so violent and headstrong as in America. The relations existing between the President's Government and that of Spain led to the first indication of a schism in the Democratic ranks. The Spaniards had very reluctantly yielded up Louisiana to France, and now endeavoured to raise objections to the treaty by which Bonaparte transferred that territory to the United States. There are reasons to believe that even France repented of her bargain after a little while; but Spain certainly looked upon the arrangement with great disapproval. She rejected all overtures for adjusting the boundaries of the ceded province, made incursions on to territory which was now American, obstructed commerce on the Mobile, refused compensation for past injuries, and in various ways acted in a spirit of antagonism. A war with Spain seemed but too likely to break out, and in such a contest that Power might have received the support of Napoleon. Jefferson thought he could avert the danger by purchasing Florida; but his Cabinet advised that no such step should be taken without the previous assent of Congress. The Legislature was accordingly summoned to meet on the 2nd of December, 1805; and it was immediately afterwards that opposition developed itself in a quarter where it was not expected.

Three days after the opening of the session, the President sent a confidential message to Congress, in which he stated that Spain had refused to ratify a convention lately concluded for the settlement of grievances, and had exhibited a most unfriendly and hostile disposition. He did not anticipate an actual state of war, but it appeared to him that a resort to force, to some extent, might be required for the assertion of American rights. The matter was referred to a secret committee of the House of Representatives, of whom John Randolph (a descendant of the celebrated Pocahontas) was the chairman; and Jefferson had no reason to anticipate that his suggestions would meet with any serious dissent. Randolph, who had entered Congress in 1799, had hitherto been conspicuous for his opposition to the Federals, against whom he had employed all his powers of wit, sarcasm, and invective, which were generally allowed to be very considerable. Of late he had exhibited some coldness towards his former friends, but it was not supposed that he had parted from them on any important matter of policy. It soon appeared, however, that such was the case. The select committee made a report to the House of Representatives, sitting with closed doors on the 3rd of January, 1806. In that report it was declared that the aggressions of Spain afforded ample excuse for war, and that such a course would be recommended by the committee if they simply consulted their feelings; but that peace was exceedingly desirable in a country burdened with a public debt which still absorbed two-thirds of its annual revenue. They consequently cherished the hope that an amicable arrangement would yet be made, but in the meanwhile submitted a resolution, that as many troops as the President might deem sufficient to protect the southern frontier from insult should be immediately raised.

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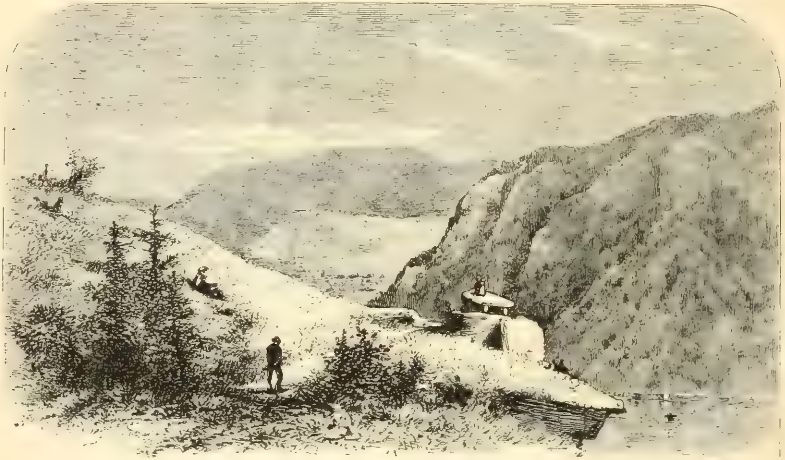
* Tucker's Life of Jefferson, Vol. II., chap. 7.

The Administration considered that this resolution was likely to involve the nation in a war with Spain, and perhaps also with France; and they accordingly gave their support to another motion, the object of which was to authorise an appropriation for the purpose of buying the Floridas. The first resolution was rejected by 72 against 58, but amongst the minority were from fifteen to twenty Democrats. The undisputed reign of Jefferson over that party was now at an end, and Randolph was one of those who forsook their old allegiance. Nevertheless, the resolution respecting the appropriation of money for the acquisition of Florida was carried after an animated debate, and the sum assigned for the purpose was two million dollars. But the Opposition in the Lower House, now reinforced by Randolph and a few of his adherents, attacked the policy of the Government with great vigour. It was urged that the President, in his secret message, had brought to the notice of the House the injuries and insults received from Spain, and had called on the representatives of the people to vindicate the national honour; that it afterwards appeared that what he really desired was to obtain redress by negotiation; and that he had thus sought to appropriate to himself the credit of a spirited assertion of the nation's rights, while he threw on Congress the odium of abandoning them. The design of buying Florida was described as in itself highly objectionable, since it was an offer to compromise the national wrongs for a material advantage; and it was added that, in the pursuit of a policy thus unwise and dishonourable, the Executive had throughout been regardless of the rights of the Legislature, had suppressed important despatches from Mr. Monroe (then acting as Special Envoy at Madrid) until the appropriation had been made, and had even, before obtaining that authority, attempted to draw money from the Treasury for the purchase of the Spanish possessions. The President had, in truth, proposed to his Cabinet to make the purchase without waiting for the sanction of Congress, but in this respect had been overruled. Although the Opposition were always beaten on a division, they contrived to delay the necessary measures for effecting the proposed object until altered circumstances rendered it impracticable for the time; and it was not until fifteen years later that Florida passed into the possession of the United States.

The disagreements with Spain, however, were far less important than those with Great Britain, consequent on the existing war with France. England had laid it down as an axiom that a neutral cannot prosecute a trade in time of war which is not permitted in time of peace. The commerce of America had been much interrupted by the British. The coasts of the United States were troubled by foreign privateers who were in the habit of burning those captures to which they thought their claim questionable, and by public vessels which scrupled not to enter every creek and harbour that they cared to examine. American ships had been seized in the very act of entering American ports; in some instances their crews had been taken out, maltreated, and abandoned; and it had been found necessary by the President's Government to equip a force to cruise along the coast, and bring the offenders to trial as pirates. For some time, the United States were allowed to import West Indian produce into their dominions, and afterwards to export it to Europe; so that what was prohibited by a direct was sanctioned by a circuitous route. This privilege was now rescinded by the British Government, and the Courts of Admiralty declared that all vessels engaged in the trade would thenceforth be considered legal prizes. Another subject of complaint on the part of the Americans was the impressment of United States seamen, on the plea that they were British subjects by birth, and could not free themselves from their allegiance. These grievances, taken altogether, inflamed the popular mind in America to the utmost. Meetings were held in the great cities, petitions were forwarded to the Legislature, and measures of retaliation were loudly demanded. On the 17th of January, 1806, the President sent to the House of Representatives a message on the subject of the disagreements with England. The questions involved were debated for several weeks, and on the 17th of March the House agreed to the policy of prohibiting specific articles of British growth or manufacture, by a vote of 87 to 35. The Bill sanctioning this prohibition, which was to take effect from the 15th of November, passed both Houses by large majorities, though in the Senate an attempt was made to postpone it, in consequence of a more favourable line of conduct on the part of Great Britain. National honour and national safety were believed to be equally concerned in resistance to the claims of England,

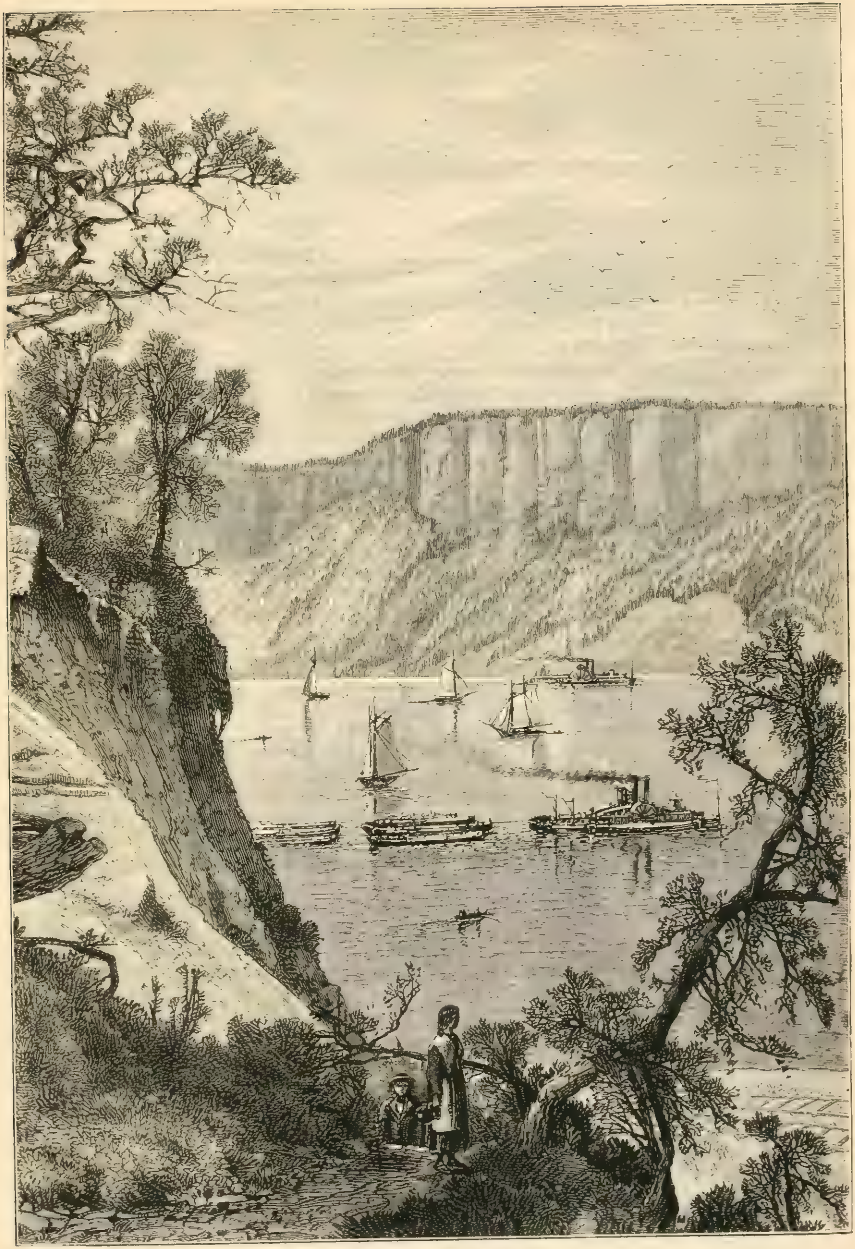
and all opposition to the prevalent sentiment was swept away by a tide of indignant feeling.

The minority consisted of the greater number of the Federalist party, together with some few Democrats who followed the lead of Randolph. Although it was chiefly the commercial towns in the North-eastern States which suffered from the action of Great Britain, it was precisely in those places that the least disposition was shown for a rupture, because it was there that the greatest injury would be inflicted by a state of war. The pretensions of the British Government, consequently, found some hesitating excusers amongst the people of New England and the adjacent States, and it was feared that Jefferson was endeavouring covertly to support the cause of Napoleon by fomenting a quarrel with his chief enemy. The Democrats, on their part, charged the Federals with designing to bring back America to the dominion of the mother country. Imputations of this nature are common in times of excitement, and are often without any foundation in truth. But the incidents of the war in Europe, and the measures taken by the belligerents, were such as to arouse a very natural feeling of dissatisfaction in the United States. By an Order in Council, dated May 16th, 1806, the British Government declared the whole coast of Europe, from the Elbe, in Germany, to Brest, in France, in a state of blockade. Napoleon, then Emperor of the French, retaliated, on the 21st of November, with the celebrated Berlin decree, blockading all the ports of the British Islands. The commerce of the United States suffered equally from both orders, for the blockaded ports were not invested with a naval force such as would render hopeless any attempt to enter them, and American vessels on their way to Europe were liable to be captured and condemned. In consequence of these measures, the mercantile ships of the United States were largely seized by English and French cruisers. The Federal Government possessed scarcely any navy, and was therefore without the means of giving adequate protection. It had been part of Jefferson's policy to cut down the small fleet which was commenced by his two predecessors, and the country now felt the evil effects of that mistaken economy. A number of gun-boats had indeed been built, for the purpose of affording protection; but they were nothing more than small sailing vessels, having a cannon at the bow and another at the stern, and were manned only by a few armed sailors. They proved wholly inefficient, and the merchant-ships of the United States had nothing to shield them from the naval power of France on the one hand, and of England on the other.



JEFFERSON'S ROCK, HARPER'S FERRY, VIRGINIA.

Some hope of a general peace in Europe was entertained during the year 1806, from the fact of Charles James Fox having become Secretary of



THE PALISADES OF THE HUDSON.

State for Foreign Affairs in the Ministry formed by Lord Grenville on the death of Pitt. The hope proved illusory, and Fox was not destined to survive many months; but for awhile Jefferson appears to have thought that the troubles resulting from the French Revolution were approaching an end. Under the influence of this idea, he addressed a letter to the Emperor Alexander of Russia, on behalf of neutral rights. Alexander, though a despot, was known to be a man of benevolent principles, and to entertain a friendly feeling towards the United States. In addressing this potentate, Jefferson complimented him on his efforts towards the pacification of the world, and enlarged on the common interest of the young Republic and of the Northern nations of Europe in preserving neutral rights. He suggested that the Russian Sovereign and the Ruler of France had it in their power, at the agreement which he believed to be approaching, to render eminent services to nations in general, by incorporating in the act of pacification a correct definition of the rights of neutrals on the high seas; and gave it as his opinion that those rights, thus defined, could be enforced, if necessary, by an exclusion of the nation violating them from all commerce with the rest. "Having," he continued, "taken no part in the past or existing troubles of Europe, we have no part to act on its pacification. But, as principles may then be settled in which we have a deep interest, it is a great happiness for us that they are placed under the protection of an umpire who, looking beyond the narrow bounds of an individual nation, will take under the cover of his equity the rights of the absent and unrepresented. It is only by a happy concurrence of good characters and good occasions that a step can now and then be taken to advance the well-being of nations. If the present occasion be good, I am sure your Majesty's character will not be wanting to avail the world of it. By monuments of such good offices may your life become an epoch in the history of the condition of men; and may He who called it into being for the good of the human family, give it length of days and success, and have it always in His holy keeping!"

Jefferson's anticipations were not realised; and in the spring an event occurred which rendered still more difficult the relations between the United States and England. The British ship *Leander*, then on a cruise off New York, prosecuted with great rigour the practice of searching American vessels for runaway English seamen. On one occasion, this ship fired on a coasting vessel near Sandy Hook, and killed a sailor named John Pierce. The President accordingly, on the 3rd of May, issued a proclamation, forbidding the entrance of the *Leander*, and two other ships in company with her, into the waters of the United States; calling upon all officers, civil and military, to apprehend Henry Whitby, the captain of the *Leander*, on a charge of murder; prohibiting any communication between the shore and the offending ships; and warning all citizens against giving them aid, under the penalties of the law. Special Envoys, however, were despatched to England for the arrangement of existing differences. The presence of Fox in the Government greatly mitigated the hostility of Jefferson, and he wrote to Monroe, then Minister at London, that the measures recently taken by his Administration ought not to be regarded by the existing Cabinet of London as looking towards them, but merely as consequences of the measures of their predecessors, which the English nation had called on them to correct. "No two countries upon earth," he observed, "have so many points of common interest and friendship; and their rulers must be great bunglers indeed if, with such dispositions, they break them asunder. The only rivalry that can arise is on the ocean." England, the President admitted, might check the development of the United States, but only for a time; and justice and conciliation on her part would promote the security of both. "We have," he proceeded, "the seamen and materials for fifty ships of the line, and half that number of frigates; and were France to give us the money, and England the dispositions to equip them, they would give to England serious proofs of the stock from which they are sprung, and the school in which they have been taught, and, added to the effects of the immensity of sea-coast lately united under one power, would leave the state of the ocean no longer problematical. Were, on the other hand, England to give the money, and France the dispositions to place us on the sea in all our force, the whole world, out of the continent of Europe, might be our joint monopoly. We wish for neither of these scenes. We ask for peace and justice from all nations, and we will remain uprightly neutral in fact, though leaning in belief to the opinion that an English ascendency on the ocean is safer for us than that of France."

These friendly feelings on the part of Jefferson—feelings which were certainly not in harmony with the ordinary tenor of his views towards England—fell in with the more pacific inclination of the new Government at London, and seemed at one time likely to bring about a complete accommodation of all existing difficulties. Monroe and William Pinckney, the two American representatives at the

British capital, came to an amicable understanding with the Ministers, Lords Holland and Auckland. The latter consented to permit the Americans to carry on, as before, their circuitous trade between the West Indies and Europe; but, as regards the impressing of seamen, nothing could be settled. The case was indeed extremely difficult, and both nations had just grounds for complaint. On the one side, it was obviously a serious grievance to the Americans that their vessels should be searched, and seamen taken from aboard, some of whom afterwards proved to be Americans by birth. On the other hand, the American mercantile marine was a harbour of refuge for a large number of deserters from the English navy, and that at a time when England required the aid of all her sons for resisting the most gigantic combinations that had ever been directed against her. The hardships endured by sailors on board English fleets, and the merciless severity with which the punishment of the lash was inflicted, had a great deal to do with these frequent desertions; but, however much the English system may have been to blame, it was not to be expected that any English Government should look with indifference at so serious a depletion of the national power. In the war between Great Britain and the United States which broke out some few years later, the successes obtained by American over English vessels were due in some degree to the elements of strength which had thus been transferred from one side of the Atlantic to the other. No party in England could afford to disregard such a question, and unfortunately it presented insuperable obstacles to an agreement with America. England has always maintained that a British-born subject can never become an alien, even though he should have made himself a citizen of another State—a contention which in itself seems not unreasonable, though it cannot be held to justify the invasion of foreign territory or foreign ships. America has invariably denied the English view; and this difference of opinion led to the embarrassments which we are now considering.

Had it been easy to distinguish between Englishmen and Americans, some arrangement might perhaps have been come to; but this was next to impossible, owing to the similarity of physical appearance, and the identity of tongue. The American Envoys at London could propose no feasible plan; yet, on the British negotiators promising that fresh orders should be issued to the navy, restraining their arbitrary practice in this respect, Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney signed the treaty on the 31st of December, 1806. It reached America early in 1807, when the President, dissatisfied with the absence of any provision with regard to the right of search and the power of taking sailors off American vessels, refused to ratify the document which his representatives had negotiated. The Non-importation Act, however, was for a time suspended. To the Federalists, the refusal to ratify the treaty, which was certainly in some respects an improvement on that of 1794, appeared a mistake in policy; and Jefferson himself considered it advisable to make further efforts towards an arrangement. On the 20th of May, 1807, the Secretary of State, Mr. Madison, wrote a set of new instructions to the American negotiators in London, in which it was particularly insisted that without a provision against impressments no fresh treaty was to be concluded. But the death of Fox had rendered still more unlikely any satisfaction of the American demands in this respect; and, on the 22nd of October, the new Foreign Secretary, Mr. Canning, sent a tardy reply to the proposals of Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney—a reply, of which the upshot was that the opening of fresh negotiations, upon the basis of a treaty already solemnly concluded and signed, was wholly inadmissible. In this communication, Canning justified the previous reservation of the right to retaliate the French decrees, and maintained that the subject of the impressment of British seamen from merchant-vessels formed no part of the treaty, and was entitled only to a separate and subsequent discussion. He also protested, on behalf of his Government, "against a practice, altogether unusual in the political transactions of States, by which the American Government assumes to itself the privilege of revising and altering agreements concluded and signed on its behalf by its agents duly authorised for that purpose; of retaining so much of those agreements as may be favourable to its own views; and of rejecting such stipulations, or such parts of stipulations, as are conceived to be not sufficiently beneficial to America." The practice was certainly inconvenient to foreign Governments, but it was a necessary feature of the popular system of rule which had been established in the United States.

Before the final resolve of the British Government had been made known by Canning, public opinion in America was exasperated to a pitch of fury by an event which gave a more than usually irritating character to the question of the right of search and the reclamation of supposed English subjects. The British ship-of-war, *Leopard*, of fifty guns, commanded by Captain Humphreys, was cruising off the Capes of Virginia on the 23rd of

June. Perceiving the American frigate, *Chesapeake*, not far away, Captain Humphreys hailed her, and despatched a boat with a letter to the chief officer, Captain Barron, informing him that Admiral Berkeley had given orders to take any British deserters from the *Chesapeake*—by force, if necessary—and at the same time to allow, on his own part, a search for American deserters. Captain Barron, in reply, refused permission to search, but stated that he had instructed his recruiting officer not to enlist British subjects, and that he had no knowledge that any were on board. The *Leopard* thereupon fired into the *Chesapeake*, killing some of the crew, and the latter, being unprepared for action, immediately struck her flag. A boat from the English vessel was then sent to the American, the officers of which tendered their swords. The English officer in command declined to receive them, but required the muster-roll of the ship, and, having taken off four men whom he claimed as British subjects, left the *Chesapeake*, which then returned to Hampton Roads, whence she had come. Of the men so taken, only one was English. The other three were native Americans, men of colour, who had at one time entered the British navy, and who had been formally demanded at Washington. The Englishman was afterwards tried in Nova Scotia, and hanged as a deserter.

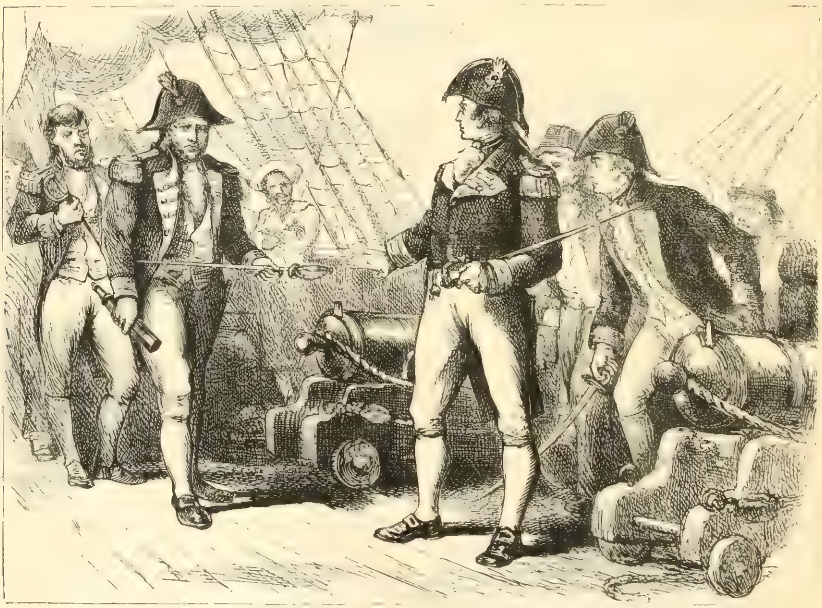
A paroxysm of rage seized on the American people when the story of the *Chesapeake* came to be known. The slight resistance offered by that vessel increased the general feeling of mortification and anger. Some demanded an immediate declaration of war against England, and Jefferson observed that the country had never been in such a state since the collision at Lexington. The people of Norfolk and Portsmouth, in Virginia, unanimously passed resolutions to discontinue all communication with the British war-ships then on the coast. They requested pilots and others to withhold their services, and appointed a committee to correspond with the neighbouring counties, and to invite the co-operation of the principal seaports until reparation should be made. At Hampton, the people even went the length of destroying two hundred hogsheads of water which had just been put on board a schooner for the British squadron. These measures led to reprisals; and, on the 3rd of July, an English officer wrote to the Mayor of Norfolk that, if the resolution prohibiting all communication between the British consul and the ships were not immediately annulled, he would stop every vessel bound either to Norfolk or out of it. The menace was afterwards withdrawn, and the captain was allowed to communicate with the consul by letter. A proclamation was issued by the President on the 2nd of July. Its object was to interdict armed British vessels from entering the harbours and waters of the United States, and to forbid all supplies to them, and all intercourse with them, on pain of the law; excepting only vessels in distress, and ships conveying despatches. It would doubtless have been a popular act on the part of Jefferson had he at once plunged into war; but he was willing to avoid that perilous issue, if it could be done consistently with national honour, and the due protection of national interests. He therefore determined to give the British Government an opportunity of disavowal and reparation, but in the meanwhile to prepare the country for war, should such a course become inevitable. An armed vessel was despatched with instructions to the American Minister in London to require satisfaction for the injury, and security for the future. A hundred thousand men in the several States were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and on the 30th of July the President summoned Congress to assemble on the 25th of October, by which time it might be expected that the reply of the English Ministers would have arrived.

On the meeting of Congress, the President, in his inaugural Message, stated that the aggressions of the British continued; that their ships remained within American waters, and that violations of American jurisdiction continually occurred. They had likewise interdicted all trade by neutrals between ports not in amity with themselves; by which, as they were at war with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, the vessels of the United States were compelled either to sacrifice their cargoes at the first port, or return home without a market. On the 18th of December, an English proclamation, dated the 16th of October, was communicated to both Houses. By this notification, all British seamen in foreign service, whether on board Royal or merchant-ships, were required to return home, and all commanders of ships of war were ordered to stop all persons who should be so employed on any foreign merchant-ship, but to commit no unnecessary violence. Foreign public ships were required to give up any British subjects serving on board; and these persons were warned that letters of naturalisation granted them by foreign States could not divest them of their natural allegiance. Those who continued in such service were to be proceeded against, and those who should enter into the service of any State at war with Great Britain were declared guilty of treason.

The commercial relations between America and the European belligerents became progressively more troublesome and vexatious. On the 7th of January, 1807, Great Britain issued an Order in Council prohibiting the trade of neutrals from port to port of the French Empire. This comparatively mild decree of Lord Grenville's Whig Government was followed on the 11th of November, when the Tories were in power under the Duke of Portland, by another Order in Council forbidding neutral nations to trade with France and her allies, except on payment of tribute to Great Britain. The reply of Napoleon was a decree, issued from Milan on the 17th of December, 1807, which declared that every neutral vessel which should submit to be visited by a British ship, or should pay the tribute demanded, would be confiscated, if afterwards found in any port of the French Empire, or if taken by any of the French cruisers. By these several orders and decrees, almost every American vessel sailing on the ocean was liable to capture. In defence of the British Order in Council declaring the whole coast of Europe in a state of blockade, and prohibiting neutral vessels altogether from commerce in those parts, it was pleaded on the English side that, in consequence of America having submitted to the Berlin decree (which, however, she denied having done), it was but fair to impose upon her such restrictions as would equally operate against France. Thus, the United States were made to suffer, and that in no slight degree, because England and France were at issue. As a measure of protection, the President recommended to Congress that the seamen, ships, and merchandise of the United States should be detained in port, to preserve them from the dangers which threatened them on the ocean. A law laying an indefinite embargo was in consequence enacted, and it was hoped in this way to induce the belligerent Powers to return to a more conciliatory course, by depriving them of the benefits derived from their trade with the United States. The measure was passed on the 22nd of December, long before any news of Napoleon's Milan decree could possibly have reached America, and when the Washington Cabinet had only received an unofficial intimation of the British Order in Council of November 11th. The embargo was unpopular in the New England States, since it deprived the mercantile classes of their chief source of profit. The Federalists characterised the Act as unwise and oppressive; it did in fact lead to severe distress in many quarters; and, as it had proceeded from the Democratic party, it caused a revulsion of feeling in favour of their opponents.

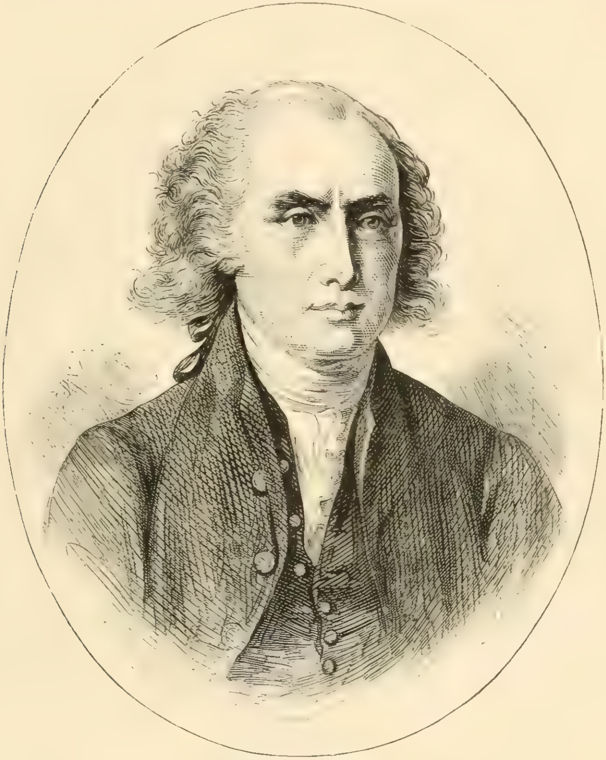
The embargo acted more to the disadvantage of England, as being the greatest mercantile nation in the world, than to that of France. For this very reason it enjoyed the support of the Democrats, and in an equal proportion aroused the ire of the Federalists, and of those few members of the Democratic party who had joined in the political schism created by Randolph. The latter argued that an alliance with England was preferable to a good understanding with France, because it was on England that the commercial and internal prosperity of America depended, and because the balance of power in Europe would be better maintained in that way. The feeling against England, however, arising from the antagonism of previous years, and now intensified by the persistent assertion by the British of the right of search, prevailed with the American Government over every other consideration. Jefferson, in his correspondence, admitted that the imposition of an embargo was a measure preparatory to war, and was intended to have the effect of recalling American merchant-ships and their sailors from various parts of the globe, and giving time for the country to arm itself against possible eventualities. At London, a long correspondence took place between Mr. Monroe and Mr. Canning, but without any favourable result; and the American Minister left England early in November, and returned to his own country. The English Government professed readiness to make reparation, if any unauthorised act of aggression had been committed; but the general question of the right of search presented insuperable obstacles to an agreement. A Minister from England, Mr. Rose, afterwards arrived at Washington, for the purpose of adjusting the misunderstanding relative to the *Chesapeake.* Early in 1808, this gentleman addressed a letter to Mr. Madison, in which he said he was precluded from entering on the subject of reparation until the President's proclamation of July 2nd, 1807, was withdrawn, and he objected to mingling any general discussion with the specific facts connected with the case of the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake.* In reply, Mr. Madison stated that the President, being anxious to testify his moderation, and to restore harmony between the two nations, was willing, on Mr. Rose disclosing the terms of reparation which he thought would be satisfactory, and on their appearing so, to make the repeal of the proclamation coincident with the reparation. To this suggestion Mr. Rose responded that, on giving the subject the fullest consideration, he must decline all negotiation on the conditions stipulated, as being contrary to his positive instructions; and that, as the terms proposed by him had been rejected, his mission had come to an end. In the course of his communication, he reviewed the whole transaction, vindicated the conduct of the naval commanders concerned in the affair of the *Chesapeake*, and affirmed that Great Britain, as on former occasions, would refuse to treat so long as hostility was manifested towards her. This letter closed the correspondence, and Mr. Rose left America for England about the end of March.

The situation was most embarrassing, and there seemed to be no clear way out of it. The American Government requested both England and France to recall their obnoxious decrees; but France returned no answer at all, and that of Mr. Canning was considered insulting. The distress occasioned by the embargo increased with every day, and the Democratic party was obviously losing ground in consequence of the support which its members gave to that questionable measure. Jefferson about this time wrote to a friend:—"The Federalists are now playing a game of the most mischievous tendency, without, perhaps, being themselves aware of it. They are endeavouring to convince England that we suffer more from the embargo than they do, and that, if they will hold out awhile, we must abandon it. It is true that the time will come when we must abandon it; but if this is before the repeal of the Orders in Council, we must abandon it only for a state of war." There was a split, however, among the Federalists as well as among the Democrats. John Quincy Adams, the eldest son of the late President, had recently resigned his seat in the Senate, because he differed from the majority of his constituents in supporting the measures of the Administration. He wrote to the President, informing him that it was the determination of the ruling party throughout New England not to submit much longer to the embargo, but to separate themselves from the Union if it were not speedily rescinded. He gave it as his opinion that, owing to the severe pressure of the embargo upon that mercantile and trading communion, they would be supported in such a course by the great body of the people, and that they were already receiving the countenance of a secret agent of Great Britain. In more recent times, however, it has been denied that the Federalists ever had such an intention. Shortly after the accession of Jefferson to the Presidency, John Quincy Adams had been removed from his position as one of the Bankruptcy Commissioners, on the reduction in the number of those



THE OFFICERS OF THE "CHESAPEAKE" OFFERING THEIR SWORDS.

officials. It was thought that party feeling had something to do with his deprivation, and Jefferson was certainly of opinion that the late President had been too fond of making places for members of his own family. But the communication with respect to the New England malcontents put the younger Adams on a more friendly footing with the Democratic party, and shortly afterwards, under the Presidency of Mr. Madison, he obtained the appointment of Minister to St. Petersburg. As regards the state of affairs in the North, his information may in some points have been incorrect; but it is unquestionable that opinion in that quarter was strongly directed against interruption to the ordinary course of business. A report was drawn up by the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, which declared the embargo ruinous at home, unsatisfactory to France, and ineffectual as a retaliation upon England. It recommended a repeal of the measure, as well as of that Act which forbade English ships to enter American waters, while those of France were admitted. The question was debated in Congress, and the several alternatives of submission, war with both countries, and war with one, were discussed with much violence, but without any practical issue. Before the close of the session, Congress determined to recommend, for the present, a continuance of the embargo; but, as a juster conduct on the part of the belligerents might render it unnecessary, they further suggested that a power of suspending it should be vested in the Executive until the next meeting of the two Houses. A law was then passed, authorising the President to suspend the Embargo Act in the event of a peace between the belligerents of Europe, or in case such changes should take place in their measures affecting



PRESIDENT MADISON.

neutral commerce as might render the trade of the United States sufficiently safe.

During the discussion of these important and difficult matters, preparations were being made for the next Presidential election. The two candidates of the Democratic party were Madison and Monroe, both natives of Virginia. Madison, it was well known, would continue the policy of Jefferson, of whose Administration he had throughout been the leading member. Monroe received the support of John Randolph, and of those seceders from the Democratic party who ranged themselves under Randolph's guidance. There could be little doubt, however, that the choice would rest with Madison, who, on the retirement of Jefferson, would be the obvious and unquestionable leader of the great body which his intellect and character adorned. The strength of the two candidates was tested in a caucus[*] of the Democratic members of the Virginian Legislature, and also in a caucus of the Democratic members of Congress; on both which occasions a large majority declared for the Secretary of State. He was therefore nominated for the office of President, and George Clinton, of New York, for that of Vice-President. Mr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, were the candidates of the Federal party; and the former received the votes of all the New England States, except Vermont, the vote of Delaware, two votes in Maryland, and three in North Carolina—making in all forty-seven votes. George Clinton received six of the nineteen votes of New York, and James Madison all the rest, amounting to one hundred and twenty-two. Madison, therefore, was the President for the ensuing four years, and Clinton retained the position of Vice-President, which he had held since 1805. Mr. Monroe received scarcely any support at all, and even for the inferior office failed in obtaining more than three votes.

Three days before Jefferson retired from office—viz., on the 1st of March, 1809—the Embargo Act was repealed by Congress, which simultaneously passed a law forbidding all commercial intercourse with England and France until the Orders in Council and the decrees should be repealed. This change afforded some relief to the people, since it reopened commercial intercourse with all nations excepting the two chief belligerent Powers of Europe. But these exceptions were so serious that the measure gave very slight satisfaction to the commercial interests of the North-eastern States. Jefferson, who had entered office as the head of a vast and then undivided body, and who was at that time one of the most popular men in the whole Union, relinquished power in the midst of discord and doubtful party relations, the victim, to a great extent, of circumstances which it was impossible to alter or control, but also, in some degree, of his own vehement feelings, which always gave the utmost sharpness to his measures against England, but which, while starting from an extravagant flattery of French principles of rule, ended in placing his Administration in a position of antagonism towards the Government of Napoleon. On another question—the removability of the judges—the views of Jefferson made him unpopular with the Federals; and the impeachment of Judge Chase, in 1804, on charges of misconduct arising out of political feeling—a proceeding which resulted in the acquittal of the accused as to every one of the eight indictments—reflected little credit on the Government or the Legislature. But all these matters had now passed into other hands. Jefferson bade farewell to Washington on the 4th of March, 1809, and retired to his country seat at Monticello, Virginia—doubtless as heartily pleased as his two predecessors to leave the tumult of politics for the quiet of retirement.

Madison took up the reins of office at an epoch of gloom, depression, and discontent. Two months before his assumption of power, the Massachusetts Legislature had painted the general situation in very sombre terms. "Our agriculture," they said, "is discouraged; the fisheries abandoned; navigation forbidden; our commerce at home restrained, if not annihilated; our commerce abroad cut off; our navy sold, dismantled, or degraded to the service of cutters or gun-boats; the revenue extinguished; the course of justice interrupted; and the nation weakened by internal animosities and divisions, at the moment when it is unnecessarily and improvidently exposed to war with Great Britain, France, and Spain." If somewhat exaggerated by the warmth of party feeling, this statement was nevertheless true in the main. By the people of the North-eastern States it was greatly doubted whether matters would experience any improvement under the administration of Mr. Madison; but his inaugural address had so suave and conciliatory a character that most of his opponents were re-assured, and inclined at least to give him a trial. He was a man of very large political experience; his character was honourable and amiable; and, having at different periods of his life been connected with both political parties, it might not unnaturally be supposed that he would equally understand their conflicting view [illegible] desirous of reconciling extreme opinions by the adoption of some middle course. It was held that the repeal of the Embargo Act offered a favourable opportunity for renewing negotiations with England. Mr. Erskine, the British Minister at Washington, had recently received from his Government full powers to treat, together with instructions as to the points to be insisted on. He was to consent to withdraw the Orders in Council on all essential points, provided that certain preliminary conditions were granted: that is to say, a repeal of the prohibition against English ships appearing in American waters, and the abandonment by the United States of their assumed right to trade with such of the French colonies as they were not permitted to trade with in peace. Mr. Erskine considered that the suspension of non-intercourse would be a fair equivalent for that of the Orders in Council, and therefore promised that these should cease to be in force at a certain epoch. The President accordingly, on the 19th of April, suspended the Non-intercourse Act; but, unfortunately, matters were marching a great deal faster than the British Government designed. The promises of Mr. Erskine were disavowed by the Administration in England, and the Orders in Council were suspended only so far as not to endanger those vessels which had sailed from America on the faith of the understanding which had been come to at Washington. The consequence was a re-proclamation of non-intercourse, which was made by the President on the 10th of August. The war-feeling now revived in all its bitterness, and Madison could scarcely restrain the popular impatience for hostilities. Mr. Erskine was recalled, on the plea that he had made engagements for which he had not sufficient authority, and Mr. Jackson was appointed his successor. In a correspondence between this gentleman and the Secretary of State, the former insinuated that the American Government knew Mr. Erskine had not been authorised to make the recent arrangements, and therefore knew also that they would not be binding on England. This imputation was distinctly denied by the Secretary, Mr. Robert Smith, but was subsequently repeated in an offensive manner by Mr. Jackson. The British representative was thereupon informed that, on account of his indecorous conduct, no other communication from him would be received. He was shortly afterwards recalled by his Government, and the wearisome and barren dispute seemed as far from settlement as ever.

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[*] The word *caucus* is used in America to denote a meeting of citizens to agree upon candidates to be proposed for election to offices, or to concert measures for supporting a party. The origin of the word is not ascertained.—*Webster's Dictionary.*

Application was now again made by America to France, for the repeal of those decrees which had proved so injurious to the commerce of the United States. Napoleon replied that his ordinances had been issued only by way of retaliation, and that they would be immediately nullified if England recalled her blockade and her Orders in Council. In consequence of this answer, Mr. Madison obtained from the majority of Congress certain resolutions approving of the policy adopted by the French Emperor towards England. Such a step was certainly most objectionable, and little calculated to remove the difficulties existing between America and Great Britain. Massachusetts protested against this exhibition of ill-will; but the opinion of America in general supported the President and Congress in the policy they had adopted. Preparations for war were pushed forward with redoubled activity, and attempts were made to produce at home those manufactures which the Americans had hitherto imported from England. On the other hand, the commercial classes in the old country endeavoured to find in Canada the commodities which they had been in the habit of deriving from the United States; and both nations suffered acutely because their rulers could not agree on certain political questions which might have been settled in a few days, had the two sides been governed by a spirit of fairness and conciliation.

The Non-intercourse Act expired in 1810, and the Americans took advantage of the opportunity to request once more that the restrictions of the two belligerents might be removed. The French Sovereign had issued from Rambouillet, on the 23rd of March, a decree more severe in its operation than any of its predecessors. He declared forfeit every American vessel which had entered French ports since the commencement of the month, or that might afterwards enter; authorised the sale of the same, together with the cargoes; and directed that the money should be paid into the French treasury. This sweeping measure was justified on the ground that it was made in retaliation for the American law of non-intercourse. The latest proposals of the American Government, which were put forth in May, contemplated the resumption of commercial intercourse with either France or England, or both, provided their despotic Orders should be abandoned by the 3rd of March, 1811. The Act provided that, if either Government should repeal its decrees, and if the other Government should not do the same within the following three months, the first should enjoy commercial intercourse with the United States, but the other should not. In response to this invitation, the French Emperor behaved with great duplicity, and the British Government with great arrogance. The former assured the President, in August, that the desired repeal should take effect in November. Madison accordingly proclaimed the resumption of intercourse with France; but, in spite of all promises to the contrary, American vessels continued to be captured by the French, and in March, 1811, Napoleon declared the decrees of Berlin and Milan to be fundamental laws of the Empire. Moreover, a new Envoy from France gave official notice to the American Government that no remuneration would be made for property seized and confiscated. England had from the first told the United States Minister at London that the French Emperor could not be sincere in his declarations, as the repeal of his decrees would have broken through the Continental System (that by which he hoped to shut out the commerce of England from every European port), which was an unalterable part of his policy. On this account, and also because of the menacing tone assumed by the American Government, the English Administration declined to recall the Orders in Council, and, after a good deal of vain discussion, Mr. Pinckney determined to take leave, and return to Washington.

Another hostile collision at sea now brought matters still nearer to a declaration of war. A British sloop, the *Little Belt*, commanded by Captain Bingham, was engaged in the interception of American merchant-vessels on the coast of the United States during the early months of 1811. On the 16th of April, off the shores of Virginia, she encountered the American frigate *President*, under Commodore Rogers. That officer hailed the sloop, and was himself hailed almost simultaneously. Neither officer would reply, and, after another interchange of hailing, without any response, the English vessel fired into the American. The fire was returned, and a brief but sanguinary struggle ensued, ending in the mutual rendering of that information which ought to have been given at first. The conduct of both officers was approved by their respective Governments, and in America popular feeling was highly excited by the haughty claims of England. The cry for war was almost universal, and it was felt that the country could hardly suffer more from a state of open hostility than it was then suffering from a state of nominal peace. All American merchantmen, departing or returning, were boarded and searched, and many were sent to British ports as legal prizes. The system of impressing American sailors alleged to be British subjects was continued with the utmost rigour, and it is to be feared that in many instances the proceedings of British naval officers were not merely harsh, but needlessly insulting. Since 1803, the English cruisers had captured nine hundred American vessels, and the injury to commerce was so great that the nation was threatened with pecuniary ruin. It was with difficulty that the Government could even moderate the indignation of the people; and before the close of 1811 it had become only too clear that war with England was inevitable within a period of a very few months.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Position of the United States, in 1811, for conducting a War with England—Suggestions for meeting the coming Struggle—Seizure of West Florida—Final Attempts at an Accommodation—The War still inevitable—Address of President Madison to Congress—Preparations for Hostilities—Troubles among the North-western Indians—Appearance of a Prophet—Action with the Savages—Opposition in the British Parliament to the Orders in Council—Declaration of War by the United States against England—Causes of the Quarrel, and unaccommodating Disposition of the Two Powers—Unpopularity of the War in the New England States—Alleged Plan for effecting a Separation of those States from the Union—The Peace Party intimidated—Organisation of the American Army—Invasion of Canada by General Hull—His Inaction and Subsequent Retreat—Detroit surrendered to the British General, Brock—Trial and Condemnation of General Hull—Massacre by Indians at the Head of Lake Michigan—The Army and Navy of the United States—Renewed Attempts on Canada—Discomfiture of the Expedition led by General Van Rensselaer—Postponement of Further Operations—Serious Opposition to the Government in the North-eastern States—Alleged Monarchical Tendencies in New England—Encounters at Sea—Naval Victories of the Americans—Re-election of Madison—Opening of Congress.

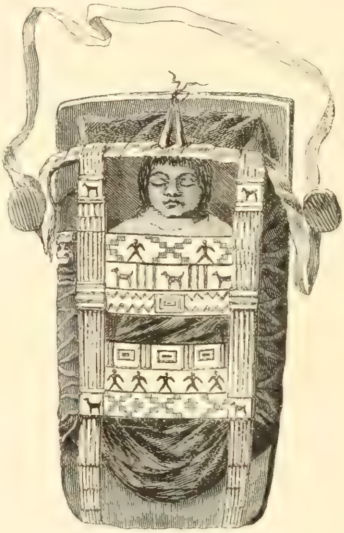
Now that the necessity for encountering the British had again arisen, it became a matter of serious importance to determine how the requisite forces were to be found. Jefferson, during his term of office, had reduced the growing navy of the Republic to the most slender dimensions; jealousy of a standing army was a powerful sentiment with the Democrats, who had been the dominant party since the beginning of the century; and now that the nation was on the eve of a deadly struggle, it had scarcely any military resources on which to draw, excepting such as could be improvised under the spur of the occasion. Every one knew that England would strike her hardest; the terrible sufferings of the States during the Revolutionary War were not yet worn out of the popular remembrance; and it was but too likely that these would be repeated, if the country were not prepared beforehand to encounter the shock of a powerful foe, strong in arms, and in the financial means which give to arms their greatest force and widest application. New York and New Orleans were seen to be among the most vulnerable positions in the Federation—especially the latter city; and preparations were made for fortifying both. In connection with New Orleans, it was suggested that lands should be granted to a body of men, on condition of their being trained, and holding themselves in readiness to take up arms directly an enemy should appear off the coast. The plan was similar to that which in 1749 led to the formation of a military colony at Halifax, Nova Scotia. But it was considered that a settlement of this nature would be out of harmony with the institutions of a Democratic Republic, and the proposal was not adopted. It was thought advisable, however, to seize West Florida, as a precaution against Spain. This was a very high-handed proceeding, which cannot be justified by anything in the existing relations between the Government of the United States and the Cabinet of Madrid. The British remonstrated against the act, but of course without effect. In such matters, all nations are but too apt to take their interests for the supreme law.

A last attempt at accommodation was made by the British Government in the course of 1811, when another plenipotentiary, Mr. Foster, was sent out from London. This gentleman was authorised to disavow the attack on the *Chesapeake*, to promise the restoration to that vessel of the surviving sailors taken from it, and to make pecuniary provision for those who were wounded, and for the families of those who were killed. Thus, though tardily, England acknowledged that Admiral Berkeley and his subordinate had acted unjustifiably in firing on the American frigate, and seizing certain of her crew. President Madison accepted the terms now offered, and so far the dispute between the two Powers was at an end. But there were other grounds of discord, and England still refused to give up the general principle of the right of search, or to repeal the Orders in Council. After a great deal of barren discussion, and many vain recriminations, Mr. Foster declared his mission at an end, and departed for Europe. The capture of American vessels went on with redoubled energy, and the patience of the country was exhausted when Congress re-assembled early in November.

The elections in 1810 and 1811 had shown that the Democratic party was still in the majority, taking the Federation altogether; and Madison accordingly met the two Houses with a confident anticipation that his measures would have the support of the greater number in both. In his opening address, the President remarked that, at the close of the previous session, hopes had been entertained of the speedy repeal by Great Britain of the ordinances which had acted so injuriously on American commerce, but that these anticipations had been disappointed. "Notwithstanding," continued the Chief Magistrate, "the scrupulous justice, the protracted moderation, and the multiplied efforts on the part of the United States to substitute for the accumulating dangers to the peace of the two countries all the mutual advantages of re-established friendship and confidence, we have seen that the British Cabinet perseveres, not only in withholding a remedy for other wrongs, so long and so loudly calling for it, but in the execution, brought home to the threshold of our territory, of measures which, under existing circumstances, have the character, as well as the effect, of war on our lawful commerce. With this evidence of hostile inflexibility, in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, Congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armour and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." The President then demanded an increase in the army, the navy, and all the military stores and establishments of the Federation; and the temper of the country was such that there was no room to doubt an enthusiastic response to this appeal. Laws were enacted for increasing the regular army to 35,000 men; for augmenting the naval establishment; and for empowering the President to accept the services of volunteers, to make a detachment from the militia, and to borrow eleven millions of dollars. Some politicians flattered themselves that England, seeing these preparations, would recede from her position of antagonism; but this was a most improbable circumstance, and the opinion showed little discernment in those who formed it.

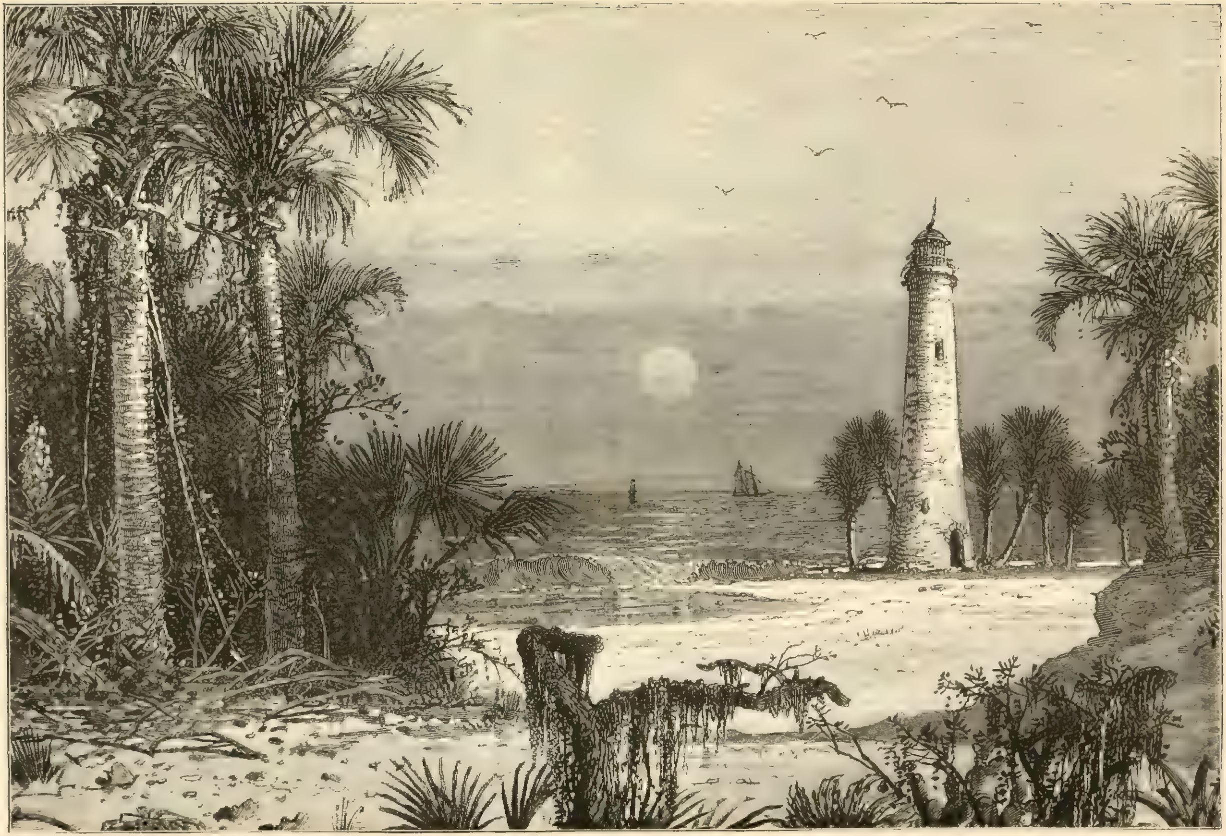
Among the topics referred to by the President in his Message was the spirit of insubordination which had recently broken out again in the savage tribes of the North-west. This was attributed to British influence, and to a free employment of

British gold. It is not necessary, however, to seek any such recondite cause for the movement which was now taking place. The Indians had obeyed an impulse proceeding from one of their own body, and were, from purely patriotic motives, making a desperate and unavailing endeavour to recover the position they had lost. A Prophet had appeared amongst them, who constantly represented to his fellows that their misfortunes during the previous two hundred years were attributable to their having forsaken the wise and simple habits of their ancestors, and that he had been commissioned by the Great Spirit to warn them against mingling with the whites, — eating hogs and bullocks, instead of game procured by their own skill and courage in hunting,—and drinking intoxicating liquors. The twin-brother of this reformer was a Shawnee chief, named Tecumseh, a man of courage and considerable ability, but deceitful and cruel. His great object was to confederate the tribes of the North-west, and to make a destructive and relentless war on the people of the United States. The tribes over whom he and his brother exercised the greatest control were the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miamis, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas. In 1809, a treaty had been negotiated with the Miamis and other tribes, by which they sold to the United States a large tract of land on both sides of the Wabash. To this agreement, the Prophet, who was present, made no objection; but his brother, who was absent at the time, afterwards expressed great dissatisfaction. So matters went on for more than a year, and Tecumseh and his brother exerted themselves to the utmost to excite a general feeling of discontent. At length, the movements, demeanour, and oratorical displays of these savages became so alarming, that General Harrison, then Governor of the Territory of Indiana, was ordered, in the autumn of 1811, to take measures against them. He marched with a considerable force towards the principal village of the Prophet, situated at the junction of the rivers Tippecanoe and Wabash, in the upper part of the county of Tippecanoe. A conference was proposed by the Prophet, and it was agreed that there should be no hostile proceedings until this had taken place; but Harrison, suspecting treachery, caused his soldiers to sleep on their arms during the whole of the ensuing night. Just before daybreak on the following morning (November 7th), the Indians burst upon the American troops with great fury, and would probably have inflicted on them a disastrous defeat, had not the latter been prepared to receive their foes. A bloody battle followed, but the savages were at length dispersed. The loss was heavy on both sides, and the Americans had upwards of sixty killed, and more than a hundred wounded. Tecumseh was not present on the occasion, and the Prophet took no part in the engagement. The Indian village was laid waste, and General Harrison then retired, having received almost as much injury as he had inflicted.



INDIAN CHILD IN CRADLE.
(*From Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes."*)

The preparations for war with England continued throughout the winter months, and at London also the probability of an approaching contest was steadily contemplated. The Opposition in Parliament, however, did their utmost to prevent such a misfortune, and in the early months of 1812 several warm debates ensued on the main grounds of quarrel. A committee to take into consideration the Orders in Council was moved for in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and in the Commons by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham. The former argued that if, at the time of the American Revolution, any one could have foreseen that the whole commerce of Continental Europe would have fallen under the dominion of France, such a person would have looked to the establishment of an independent State on the western side of the Atlantic, out of the reach of French power, and calculated to become the carrier of English commerce and the purchaser of English manufactures, as the greatest boon that could be rendered. Such an event, he



VIEW ON THE COAST OF FLORIDA.

remarked, had occurred, as if providentially; yet this inestimable advantage had been destroyed by the Orders in Council. Brougham spoke to the same effect, and a majority in both Houses voted in favour of the committee. The manufacturing towns of England petitioned against the restrictions on American commerce; and by the time the report of the committee was brought up, so strong a feeling had arisen in opposition to the Ministerial policy that the Government felt compelled to give way, and to promise that the Orders should be rescinded. The concession, however, came too late. Popular feeling in America was by this time passionately aroused, and, although it was known that the subject was being debated in the British Parliament, the President, on the 1st of June, 1812, sent a message to Congress, recapitulating the causes of complaint against Great Britain, and recommending a formal declaration of war. The message was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations in the House of Representatives, by the majority of whom a manifesto was speedily agreed upon, as the basis of a declaration such as that which Madison desired. On the following day, the 4th of June, a Bill, drawn up by the Attorney-General of the United States, and declaring war to exist between that Government and Great Britain, was presented by Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina. During these proceedings, Congress sat with closed doors. The Bill was agreed to, and on the 17th of June received the signature of the President. "Be it enacted," ran the text of this measure, "that war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their Territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorised to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the Government of the said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof." The formal declaration of war against Great Britain, contained in a proclamation by the President, was issued on the 19th of June, and the precarious peace which had existed since 1783, and which was constantly on the eve of dissolution, gave way to a state of open antagonism, destined to settle nothing, but to increase in a large degree the feeling of ill-will between two branches of one race. The Federalists in Congress presented a protest, which denied both the necessity and the expediency of the war; but this party had long ceased to have any influence in the conduct of affairs. What afterwards made the war more lamentable was the fact that, on the 23rd of June, the English Government unconditionally suspended the Orders in Council, as far as America was concerned.

The contest now about to commence has sometimes been called the Second War for Independence. Those who give it this title contend that until it broke out America was dependent on the favour of England; that she was injured and insulted by that country; and that, rather than violate the peace which was essential to her well-being, she endured the ill-usage of the oppressor. Franklin, in his latter years, hearing some one allude to the War of Independence, interposed, saying, "Sir, you mean the Revolution; the War of Independence is yet to come. It was a war *for* independence, but not *of* independence." There may have been some amount of truth in this; but the truth was overstated. Had there been a more temperate assertion of her own rights on the part of America—had there not been so obvious a tendency, after the Democrats came into power, to uphold France against England—had there been a greater disposition to evince a friendly and conciliatory feeling towards the old country — these disagreements might never have reached the bitter end which throws so sanguine a stain over this period of history. It is equally true, however, that England was too exclusively regardful of her own interests, and asserted her power with the arrogance of a country accustomed to conquer, and disinclined to submit. The identity of race between Englishmen and Americans is seen as much in their faults as in their virtues; and, looking back from the vantage-ground of wiser and happier times, it is impossible not to lament that so much noble blood was cast away, because neither country had at that date learned the art of maintaining its rights without injuring the rights of others, or wounding their self-esteem. The British claim to board American vessels, and remove all who were suspected of being English subjects, was certainly a monstrous excess of power; but if the Democrats, on acceding to office, had exhibited as much willingness as their predecessors to give up deserters from the British flag, it is probable that the alleged right of search would have led to no more difficulty under the rule of Jefferson and Madison than under that of Washington and Adams. England took the law into her own hands in far too dictatorial a manner; but she had a real grievance. The Democrats were always opposed to the surrender of fugitive English seamen.* They saw that the loss of her sailors was weakening England, and in an equal degree strengthening America; and they desired to promote both results by every means in their power. Thus, out of a conflict of interests, arose the war of 1812–15.

Not only the minority in Congress, but the Legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey, together with several of the commercial cities, protested against the war in public addresses. Their action, however, was without any result. The people of the United States, for the most part, were so enthusiastically in favour of the war that the Proclamation declaring it was in several places received with illuminations and rejoicings, and the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore passed resolutions approving of the conduct of Government, and pledging themselves to support it. At Baltimore, the printing-office of a newspaper which had ventured to oppose the popular fury was destroyed by the mob, and the conductor of the journal, on attempting to produce it in a neighbouring town, was seriously maltreated. He and a party of his friends defended the office with much spirit, but were at length taken to prison as a measure of protection. The gaol was broken open next day, and several Federalists, amongst whom was General Lingan, an officer who had served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, were massacred by the rioters. These violent manifestations had the effect of increasing the discontent prevalent in the Northern States, and the injury to the commerce of New England, which the re-issue of an embargo in April had for the time suspended, occasioned severe distress, and a feeling of the utmost exasperation against the Federal Government. It was asserted that for some time there had been a disposition in that part of America to separate from the other States, if not, indeed, to return to the old colonial allegiance. In February, 1812, Captain John Henry, formerly of the United States army, and afterwards a resident in Canada, informed the President that in 1809 he had been employed by Sir James Craig, one of the Governors of Canada, upon a secret mission to New England, for the purpose of gaining information as to the position of parties, and of inducing those who were opposed to the Democratic policy to create a separate league of the Northern States, which should afterwards form a connection of some sort with Great Britain. Henry was paid 50,000 dollars by the American Government for his information, and the papers which he produced were laid before Congress, in order to [illegible] the [illegible] of the country against England. This was the plot of which John Quincy Adams gave some information to President Jefferson, but, to whatever extent the project may have existed in idea, it proved wholly inoperative in fact. It was admitted by Henry that his mission had entirely failed, and that his motive for the disclosure was because he had been unable to obtain from his employers any compensation for the services he had rendered.

The truth appears to be, that the New Englanders desired, without dissolving the Union, to preserve a state of neutrality in the coming war—an arrangement which was certainly impracticable, unless by a complete violation of the letter and spirit of the Federal Constitution, but which, nevertheless, they may have sincerely believed to be possible. The movement was foolish rather than criminal; but the interference of the Governor of Canada was certainly in the highest degree blamable. Madison, however, acted in a way which was fatal to conciliation. Instead of laying the statements of Henry before the British Government, and requiring an explanation, he at once communicated them to Congress, as, indeed, he was ultimately bound to do, and this act had the result of inflaming his countrymen still more against the British Government. The party opposed to war was intimidated; and although at Boston the flags of the shipping were hoisted half-mast high, in token of mourning, the general sentiment in favour of hostilities was so strongly expressed throughout the greater part of the Union that several waverers among the Federalists went over to the side of the Administration. It was in fact a dangerous matter to utter a word in favour of peace, as the incident at Baltimore had shown. The Government had no opposition to encounter but what it could readily overcome, and the country was speedily put in a state of partial defence against the attacks of the British.

The selection of efficient officers was not a very easy matter. The greater number of the Revolutionary commanders had departed, and, as there had been no war since 1783, except a few comparatively trivial encounters with the Indians, the country [illegible] practical knowledge of their profession. Nevertheless, sufficient old soldiers were found for the chief posts. The Commander-in-Chief was Henry Dearborn, a native of New Hampshire, who accompanied Arnold to Quebec in 1775, and who had served in the campaign which resulted in the capitulation of Burgoyne. Thomas Pinckney was appointed Major-General, and the principal brigadiers were James Wilkinson, Wade Hampton, William Hull, and Joseph Bloomfield—all of whom, like Dearborn, had been employed during the War of Independence. General Hull was Governor of the Michigan (which had been organised as a Territory in 1805), and, when war was declared, was marching with about two thousand troops from Ohio for the subjugation of the hostile Indians. To this officer were confided discretionary powers for invading Canada, and, thinking he could acquire a great name by that exploit, he determined on attempting it. Crossing the border of the British possessions on the 12th of July, he issued a boastful proclamation; but the progress of events soon showed that he was not equal to the task. Canada was at that time divided into two provinces—Upper and Lower Canada; and the population of the former, amounting to about 100,000, consisted principally of American loyalists who had left the Union at the close of the late war. Each of these provinces had its own Governor and its own Legislature; and, although the regular military force was so small as not to exceed two thousand men, scattered over a space of more than one thousand miles, the country did not present a good object of attack, because it was certain that the loyalists would do their utmost to resist invasion and avenge old wrongs. The English commanders at once called for volunteers, and made overtures to the Indians to act in alliance with them. A respectable force was presently in the field against General Hull; and if that officer had ever had the least chance of success, it was now at an end. Supposing the attempt to have been advisable at all, it should have been pushed forward with the utmost expedition; instead of which, Hull, after his sudden raid into British territory, came to a full pause, and awaited the action of his adversaries. His first proceeding was to have been an attack on Fort Malden, a British post near the present village of Amherstburg; but he encamped himself at Sandwich, on the Canadian side of the river Detroit, and did literally nothing. He had stated in his proclamation that he commanded an army sufficient to "look down all opposition," and that this was but the van of a much greater force. He had offered peace and protection to all Canadians who should remain at home, and had threatened the extermination of such as should be found in arms associated with the Indians. These statements and menaces had so far produced an effect that some hundreds of the Canadian militia joined the Americans, or returned to their homes under General Hull's protection; but this did little towards securing the success of the expedition.

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* Great indignation had been expressed in 1800 at the surrender of one Jonathan Robbins to a British man-of-war. He had been claimed by the British consul under an article of the treaty of 1794; but the Democrats alleged that sufficient precautions had not been taken to ascertain whether his claim to citizenship was well-founded, and they very nearly carried a vote of censure. (Tucker's Life of Jefferson, Vol. II., pp. 67, 68.) Such was the invariable policy of the Democrats towards England.

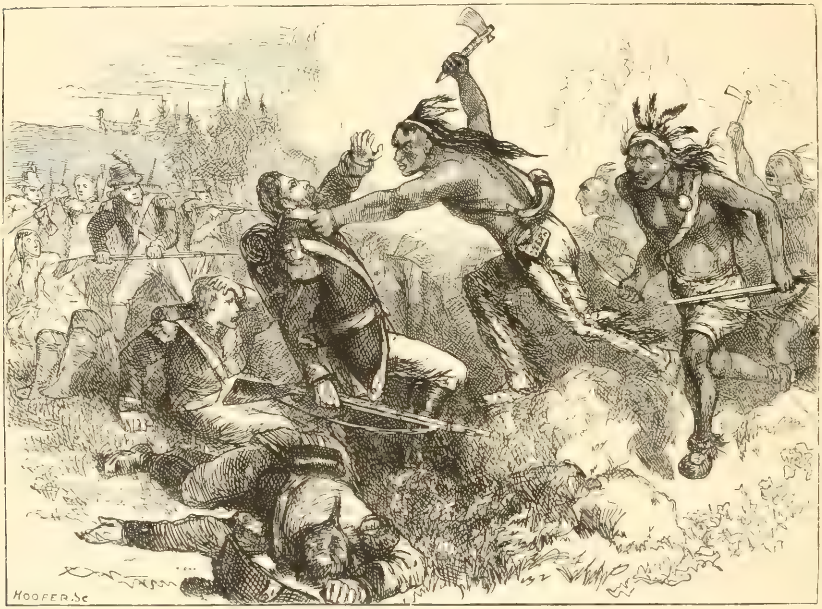
The invader seems to have supposed that he could subdue Canada by the mere issue of proclamations: at any rate, it is only thus that his entire inaction can be accounted for. While he was lying still, the British forces were increasing in number, and even as early as the 17th of July had carried the war into the enemy's territory. On that day, Fort Mackinaw, one of the strongest posts in the North-western part of the United States, situated on an island near the Straits of Mackinaw, was surprised and captured by an allied force of British and Indians; and on the 5th of August a detachment of the American forces, sent by Hull to escort an approaching supply-party to camp, was defeated near Brownstown, on the Huron River. The garrison at Malden had now been reinforced by General Brock, the British Commander-in-Chief in Canada, and Hull thought it prudent to abandon the expedition which he had begun in so high-flown a spirit. He re-crossed the river on the 7th of August, and retired to Detroit, followed, two days later, by General Brock, who appeared before the town at the head of seven hundred English soldiers and six hundred Indians, and demanded the instant surrender of the place. Hull's position was now one of extreme difficulty. His forces were probably not strong enough to defend so advanced a station, and, in the event of defeat, he was threatened with all the horrors of Indian vengeance. He is perhaps not to be blamed for giving up the town; but he is certainly liable to censure for commencing such an expedition with insufficient means and in a vaunting mood, and then remaining inactive when his only chance of safety—not a very good one at the best—lay in the most rapid and vigorous movements.

The fort of Detroit was held by the 4th Regiment, by the Ohio Volunteers, and by a part of the Michigan militia, placed behind the pickets in such a position that the whole flank of the British force was exposed to their fire. The remainder of the militia were stationed in the town, and two four-pounders, loaded with grape, were planted on an eminence, from which they could have acted with great effect on the attacking parties. Colonels Cass and McArthur, who had been detached with four hundred men on a separate expedition, were now returning to Detroit, and had by this time got sufficiently close to be able to attack the enemy in the rear. The position, therefore, was in some respects not unfavourable to the Americans; but Hull dreaded the Indian ferocity, and resolved to make terms with the enemy. His men had for several days been so dissatisfied with his conduct that the field-officers determined to arrest him, but were prevented by the absence of Colonels Cass and McArthur. Hull consequently pursued his own course. On the British columns arriving within five hundred yards of the American line, he ordered the troops to withdraw into the fort, and the artillery not to fire. A white flag was then displayed, and, negotiations being opened with the English, a capitulation was agreed upon, by which, on the 16th of August, the army, fort, stores, and garrison, together with the territory of Michigan, were surrendered to the British, much to their surprise. The detachment under Cass and McArthur, and the troops at the river Raisin, thirty-six miles below Detroit, were included in the capitulation; but Captain Brush, who had the command at Raisin, refused to consider himself bound by Hull's engagement, and, on being summoned to surrender, broke up his camp, and retreated towards Ohio.

The indignation of the American people at this surrender was unbounded, and certainly not surprising. The army directed by Hull amounted to 2,500 men (of whom, however, only eight hundred were effectives), while Brock had under his orders no more than three hundred and thirty regulars, four hundred militia, and six hundred Indians. The American commander acted entirely on his own sense of what was right. He did not call any council of his officers, and came to his determination, it would appear, solely out of apprehension of the Indians. In 1814 he was brought to trial by court-martial, on charges of treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty. On the two latter accusations he was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot; but, in consideration of his services during the Revolutionary War, his life was spared. For the remainder of his days, Hull lay under the contempt and detestation of his countrymen; but in 1824, the year before his death, he published a vindication of his conduct, and in 1848 his grandson printed a large octavo volume, giving, from official records, an account of the business which placed the action of his progenitor in a more favourable light than that in which it had previously been seen.

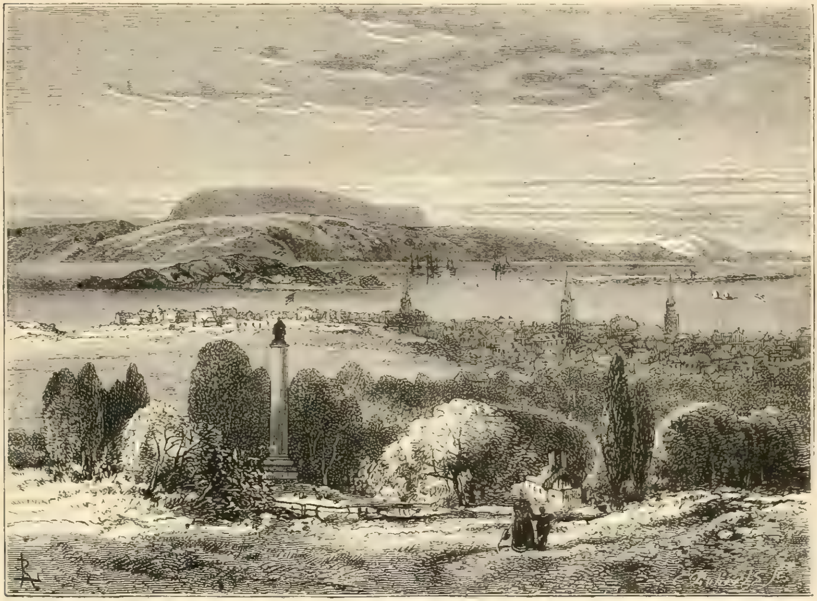
A lamentable event occurring near the foot of Lake Michigan contributed another element of a disheartening nature to the circumstances of the period. Hull had sent orders to Captain Heald to evacuate Fort Dearborn, on the site of the present city of Chicago—a position which he occupied with fifty regulars. At the command of his superior officer, he quitted that post, and proceeded to Detroit, leaving the public property in charge of a body of friendly Indians. While moving along the shore of Lake Michigan, not far from the fort, he was attacked by a number of savages belonging to a hostile tribe. Twenty-six of the regular troops, and all of the militia, were killed, and a number of women and children were murdered and scalped. Captain Heald succeeded in escaping with his wife to Mackinaw; but the lady was severely, though not mortally, wounded. This event occurred the day before Hull's surrender, and so disastrous a commencement of the campaign emboldened the opponents of the war in the expression of their dissatisfaction. They lost no opportunity of prophesying evil, and for awhile exercised some influence over those who were inclined to hesitate. But the nation generally was determined to carry on the campaign with spirit, and, the war being once begun, this no doubt was the wisest course. The whole North-western frontier was exposed to the inroads of the British and their red allies, and self-preservation alone dictated a vigorous policy.

The resources of the United States were not well adapted to cope with so strong a Power as Great Britain. England had at that time more than a thousand vessels, manned by 144,000 sailors, the best in the world, long accustomed to victory, and now animated by recent memories of Cape St. Vincent, the Nile, Copenhagen, Trafalgar, and many other illustrious combats. The Americans had barely twenty vessels of war of large size, with an aggregate of guns not exceeding three hundred. A number of gun-boats had recently been built, but they were required for defending the coast, and could not be counted on for service at any great distance. The British army was certainly much less than the British fleet; but it consisted of well-disciplined regulars, whereas the United States had scarcely any professional army at all, and were obliged to create regiments on the spur of the moment, with all the necessary imperfections of raw levies. The regular troops did not number more than 6,000; in 1808 they had been only 3,000; and the bulk of the forces on which the country was now to depend, had been raised since January of the current year. It was expected however, that by Midsummer more than 35,000 men would be under arms. These were divided into seventeen regiments of infantry; three of heavy artillery; one of light artillery; two of dragoons; and one of riflemen. The President was also authorised to accept the services of any number of volunteers not exceeding 50,000, who were to be armed and equipped by the United States; and a similar authority was given him to call upon the Governors of States for detachments of militia—the whole not to exceed 100,000 men. The total population of the United States at the latest Census—that of 1810—was 7,239,814, including all races and colours. The population of Great Britain in 1811 was about 12,950,000, exclusive of Ireland. England had therefore several millions more to draw upon than the United States. The difference between the money resources of the two countries was even more disproportionate; so that the chances of the struggle, on a consideration simply of these points, appeared much greater on the side of the old country than on that of the new. On the other hand, it must be remembered that England was at that time engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the gigantic military power of France; that her armies had already enough to do in coping with the extraordinary military genius of Napoleon; and that her ships had interests to protect wherever an English colony existed, or an English merchant-vessel sailed the ocean. The Ministers of the United States were astute and wary politicians; and, taking the whole body of facts into review, they determined to risk the issue, for the sake of the great ends which they believed to be involved.



ATTACK OF INDIANS AT FORT DEARBORN.

Strong in numbers, the army of the United States, being hastily improvised, was weak in discipline, and in every other requisite of a military force. Of the men raised by order of Congress, scarcely a fourth part was enlisted at the time the conflict began. These were ill-trained, unaccustomed to war, and liable to panic at the first sight of an enemy. The volunteers and militia had borne but a poor character during the War of Independence, and it was not likely that they would distinguish themselves more under existing circumstances. The chief dependence of the country was on its naval force; for, although the number of ships was few, as we have already indicated, the elements of a future navy were to be found in the commercial vessels of the United States, and in that hardy race of fishermen who had always formed one of the best portions of the population. Subsequent events proved that the Republic was stronger on the sea than on the land; but the first plans of the campaign contemplated military rather than naval operations, and these were to be more defensive than offensive. It was proposed to garrison the sea-board, principally by occasional calls on the militia, aided by a few of the regular troops; and the total forces of the Federation were divided into three armies—that of the North-west, that of the Centre, and that of the North. But one feature of the design was the invasion of Canada, destined, as we have just seen, to a disastrous commencement. The ill-success of that first attempt had no other result than to stimulate the people to fresh endeavours. Immediately after the capitulation at Detroit, 10,000 volunteers offered their services to Government, and were marched towards the territory of Michigan under the direction of General Harrison, who had command of the Army of the North-west, including the detachments that had been Hull's. Their strength was not sufficient, considering the imperfection of their discipline, to effect more than a few incursions into the lands of hostile Indians; and the early winter of those Northern regions surprised them before they had obtained any success. Another expedition into Canada was at the same time undertaken by General Van Rensselaer, of the New York Militia, who commanded the Army of the Centre. His force consisted of regulars and militia, whom he drew up at Lewistown, on the Niagara, opposite a fortified British post on the heights of Queenstown. Colonel Van Rensselaer, a relative of the General, and a man of courage and determination, crossed the stream on the 13th of October, with a small detachment, who effected their landing under a heavy fire from the British. The colonel himself was wounded at the very outset of the operations; but Captains Ogilvie and Wool led on their troops to the assault. The fortress was captured, and the Americans now established themselves in so strong a position that when General Brock


MONTREAL.

brought up a reinforcement of six hundred men, they were repulsed with heavy loss, and amongst the killed was the commander himself. Here, however, the success of the attempt came to an end. A fresh detachment of Americans was conveyed over to the British side of the river; but the troops refused to obey their orders, and the British, being again reinforced, wrested the position from their adversaries, after a severe engagement, in which the Americans were almost destroyed, and the remainder driven across the stream. General Van Rensselaer, disgusted with the inefficiency, and in some instances the cowardice, of his men, left the service, and was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth, of Virginia. That officer commenced operations by issuing an address similar to the proclamation of General Hull, and on the 28th of November embarked 4,500 men, with a view to crossing the Niagara. The appearance of the enemy on the opposite shore, however, was so menacing that the invasion was postponed until the 1st of December, when it was finally determined by a council of war not to proceed any further with the enterprise. Almost equally unsuccessful was General Dearborn, of the Army of the North, who felt it expedient to retire after a few unimportant operations. Winter had now arrived—the long and terrible winter of Canada; and the period for active service had passed.

During the battle of October 13th, a detachment of American troops, amounting to fifteen hundred, refused to cross the river, in aid of their comrades who were being cut to pieces before Queenstown Heights, on the plea that the war was properly only a defensive one, and that therefore it was not right to invade the enemy's dominions. Many of the Federal party applauded them for this determination, and in the North-east the feeling against the war gathered force with every day. Adams did not share in this view, believing, on the contrary, that the struggle had been rendered necessary by the action of the English Government; but several of the New Englanders regarded the policy of President Madison and his Administration as unnecessary, unjust, and likely to prove highly injurious to the best interests of the country. The Governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut refused to allow the militia of those States to march to the northern frontier on the requisition of the President, alleging that such a requisition was unconstitutional. The Ministerialists denounced this opposition as treason; but the President felt compelled to act with caution, lest he should alienate the North-eastern States altogether. A menacing condition of opinion was noticeable over the whole of that quarter. The agitators met in convention, passed resolutions condemnatory of the Federal Government, denounced the war with England, proclaimed their preference for one with France, protested against any alliance with Bonaparte (which, however, does not seem to have been contemplated), affirmed that the revocation of the Orders in Council should have been considered sufficient reason for maintaining peace, and laid it down as a rule that the employment of the militia in offensive warfare was a violation of the Federal compact. The body upholding these views was called the Essex Junto, from the locality where its members assembled. Jefferson believed that the object of the malcontents was not separation from the Union, unless as a temporary expedient, but the establishment in New England of a monarchical form of government, which should gradually extend by contagion to the other parts of the country. This astute observer seems herein to have been misled by his local and political prejudices. There may have been a few individuals in all the States who inclined to monarchy; but that New England in the main was desirous of setting up kingly rule, appears in the highest degree improbable. The Republican sentiment had always been stronger in that region of America than in most others. It was a derivative, in those parts, from the old Puritanical principles of magisterial government, brought out by the first settlers, perpetuated by their descendants, and confirmed by the whole internal polity, religious and social, of the States in question. Nothing had occurred to change that predilection, and there is no sufficient evidence to show that it *had* been changed. The tendency to an English rather than a French alliance was the result of natural affinities of race and faith, and perhaps still more of self-interest, which pointed to England as the best country with which to carry on commercial intercourse. We may, then, pretty safely assume that the difference between the North and South in 1812 was due, not to any heresies as to the form of government, but to a divergence of interests on questions of foreign policy.

The British Government had by this time declared the whole American coast in a state of blockade, with the exception of the New England States—an exception dictated, no doubt, by the hope that those States might thus be won over to the British cause. Such an expectation was doomed to disappointment, as the general feeling of the country held in check whatever tendency to a disloyal course may have existed in particular circles. The reverses which had been experienced on land were in some degree counterbalanced by successes at sea. It had been supposed, and not without reason, that Great Britain would prove especially formidable on that element; yet it was precisely here that she had to suffer the greatest number of discomfitures during the war, and that the Americans were most fortunate. The success, however, did not come at once. On the outbreak of hostilities, Commodore Rogers (who in the previous year had been concerned in the encounter with Captain Bingham) was at Sandy Hook, New York, with a small squadron, consisting of the frigates *President, Congress,* and *United States,* and the sloop-of-war *Hornet.* On the 21st of June he put to sea, in pursuit of a British squadron which had sailed as a convoy to the West India fleet; but, after a slight engagement, the enterprise was abandoned. The first naval triumph of the Americans over the English occurred on the 9th of August, 1812, when the United States frigate *Constitution,* commanded by Commodore Hull, attacked the British frigate *Guerrière,* Captain Dacres, off the American coast. The crew of the American vessel requested to be placed alongside the enemy's ship, and for three-quarters of an hour the two manœuvred to obtain the advantage of position. At length, the *Guerrière,* unable to accomplish her object, advanced towards the *Constitution,* firing broadsides at intervals; but, on approaching within half-pistol-shot of her adversary, a tremendous fire burst upon her from the United States frigate. The fight was unequal, for the English vessel (besides being of smaller tonnage than her opponent) had only thirty-eight guns, whereas the American had nominally forty-four, and is suspected to have really carried nearly seventy-four. In rather more than thirty minutes, every mast of the former, and almost every spar, was shot away, and she had no choice but to strike her flag. Fifty of her crew were killed, and sixty-four wounded, while the loss on board the *Constitution* was but small. It was found necessary to burn the captured ship, as so complete a wreck was simply an encumbrance; but her antagonist was ready for action again next day. By a singular coincidence, this brilliant success, achieved by Commodore Hull, took place about the same time that General Hull was being so disastrously defeated by the British.

Before the end of the year, three other equally striking triumphs had been achieved by American over English vessels. In one instance, the United States ship, the *Wasp,* is said to have had four guns fewer than her opponent; in the other two cases, in which the American commanders were Captain Decatur and Captain Bainbridge, it is admitted by American writers that there was a superiority of a few guns on their side. The enormous loss on board the English ships, and the frightful damage sustained by them, while their adversaries got off with comparatively trivial punishment, are facts which seem to favour the British contention that the American vessels were in truth much more heavily armed than they professed to be; and it is worthy of note that the *Wasp,* falling in with a British seventy-four on the very day of her victory, was captured, together with her prize. There is also reason to believe that many of the sailors on board the American frigates were English fugitives from the navy which had humbled the power of Bonaparte at sea; and, if so, it is certain that they fought all the more desperately from knowing that they fought with a rope about their necks. An American writer has left it on record that not less than half the crews of American ships were British seamen having false protections, and that the English authorities had exercised their asserted right of impressment very sparingly.* Still, after all allowances have been made, the Americans had abundant cause to be elated, and the English to be mortified. More than five hundred British merchant-men were captured by the small navy of the Federation in the space of a few months.

In course of the autumn, Madison was re-elected to the Presidency, though not without some opposition, and Elbridge Gerry became Vice-President in the place of George Clinton, who had died a short time before. Amongst the members of Congress elected at the same time were numerous Democrats; yet the Federals were increasing in strength also. Still, the Ministry had an efficient majority, and Madison met the two representative bodies without much misgiving. In his Message he stated that during the recess the British had offered an armistice, alleging the repeal of the Orders in Council as a reason for coming to terms; but that, as they refused to make any effectual provisions against the impressment of American seamen, the offer had been refused. Congress, in spite of some opposition, passed resolutions approving of this course; measures were taken for enlarging and more efficiently organising the army; and thus the year 1812 came to an end, in the midst of mingled disasters and successes.

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* Simond's Tour in Great Britain, Vol. I.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Expeditions against the Indians—The Military Position at the Approach of Winter—Fighting at Frenchtown—Massacre by the Savages—Operations at Fort Meigs—Policy of the Prince Regent—Russian Attempt at Mediation—Debates in the British Parliament—Gallant Defence of Fort Stephenson by the Americans—Creation of an American Squadron—Capture of York, Upper Canada—Alternating Successes of the Americans and the British—Actions on Lakes Ontario and Champlain—The Chief Command transferred from General Dearborn to General Wilkinson—Plan for attacking Montreal—Failure of the Expedition—Mutual Barbarities and Sacking of Towns—The Naval Duel between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*—Defeat of the Latter, and Death of Captain Lawrence—Honours paid to his Memory—Action on Lake Erie—The British Squadron defeated by Commodore Perry—Effects of the Victory—Retreat of Colonel Procter—Rout of the British—Death of the Indian Chief, Tecumseh—Operations against the Indians on the Georgian Frontier—Proceedings in Congress—Results of the War up to the Close of 1813.

So eager were the Americans to .continue the war that they did not suffer the approach of winter to suspend the operations of their armies. The recovery of Michigan was resolved on; companies were formed and equipped in a single day, and ready to march the next. Of course such hasty levies were not well fitted for regular warfare; but in the first instance they were employed in driving back the hostile Indians on the frontiers. The villages of the red men were laid waste; acts of great cruelty were committed, on the ever-ready and too-facile plea of self-defence; and the savages, exasperated by their wrongs, were all the more disposed to attack the Americans with ferocity, and to offer their services to the British. General Harrison, in command of the Army of the North-west, which was concentrated at the head of Lake Erie, took steps to relieve the frontier posts early in the autumn, and Isaac Shelby, a native of Maryland, but now Governor of Kentucky, led a strong force of youthful volunteers from the latter State towards the boundary lines of the Federation and of Canada. At this time, the Army of the Centre, which had recently been placed under Dearborn, was stationed on the banks of the Niagara, while that of the North, where Dearborn had been succeeded in the command by General Hampton, was planted on the borders of Lake Champlain. The chief officer of the English army, now that Brock was slain, was Sir George Prevost, son of the Augustine Prevost (a native of Geneva) who commanded some of the British forces in the Southern States in the year 1779. For his assistants, he had Colonel Procter in the direction of Detroit, and General Sheaffe in the vicinity of Montreal and the lower portions of Lake Champlain.

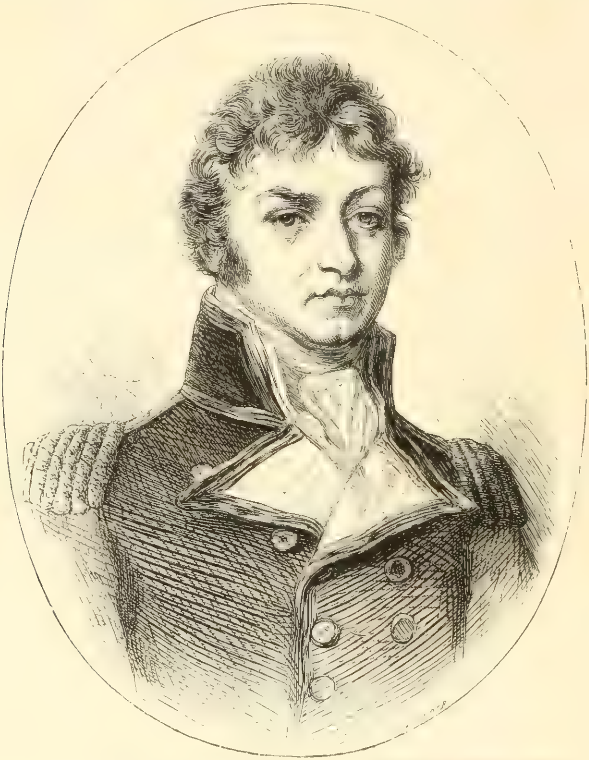
Madison's determination to prosecute the war with vigour was cordially seconded by Congress. The bounty and the wages of the soldiers were increased. The President was authorised to raise twenty additional regiments of infantry, to issue Treasury notes, and to borrow money; and provision was made for building four ships of the line, six frigates, and as many vessels of war on the great lakes as the public service might require. Thus fortified, General Harrison resolved on a winter campaign for the rescue of Michigan, and General Winchester was ordered to proceed in advance to Frenchtown, a village on the river Raisin, twenty-five miles south of Detroit. With eight hundred young volunteers, chiefly from Kentucky, the latter officer arrived, on the 10th of January, 1813, at Maumee Rapids; and three days later he despatched against the British and Indians, concentrated at Frenchtown, a small body of troops under Colonels Allen and Lewis. The position was attacked and taken on the 18th of January, and Winchester arrived with reinforcements on the 20th. The success of the Americans, however, was very short-lived. Colonel Procter, who was at Malden, eighteen miles distant, at once started for Frenchtown, at the head of fifteen hundred British and Indians. Winchester's men had encamped in the neighbourhood of the village, but had taken only slight precautions against a surprise. Early on the morning of the 22nd of January, they were assailed by the enemy, and completely routed. Winchester, who was made prisoner by the Indians, offered to surrender his whole force, on condition that they should be protected from the violence of the savages. Procter replied that he would grant such protection if the surrender took place immediately, but that otherwise he would set fire to the village, and could not be responsible for the conduct of the red men. On the Americans submitting, Colonel Procter, leaving the wounded without a guard, withdrew to Malden, fearing the approach of Harrison, who was then on the Lower Sandusky. The Indians accompanied their English comrades some miles on the road, but next morning turned back, set fire to the houses in Frenchtown, and, falling on the injured Americans, committed a shocking massacre, attended by circumstances of great atrocity. It does not appear that Procter knew anything of this tragedy until after it was enacted; but he was loudly denounced by the

Americans for supposed complicity. The action of the Indian tribes, in making war on the Americans independently of the British, had been discouraged by the military authorities of England; but the enthusiasm of the savages was beyond control. General Brock, in a despatch written a little before his death to Sir George Prevost, Governor-in-Chief of the British provinces of North America, spoke in high terms of the order and steadiness of the Indians who joined in the attack on General Hull at Detroit, and stated that their forbearance and humanity were remarkable. It is but too evident that this was not generally the case; but there is nothing to show that Procter was accountable for the massacre at Frenchtown.

On reaching the Maumee Rapids, Harrison learned the defeat of his countrymen at Frenchtown. Being under the impression that Procter would speedily attack him, he retreated on the 23rd of January; but, on the 1st of February, hearing that the English had gone towards Malden, he again advanced to the Rapids, with twelve hundred men, and established there a fortified camp, which he called Fort Meigs, after the Governor of Ohio. This fort was erected on the south side of the Maumee, nearly opposite a post which had formerly been occupied by the British, and a short distance from the present village of Perrysburg. The position was selected as a convenient point for receiving reinforcements and supplies from Ohio and Kentucky, for protecting the borders of Lake Erie, and for facilitating the proposed operations for the re-capture of Detroit and the invasion of Canada. For some weeks Harrison remained unmolested at this spot, but, on the 26th of April, Colonel Procter, with two thousand regulars, militia, and Indians, from Malden, appeared on the bank of the river opposite the fort, erected batteries on some high ground, and began a siege. The Indians crossed the river on the 27th, and took up a position in the rear of the American lines, which by the 3rd of May were severely galled by a battery erected on the left bank. The American General was summoned to surrender, but refused, and, on the 5th of May, General Clay, with twelve hundred Kentuckians, arrived to the relief of Fort Meigs, and ultimately succeeded in driving the besiegers from their works. Shortly afterwards, several of the American troops, with the rashness of volunteers, dispersed themselves through the woods in pursuit of the Indians, though ordered by their commander not to expose themselves to so great a peril. In a little while they were drawn into an ambuscade; the enemy rallied, and forced the Americans to lay down their arms; and the latter would probably have been massacred to a man, had not the Indian chief, Tecumseh, restrained his followers from indulging their vengeance. As it was, several were slain, and many more captured; the remainder fled to the nearest settlements, or escaped into the fort, which was still defended with much obstinacy. This determination soon wearied out the Indians, who on the 8th of May deserted the camp, notwithstanding the entreaties of their chief. The British raised the siege on the following day, when General Harrison, leaving Clay in command, returned to Ohio for reinforcements. All operations in this quarter were now suspended, and did not re-commence until a naval force was ready for action on Lake Erie.

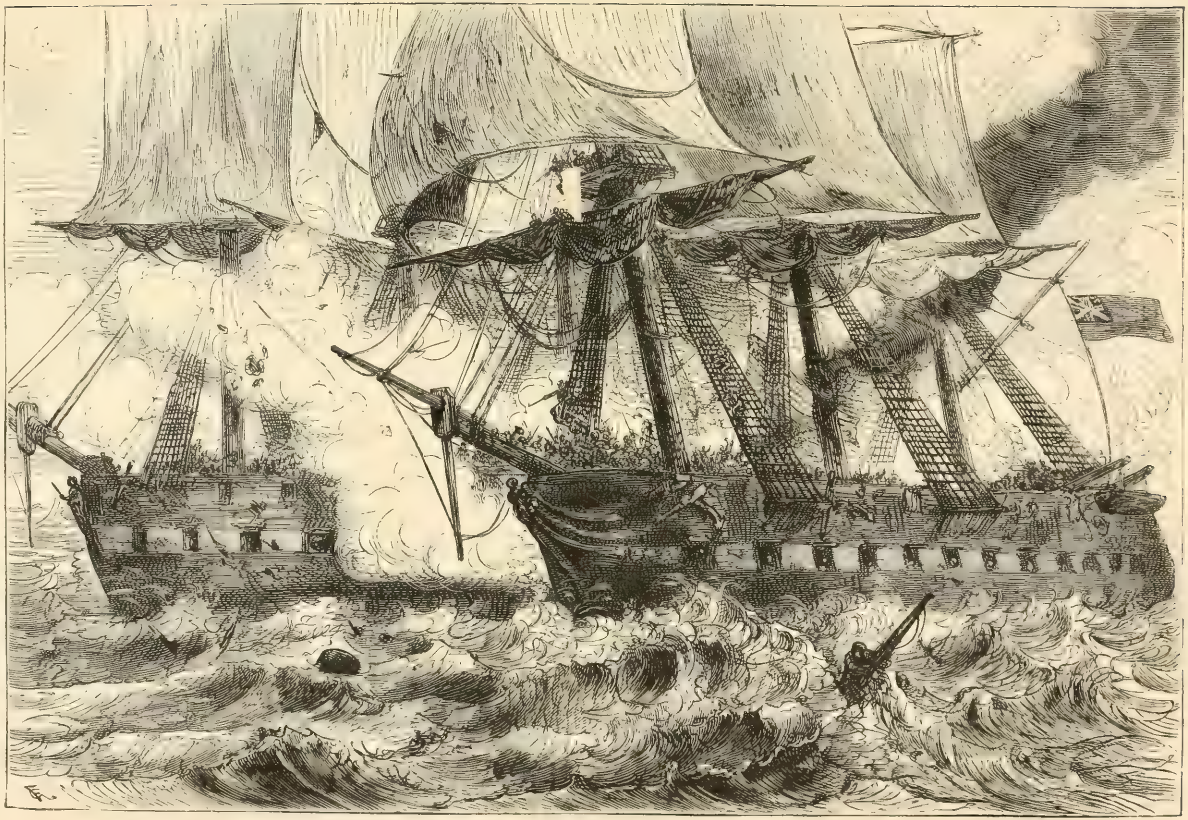
The head of affairs in England at this time was the Prince Regent, who, in February, 1811, had become virtual Sovereign of the country, on the final attack of mental incapacity by which his father's latest years were clouded. The Prince, while forsaking his former Liberal associates, and adopting the Tory Administration which he found, appears to have considered himself free to act on his own judgment with regard to America, and to have been less committed than the King to a policy of extreme resistance to American demands. It was after his accession to power that the Orders in Council were withdrawn, and in 1812 he twice proposed an armistice, but without success. Early in the spring of 1813, the Emperor Alexander of Russia offered his mediation, which was accepted by the Government of the United States, and declined by that of Great Britain. President Madison appointed, as his commissioners for conducting the negotiations, in the event of their being brought to bear, Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams (at that time American Minister at the Russian Court), and James A. Bayard. But the Emperor Alexander had exhibited so decided a leaning towards the United States that the British Government may well have doubted whether his arbitration, however honourable the feeling by which it was prompted, would have been altogether free from bias. England suggested a direct negotiation instead, and it was ultimately agreed that this should take place at Ghent; but the proposal at that time came to nothing, and the fratricidal contest pursued its course. Its incidents were not such as to flatter the pride of England, and in the Parliamentary session of 1813 several stormy debates took place on the progress of events in the New World. The Opposition fiercely denounced the conduct of Government, but, on the 18th of February, Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, moved an address to the Prince

Regent, expressing approbation of the war. To this motion, no amendment was proposed, and it passed without a dissenting voice, together with a similar address in the Lords.



CAPTAIN (AFTERWARDS SIR PHILIP) BROKE. (*From a Portrait published in* 1815.

Opinion as to the merits of the war was more divided in America than in England. The Prince Regent, in his declaration to Parliament, had maintained (whether justly or not) that the complete subserviency of the United States to France was the real cause of hostilities, and that, "from their common origin, from their common interests, and from their professed principles of freedom and independence, the United States was the last Power in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abettor of French tyranny." The remonstrance of the Legislature of Massachusetts, addressed to Congress on the 14th of June, 1813, took a precisely similar view. The authors of this remonstrance argued that "the promptness with which Great Britain hastened to repeal her Orders before the declaration of war by the United States was made known to her, and the restoration of an immense amount of property then within her power, can leave but little doubt that the war on our part was premature, and still less that the perseverance in it after that repeal was known was improper, impolitic, and unjust." They added:—"If war must have been the portion of these United States—if they were destined by Providence to march the downward road to slavery through foreign conquest and military usurpation,—your remonstrants regret that such a moment and such an occasion should have been chosen for the experiment; that while the oppressed nations of Europe are making a magnanimous and glorious effort against the common enemy of free States, we alone, the descendants of the Pilgrims, sworn foes to civil and religious slavery, should voluntarily co-



FIGHT BETWEEN THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND THE "SHANNON."

operate with the oppressor to bind other nations in his chains." It was alleged in the same remonstrance that the United States had never induced Great Britain to believe that the impressment of her own seamen on board American ships was a reasonable ground of war; that the evil of impressment had been grossly exaggerated; and that had a proposal been made to exclude English subjects from the American service, an honourable and advantageous arrangement of the whole question would have been sure to follow.* Such were the views of the most intelligent section of the American population. They were overborne by the numerical preponderance of the Democratic party; but they are necessary to a complete understanding of the perplexed and irritating questions of that day.

After the raising of the siege of Fort Meigs, nothing occurred in that locality until the 21st of July, when about four thousand British and Indians, under Procter and Tecumseh, again appeared before that stronghold. A week later, Procter left Tecumseh to watch the fort, while he himself marched with five hundred regulars and eight hundred Indians to attack Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky, situated on the west bank of the Sandusky River, about fifteen miles south of the Bay called by the same name. The fort consisted of embankments of earth, bastions and blockhouses, a ditch, and some rude log buildings within. The garrison amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty soldiers, commanded by Major Croghan, then only twenty-one years of age. Although the strength of the place was not great, Croghan resisted the attacks of his adversary with much spirit. A breach in the walls, however, was soon effected by the British guns, when, on the 2nd of August, five hundred of the besiegers endeavoured to take the position by assault. Croghan had only one cannon, but this was so effectively worked that the assailants recoiled, and, leaving one hundred and fifty of their number killed or wounded on the ground, abandoned the attempt. The Americans had only one man killed and seven wounded; and Procter, with his Indian ally, left for Detroit, despairing of success at Fort Meigs. The triumph of the Americans in this quarter put them in heart as to the general conduct of the war, and greatly discouraged the Indians in their hostile designs. Nevertheless, the people of the United States were not slow in perceiving that their strength was less on land than at sea, although as yet they had but a few ships, and nothing that could by any pretence be called a fleet. The necessity of augmenting this arm of the national service became obvious to all, and it was resolved to fit out a squadron upon Lake Ontario, which should be supreme in those waters, and be capable of conveying to various points such forces as might appear indispensable for coping with the English. The chief American port upon that inland sea was Sackett's Harbour, situated near the outlet of the lake. This was selected as a naval depôt, and for several months, beginning with October, 1812, Commodore Chauncey was engaged in building and equipping a squadron of respectable dimensions.

By the 25th of April, 1813, these naval preparations were sufficiently advanced to permit of a forward movement. At the head of one thousand seven hundred men, General Dearborn crossed the lake, and prepared to attack York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, and the principal depository of British military stores for the supply of the western garrisons. The American troops landed on the beach before York on the 27th of April. They were then about two miles west from the defensive works, and were galled by a constant fire from the forces of the British, who, under the command of General Sheaffe, were stationed some way in advance of the fortifications. The American attack was entrusted to General Pike, who landed, and after a severe action drove back the adversary to his works. The rest of the forces were disembarked, and the whole army moved up to the assault. There could be little doubt as to the issue, for the Americans were in much greater force than the British. The latter had only a garrison of six hundred, with which to oppose the seventeen hundred soldiers now directed against the position. Two redoubts were captured, and the assailants were pushing forward towards the main work, when the magazine of the fort blew up, owing, it is said, to the British having laid a train of powder communicating with the chief stores, for the purpose of firing the latter, in case the defenders should be driven back. Amongst the persons killed by this explosion was General Pike himself, who was struck in the breast by a large stone. He was conveyed on board the Commodore's ship, where he soon afterwards expired, but not before the fort was carried, nor before the flag which had waved above it had been placed beneath his head. The loss of life was great, both on the American and English sides, and the majority of the casualties were due to the blowing up of the magazine. Dearborn, who had remained on board the fleet during the earlier part of the action, landed soon after the fall of Pike, though he did not assume the immediate command until after the surrender of the town, which was sacked by the Americans. General Sheaffe escaped with the principal part of his troops, but lost all his baggage, books, and papers.

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* Charles Knight's History of England, Vol. VIII., chap. 1.

The American fleet now proceeded to Niagara, landed troops there, and returned to Sackett's Harbour. The next object of attack on the part of the army was Fort George, situated on the western shore of the river Niagara, near its mouth. The garrison, on the 27th of May, fled to Burlington Heights, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario, pursued by a much larger force of Americans, under Generals Chandler and Winder. The detached British garrisons in that direction being afterwards concentrated in a favourable position, forty miles west of Fort George, a more vigorous resistance was opposed to the enemy's advance. The two American Generals, with a corps of one thousand men, were so successfully attacked at Stony Creek that both officers were captured; and the arrival of the British fleet, under Sir James Yeo, compelled the Americans to return to the main body of their army, with a serious loss of artillery and baggage. Soon afterwards, nearly eight hundred Americans, who had been sent to make an attack on Beaver Dams, were surrounded and captured. The British, however, were unsuccessful in an attack on Sackett's Harbour by a combined land and naval force. After a sanguinary encounter, they were driven back to their boats; yet in one respect the day was unfortunate for the Americans. Lieutenant Chauncey had been ordered to set fire to the store-houses and barracks in case of defeat, and this order he carried out with too much precipitation. Although in the result his countrymen were successful, he seems to have anticipated their discomfiture, and under that impression destroyed the supplies which had been laid up in the harbour, and which the Americans could ill afford to lose. His apprehensions were not entirely without reason; for a little before General Brown, the American commander at that station, made a flanking movement which alarmed the British for their rear, and caused them to re-embark, the American militia had been so panic-stricken that they dispersed, and began making their way to places of safety in the surrounding country. This action was fought on the 29th of May, and the American success was due to the energy and skill of General Brown.

Several other small actions took place about the same period, and York was captured and plundered a second time; but, as autumn advanced, the British, who had been preparing a flotilla on Lake Ontario, found themselves in a position superior to that of the Americans. On the 7th of October, Sir James Yeo appeared with his fleet before Fort George; Commodore Chauncey went out to meet him with his squadron, and, in a gale which happened on the night of the 8th, lost two of his schooners, with the greater part of their crews. An action was fought on the 10th, when the Americans lost two more schooners; but the fleets afterwards separated, without any decided success on either side. On Lake Champlain, the British destroyed the American establishment of Plattsburg, and, on the whole, the balance of advantages now inclined towards their side. The Americans had for some time been greatly dissatisfied with General Dearborn. He had been a constant invalid, had never once led his troops in person, had sustained many heavy losses, and had let slip the most favourable opportunity for a descent on Montreal. He was accordingly relieved from his functions in June, and General Wilkinson was called from the South to take his place. This officer, like his predecessor, had seen service during the War of Independence, but was still less than sixty years of age. He arrived at Sackett's Harbour on the 1st of August, and the War Department, now under the direction of General Armstrong, was for a time removed to the same place. It was determined to attack Montreal with an army of eight thousand men, as soon as the necessary preparations could be completed; but it took three months to get all things in readiness for so important an expedition. The delay gave the British authorities time to fortify every important point on the St. Lawrence; so that when the flotilla set sail, on the 5th of November, it was found impossible to proceed far without encountering the most serious resistance. A body of troops, under the command of General Brown, was therefore set on shore, and these men, marching in advance of the boats, endeavoured to dislodge the enemy from his posts on the river. At Chrystler's Fields, near Williamsburg, the rear division, under General Boyd, encountered a large British force on the 10th of November. An obstinate engagement terminated in favour of the Americans, who, though at a considerable loss of men, succeeded in re-opening the stream for the passage of the flotilla. General Wilkinson arrived on the following day at St. Regis, where General Hampton was to have co-operated with him. That officer, however, had neglected to obey his orders, alleging that the sickly condition of his troops, and a lack of provisions, had induced him to fall back on his main depôt at Plattsburg, in the hope of maintaining his communications with the St. Lawrence, and thus contributing to the success of the expedition. He had in truth been foiled by a body of Canadian militia. The failure of General Hampton to effect his junction with the Commander-in-Chief proved fatal to the entire enterprise. Wilkinson at once retreated, and, establishing himself at French Mills, put his army into winter quarters. Hampton was deprived of his command; but by many the blame was rather imputed to General Armstrong, and by some to Wilkinson. The three officers found it impossible to agree, and their bickerings as to precedence had much to do with the collapse of the expedition.

The war acquired a more ruthless character with time, as such wars generally do. A British squadron stationed in Delaware Bay captured and burned every merchant-vessel it encountered, and the village of Lewiston, in the State of Delaware, was bombarded and seriously injured, because the inhabitants refused to sell provisions to the enemy. In Chesapeake Bay, Admiral Cockburn plundered private houses near the shore, and drove away cattle for the sustenance of his men. Frenchtown, Havre-de-Grace, Fredericktown, Georgetown, and other places, were sacked and burned; Hampton was captured, after a determined resistance, which drew down on the unfortunate people many acts of barbarous vengeance; Norfolk was attacked with great fury, but saved by the courage of a small force stationed on Craney Island, in the harbour; and much open country was laid waste. The Americans, on their side, were not slow to adopt a spirit of savage animosity; indeed, they seem to have been the aggressors in this respect, and to have acted on the direct orders of their Government;* though the Secretary of War, General Armstrong, afterwards denounced the substitution of the torch for the bayonet, as furnishing the enemy with both motive and justification for a war of retaliation. The British towns of York and Newcastle, on the Canadian side of the border, were destroyed by fire, and many hundreds of non-combatants were thrown houseless on the world in the midst of a northern winter. Each side accused the other of provoking these outrages by the commission of similar acts; but both were only too well-disposed to find any excuse for wreaking the pent-up feelings of national hatred. American historians, however, mention, in strong contrast with the reckless violence of Admiral Cockburn, the high-minded and generous forbearance of Commodore Hardy, whose squadron was employed on the New England coast. The New Englanders, being opposed to the war, had been excepted from the full operation of the blockade instituted by the English; and this may have had something to do with the amenities of Commodore Hardy.

The Americans continued to gain remarkable successes over the single vessels of their enemy. Captain Lawrence, of the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, fell in with the English brig-of-war *Peacock* on the 24th of February, and in fifteen minutes compelled her to strike her colours, and hoist a signal of distress, the vessel being by that time in a sinking state. The *Peacock* shortly afterwards went down, and thirteen of the English sailors, together with four of the *Hornet's* crew, who were rendering assistance, perished with her. In consequence of this action, Captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, then lying in the harbour of Boston. The British frigate *Shannon*, commanded by Captain Broke, had been cruising before that port for several weeks, and Broke sent a challenge to Lawrence to meet him ship to ship, and thus determine the relative value of the two vessels. It is remarkable that popular opinion in England had for some time pointed to the *Shannon* and her captain as the most likely instruments for avenging the reverses which British ships had previously experienced at the hands of the Americans. Broke was not only a gallant but a careful officer. He had long paid great attention to the discipline and exercise of his crew, and knew he could depend on them for doing everything which English sailors had been in the habit of doing from the days of Drake to those of Nelson. In Captain Lawrence and the *Chesapeake* he had no mean opponents. Lawrence had but recently exhibited his skill and daring; his vessel was a little superior in size to the *Shannon*, and he had a rather larger complement of men; but it is alleged that his crew were not well trained. The American officer set sail on the 1st of June in pursuit of the *Shannon*, and was followed by many barges and pleasure-boats, from which the citizens of Boston hoped to see the triumph of their countryman over his adversary. Broke had engaged that the *Tenedos*, which was then blockading Boston in company with his own vessel, should be kept out of the way during the action; and every arrangement seems to have been made which would give to the approaching combat a character of perfect fairness. Towards evening of the 1st of June (the anniversary of Lord Howe's great victory), the two vessels met, and instantly engaged. Coming to close quarters after a furious combat of about a quarter of an hour, during which the rigging of the American vessel, cut to pieces with shot, fell on board her adversary, and the chest of arms blew up, the English boarded the *Chesapeake*, and hoisted the Union Jack. In the brief space of time during which the battle had raged, the *Chesapeake* had forty-eight men killed, and ninety-eight wounded; the *Shannon*, twenty-three killed, and fifty-six wounded. Amongst the Americans who lost their lives on that occasion were the gallant Captain Lawrence himself, and Lieutenant Ludlow, his second in command. Lawrence was twice wounded early in the action, and, when carried below, was asked if the colours should be struck. He replied, "No; they shall wave while I live." He afterwards became delirious with mental and bodily suffering, and, whenever able to speak during the remaining four days of his life, would exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!" But the ship was already in the hands of the enemy. The bodies of Lawrence and of Ludlow were carried to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and there buried with the honours of war. Some of the oldest captains of the British navy carried the pall of Lawrence, and it was universally felt that he was worthy of every honour that could be paid to his memory. When victorious over the *Peacock*, he had behaved with so much kindness to the officers and crew, that the former, on arriving at New York, sent him a letter of thanks. Although his mortal remains were now deposited in alien earth, the spirit which he embodied went forth as an animating influence through the whole mass of his countrymen, and his dying words, "Don't give up the ship!" have become classical, as they deserve to be, in the American navy.

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* General Hull, in 1813, was instructed to burn such of the Canadian villages on the frontier as might shelter the British during the winter.

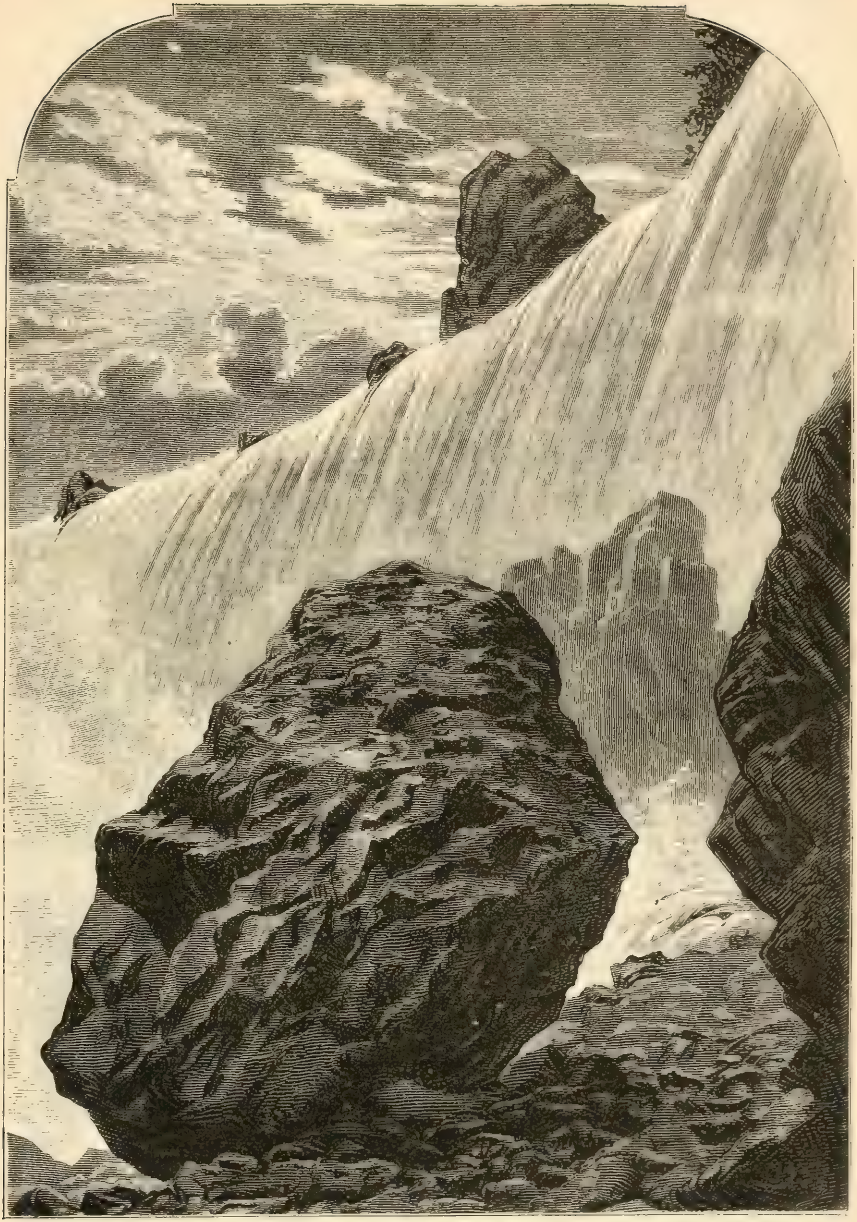
The people of the United States were much disheartened at this unexpected calamity. They endeavoured to mitigate its sting by the consideration of various circumstances, such as the bad discipline of the *Chesapeake's* crew, and the fact that several of the men, having just left port, were in a state of intoxication. But the main fact could not be explained away, and it showed that the ancient reputation of the English at sea was still capable of being maintained, when two vessels met on anything like terms of equality. The satisfaction felt in England was in proportion to the mortification experienced in America. Honours and rewards were bestowed upon Captain Broke, to an extent which is unusual in the case of single actions; and the Americans found some relief to their wounded pride in this implied confession that it was considered no small matter to vanquish a frigate of the United States.

Shortly afterwards the Americans had to lament another misfortune at sea. The brig *Argus*, commanded by Captain Allen, had for two months been causing great annoyance to British shipping in the English Channel. Several vessels were sent out to capture her, and on the 14th of August she was defeated by the sloop-of-war *Pelican*, after a brief but severe action. Success, however, had not deserted the American flag; for shortly afterwards, on the coast of Maine, the brig *Enterprise* captured a British brig called the *Boxer*. Both commanders were killed in the action, and, although the two vessels were of equal size, the greater strength of the American fire sufficed to ensure victory to the *Enterprise*. A much grander triumph occurred a few days later. The American Commodore, Perry, was now in command of a squadron on Lake Erie, which, hastily constructed of timber hewn from the surrounding forests, consisted of nine small vessels, carrying altogether fifty-four guns. A British squadron had at the same time been built and equipped under the superintendence of Commodore Barclay. This numbered six vessels, mounting sixty-three guns in all; so that the superiority in weight of metal was on the side of the English. Barclay had also a larger complement of men than Perry; but the greater number of vessels at the command of the latter officer may in some respects have placed him in a more favourable position. Perry's ships were ready by the 2nd of August, but, owing to delays in sailing, did not encounter the enemy until the morning of the 10th of September. The place of meeting was the western extremity of Lake Erie. At the commencement of the action, the American flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, got detached from the remainder of the squadron, and, being attacked by the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, sustained a furious cannonade for two hours, when she was reduced to a sinking condition. Perry then committed her to the charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, and, taking to a boat, passed through a heavy fire to the *Niagara*, where he hoisted his flag. He then sailed through the enemy's line, pouring in broadsides at half-pistol-shot distance; and, the remainder of the squadron having now come up with the aid of a fair wind, the contest was soon determined in favour of the Americans. By four o'clock in the afternoon, every one of the British vessels had surrendered. On the side of the Americans, twenty-seven were killed and ninety-six wounded; on that of the British, two hundred were killed and wounded, and six hundred made prisoners. Most of the

British officers were slain, and Barclay, who had already lost one arm, now lost the other. He afterwards, however, testified to the humane conduct of Perry in the treatment of his prisoners, and altogether the character of that officer stands high in the records of valour and nobility of soul. When he was forming his line of battle, he hoisted a flag bearing the heroic words of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" In communicating intelligence of the victory to General Harrison, he expressed himself pithily, though not with the most exquisite regard to grammar. "We have met the enemy," he said, "and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

This signal victory caused the utmost satisfaction throughout the Union. It was the first time that American vessels had obtained any advantage over a squadron, and the action soon produced very important effects on the military policy of the enemy. It placed Colonel Procter and his Indian allies in a dangerous position, and enabled the Americans to make a movement towards the recovery of the ground which they had lost by the mismanagement of General Hull. The command of Lake Erie was secured, and a reinforcement of four thousand Kentucky volunteers under Governor Shelby arrived on the 17th of September in the neighbourhood of the lake. General Harrison thereupon proceeded by water to Malden, now abandoned by the British under Procter, who, a few days before, had ascended the river Thames as far as the Moravian villages on that stream. At this spot they were overtaken by General Harrison on the 5th of October, and completely routed. Six hundred of the British were made prisoners, and Colonel Procter, who narrowly escaped, left his camp-equipage and all his papers behind him. The slaughter of the Indians was very great, and their chief Tecumseh, the brother of the Prophet, was among the killed. He was at that time about forty years of age—a man of courage and of some intellectual power, possessing all that melancholy dignity which is characteristic of the Indian race. It is related of him that on one occasion, when attending a conference with Harrison, he found no seat reserved for himself, Harrison's aide-de-camp having taken one which had been intended for the barbarian; and that, being invited to occupy a position next to the General, he replied, "The Great Spirit is my father, and I will repose on the bosom of my mother," and then sat down upon the ground. Among the trophies of the victory near the Moravian villages were six brass field-pieces recently given up by General Hull, on two of which were inscribed the words, "Surrendered by Burgoyne at Saratoga." Detroit and all the other posts in that direction were now once more in the hands of the Americans; the war in the North-west was brought to an end; and the Indian confederacy was completely broken up by the submission of four important tribes, who sent deputies to General Harrison, and entered into treaties of alliance.

It was not merely, however, on the borders of Canada that the Americans had been threatened with Indian ferocity, and it was not only there that the danger was now extinguished. At the commencement of the war, Tecumseh had visited the Creeks and Seminoles on the frontiers of Georgia, and excited their fanaticism against the white inhabitants of that region. About the end of August, they surprised a fort in an exposed situation, and massacred all within, including women and children. General Jackson, of Tennessee, thereupon led a large body of militia into the wilds, to punish the offenders. The Indians were hunted down, brought to bay in a series of bloody encounters, and decimated by continual slaughter. Their last stand was made in a fortified camp at the Great Horseshoe Bend of the Tallapoosa River, in what is now the State of Alabama, where a thousand warriors, with their women and children, determined to brave the worst. They were surrounded by the American force, and Jackson made his assault on the 27th of March, 1814. Driven backwards and forwards by the troops in their front and the troops in their rear, and seeing no possibility of escape, the savages fought with desperate tenacity. The battle lasted until night; but the issue was never doubtful. Disdaining to surrender, almost six hundred of the Indians fell dead upon the field; three hundred escaped; and the Americans, with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, remained masters of the ground. This action so completely crushed the spirit of the Creeks, and went so near towards annihilating them as a nation, that the remainder soon after signified their submission. Their great leader, Wetherford, a half-blood, was amongst those who thus humbled themselves. He appeared suddenly before Jackson in his tent, when that commander was about to attack his tribe, and, with a proud and erect demeanour, said, "I am in your power; do with me what you please. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. There was a time when I had a choice: I have none now—even hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice: their bones are at Tallushatchie, Talladega, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. While there



NIAGARA FALLS (WESTERN SIDE).

was a chance of success, I never supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and myself." Peace was soon afterwards concluded, but of course upon terms which granted little to the red man.

During the session of 1813, Congress passed laws imposing a direct tax of three millions of dollars, authorising the collection of various internal duties, providing for a loan of seven and a half millions of dollars, and prohibiting the merchant-vessels of the United States from sailing under British licences. The last-named statute was intended as a counteraction to that measure of the British Government by which, with a view chiefly to encourage the friendly feeling of the New Englanders, certain ships, by adopting these licences, were enabled to trade with the West Indies. Congress also appointed a committee to report upon the spirit and manner in which the war had been conducted by the enemy; and the upshot of the inquiry was to charge the naval and military authorities of Great Britain with many shameful departures from the rules of warfare observed by civilised nations. It is certain, however, that these matters were not all on one side. Congress itself had passed an Act offering a reward of half their value for the destruction of British ships by means other than those of the armed vessels of the United States. The object was to encourage the use of torpedos, and several of those terrible machines were employed against Commodore Hardy's squadron on the coast of New England. Hardy protested against such attacks as unmanly, but they were held to be justified by the irregular proceedings of the British.

At the close of 1813, the Americans were in a more favourable position than they had occupied a year before. They had had some important triumphs at sea; they had not always been vanquished on land; and the nation was fully determined to spare no exertion in the further prosecution of hostilities.

CHAPTER LXIX.

Financial Measures of the American Government—Increase of the Army and Navy—The British Government enabled, by the European Peace of 1814, to concentrate its Military Resources in America—Attack on Oswego—Actions at Chippewa and at Burlington Heights—Siege of Fort Erie—Operations on Lake Champlain—Advance of General Ross upon Washington—Burning of that City by the British—Attack on Baltimore, and Death of General Ross—The Coasts of New England annoyed by the British—Increased Unpopularity of the War in the North-eastern States—Assembling of a Convention for the Redress of Grievances—State of the extreme South—Troubles with the Indians—Bad Faith of the Spanish Governor of Florida—New Orleans threatened by the English—General Jackson summoned to its Defence—Disaffection in the City—Fortifications hastily erected—Arrival of the British Fleet—Desperate Action in Front of the American Entrenchments—Death of Sir Edward Pakenham, and Defeat of the British—Minor Actions on Land and at Sea—Peace concluded at Ghent—Terms of the Treaty—Collision of General Jackson with the Civil Authorities at New Orleans—Consequences of the War.

WAR cannot be waged with a great Power except at a vast expense. The United States now found that they had entered on a struggle which would try their resources to the utmost. The old difficulty with respect to funds, which had led to so many questionable expedients in the days of the Revolution, arose once more, and the popular impatience of taxation was again a source of perplexity to financiers and politicians. Commerce being almost extinguished, it was found necessary to derive some amount of revenue from articles of consumption, such as spirits, sugar, and salt; but these duties were irksome to the American people, and it was considered advisable, as in the time of the old Continental Congress, to depend much on loans and on large issues of paper. In the winter of 1813–14, the President was authorised to borrow twenty-five millions of dollars, and to issue Treasury notes to the amount of five millions. The credit of the Government was so bad that these Treasury notes fell seventeen per cent. below par; but, as at the earlier date, they helped with other resources to give the Administration power to engage in vast expenses which could not have been more immediately defrayed. To add to the numbers of the army, and to secure a better class of soldiers, the enormous bounty of a hundred and twenty-four dollars was offered for each recruit. The pay, rations, and clothing of the troops were also settled on a liberal scale, and provision was made for the increase and better organisation of the navy, and for the defence of the sea-board. An embargo instituted with a view to preventing the trade under British licences was repealed in

April, 1814, and the further attacks of the enemy were awaited with some composure.

As the year progressed, however, it became evident that the war would assume a much more serious character. The abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, in April, and his banishment to Elba, with the empty sovereignty of that small realm, had put an end to the long war with revolutionary France; and England, being now at peace on the Continent of Europe, was free to direct her whole strength against the United States. Louis XVIII. had been established on the throne of his ancestors; the great disturber of the old systems and dynasties was apparently securely disposed of in a Mediterranean island; and the Government of Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, delivered from the fear of change near home, could concentrate the immense resources of the Empire on the distant fields of America. Before the occurrence of these great events, the war in that country had fallen into a somewhat languid condition. Towards the close of March, General Wilkinson entered Canada, and attacked a number of English troops stationed in a large stone mill on the river La Colle, but was soon repulsed with heavy loss, and, having for some time sunk much in popular esteem, was shortly afterwards removed from the chief command, to which General Izard succeeded. A court-martial subsequently inquired into the conduct of Wilkinson, when he was acquitted of blame, but did not recover his former position. The Republic at this period was not very fortunate in its land-commanders.

Some operations for obtaining predominance on Lake Ontario took place in the spring of 1814. On the 5th of May, Sir James Yeo, who was in command of a small English squadron, appeared before Oswego, with three thousand troops and marines. The fort on the east side of the river was in a very dilapidated state, and defended by no more than three hundred men, under Colonel Mitchell, and a flotilla, under Captain Woolsey. A large quantity of naval and military stores had been deposited at Oswego Falls, some miles off, and one object of Yeo's expedition was to capture these, or, failing that, to destroy them. But although, after a resistance of nearly two days, the fort yielded to a combined attack by land and water, the British did not care to penetrate farther into the country, and accordingly withdrew on the morning of the 7th, with a loss of two hundred and thirty-five men in killed and wounded. The Americans had lost only sixty-nine; but this is to be accounted for by the fact that they had fought behind walls. Early in July, an American force under General Brown crossed the Niagara River, and invested Fort Erie, which surrendered without opposition. The garrison retired to the entrenched camp of General Riall, situated at Chippewa, about two miles above the Falls of Niagara, on the Canada side of the river; and here the Americans determined on attacking their adversaries a second time. On the 4th of July, they advanced against the position, and next day a sanguinary battle was fought in the open fields, ending in the defeat of the British, who fell back to Fort George, and subsequently to the heights of Burlington. The English army in America had by this time been reinforced by veteran regiments, accustomed to frequent triumphs in the Spanish Peninsula and on other European fields, where they had successfully encountered the best troops of France. The Americans therefore found themselves opposed by large and formidable hosts — by men who had fought and conquered under the lead of Wellington, Hill, Anglesey, and the other heroes of that prolonged struggle which for more than twenty years had tasked the resources of Great Britain. Nothing could be said against the material force now employed in the United States; it seems, indeed, to have been in every way equal to what was required of it; but the commanders were not men of first-rate ability. With Generals of more decided genius, the issue of the war might in some respects have been different.

Soon after arriving at Burlington Heights, General Riall was joined by Lieutenant-General Drummond, with a large number of additional troops. The Americans also expected reinforcements, but these were blockaded by a British fleet off Sackett's Harbour, and could not reach their comrades. They were therefore compelled to do the best they could with a force inferior to the enemy; but the events of July 25th showed that they had not altogether miscalculated their strength. The attack was commenced by the British under General Drummond, and the battle raged for some hours with unabated violence. During the pauses of the fight, the roar of the great cataract near at hand was heard with solemn monotone, which, when the fire of the opposing armies was resumed, mingled with the crash of artillery and the rattle of small-arms, and lost its separate existence in the mightier noise of conflict. Night had fallen before the action reached its close, and a cloudy sky gave intermitting glimpses of moonlight, by which the antagonists sought out each other's positions, and wrestled long and bloodily for the advantage. For a considerable time, the Americans were much annoyed by a British battery planted on a commanding eminence. "Can you capture those guns?" asked General Ripley of Colonel Miller. "I will try, sir," replied that officer; and the modest words have since become the motto of his regiment. The attempt was gallantly made. Again and again, Miller led his men to the assault, sometimes momentarily seizing the position, and then losing it. Cannon were brought up by the Americans to support the attack, and gun charged gun with obstinate determination. The confusion was so great that the guns were at one time interchanged; but no decided result attended the heroic effort. The close of the day has been variously described. American historians allege that the victory was with them; but it seems more probable that the balance of advantages lay with the English. Immediately after the battle, the Americans retreated to Fort Erie, where they shut themselves up, and were besieged by the enemy. The losses on both sides were serious. General Riall was severely wounded and taken prisoner; and the American Generals Brown and Scott were compelled by their injuries to quit the field.

On the 4th of August, Drummond, who had also been wounded, appeared before Fort Erie, and commenced preparations for a siege. The English General was in command of five thousand troops; his works were speedily advanced to within four hundred yards of the American lines; and, on the night between the 14th and 15th of August, the besiegers made an assault upon the fort, which was gallantly repulsed. On the 2nd of September, General Brown, who had by that time recovered from his wounds, threw himself into the fort, and took command of the garrison, which, being strengthened by five thousand men from Plattsburg, felt equal to offensive operations. The 17th of September was signalised by a sortie from the besieged, who endeavoured to cut off the British advanced posts from the main body. The enemy's entrenchments were for a time seized by the Americans, and the works destroyed; but, on General Drummond hurrying up reinforcements, the assailants were obliged to retreat. The besiegers, however, were now so much discouraged that, on the night of the 21st, after having remained on the ground forty-nine days, they retired to their entrenchments behind the Chippewa. General Izard arrived on the 9th of October, and took the command; but, considering it inexpedient to attempt any further operations in that quarter, he demolished the works at Fort Erie, and removed his troops to Buffalo. Thus the American attempt on Canada was once more abandoned.

Plattsburg being now left almost defenceless, the British determined to attack it by land, and at the same time to attempt the destruction of the American flotilla on Lake Champlain. At the head of 14,000 men, most of whom were veterans of the European wars, Sir George Prevost entered the United States on the 3rd of September. Three days later, he arrived at Plattsburg, which is situated near the lake, on the northern bank of the river Saranac. The garrison of the town consisted mainly of the militia of New York and Vermont, hastily drawn together by General Macomb on the first alarm of invasion. Retiring to the south side of the Saranac, they prepared to dispute the passage of the stream. With the planks of the bridges, which they had torn up, they formed slight breastworks, and, thus aided, were able to defeat all endeavours to follow them. For some days the invaders were employed in erecting batteries, and early on the morning of the 11th the British squadron, commanded by Commodore Downie, appeared off the harbour of Plattsburg, where that of the United States, under Commodore Macdonough, lay at anchor. The former carried ninety-five guns, with a complement of upwards of a thousand men; the latter had eighty-six guns, and eight hundred and twenty men. A naval battle between these forces commenced at nine o'clock; and at the same time the British army began a heavy cannonade upon the American lines, and attempted at different places to cross the Saranac. The opposition to those attempts was so determined, and the loss of life so serious, that the English forces were unable to gain the other side, except at one point, where the ford was weakly guarded by militia. Here the assailants managed to get into the woods, but were severely handled, and compelled, after awhile, to recross the river. At six o'clock in the evening, all the British batteries were silenced, and long before that time a great naval success had been obtained upon the lake. After an engagement of two hours and twenty minutes, the English squadron was completely defeated; nearly all the ships composing it were sunk or taken; Commodore Downie was killed, and his ship was compelled to strike her colours, amidst the triumphant cheers of the Americans. So hard had been the fighting on both sides, that at the close of the action not a mast was standing uninjured in either squadron. Seeing the complete defeat of their vessels, the British land-commanders determined to withdraw, and during the ensuing night the whole army moved off with precipitation, leaving behind them their sick and wounded, most of their camp-equipage, and their intrenching tools and provisions. Considering the excellent material of which the army was composed, and that these seasoned troops were beaten by a force consisting for the most part of militia, it is not easy to resist the conclusion that the English must have been feebly commanded. Ever since the commencement of the war, Sir George Prevost had exhibited a want of vigour and capacity, and this last failure was considered too serious to be passed over, though it was the opinion of Wellington that he was right in retiring after the discomfiture of the fleet. He was dismissed by his Government, and would have been tried by court-martial had he not died soon afterwards.

During the year 1814, great indignation was excited in America by the English seducing from their masters' plantations a large number of slaves, whom they armed and placed among their ranks; on account of which they had afterwards to pay, on the arbitration of the Emperor of Russia, £250,000 in compensation to the slave-owners. Scattered actions with individual frigates continued to occur on the ocean, with varying success. But the principal seat of war was now transferred to the Southern and Middle States. A squadron under Sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board an army under General Ross, sailed up the Chesapeake in the month of August. An American flotilla, commanded by Commodore Barney, had taken shelter in the Patuxent, and thither Cochrane's fleet sailed, apparently in search of the enemy. The English ships, however, were too large to proceed any great way up the river, and moreover Ross had plans of a very different nature, to which the temporary pursuit of Barney served as a convenient blind. The army, consisting of nearly five thousand men, was disembarked at St. Benedict's, that they might march upon the Federal capital, and compel its surrender. Washington was defended by a force which, including militia, numbered rather more than seven thousand troops. No attempt was made to oppose the British advance, for Armstrong, the American Secretary for War, could not persuade himself that the attack was seriously intended, and was in doubt as to the real destination of the English forces. The actual command was in the hands of General Winder, who showed great indecision of purpose, but at length resolved to make a stand against the invaders. With this view he selected a strong position at Bladensburg, covered by a branch of the Potomac. In the meanwhile, the English were pushing forward without the slightest opposition, and, by the time they had reached Marlborough, Commodore Barney thought it prudent to destroy his flotilla, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. The English commander cared little about the flotilla. His object was Washington, and thither he pursued his march, arriving in its neighbourhood on the 24th of August.

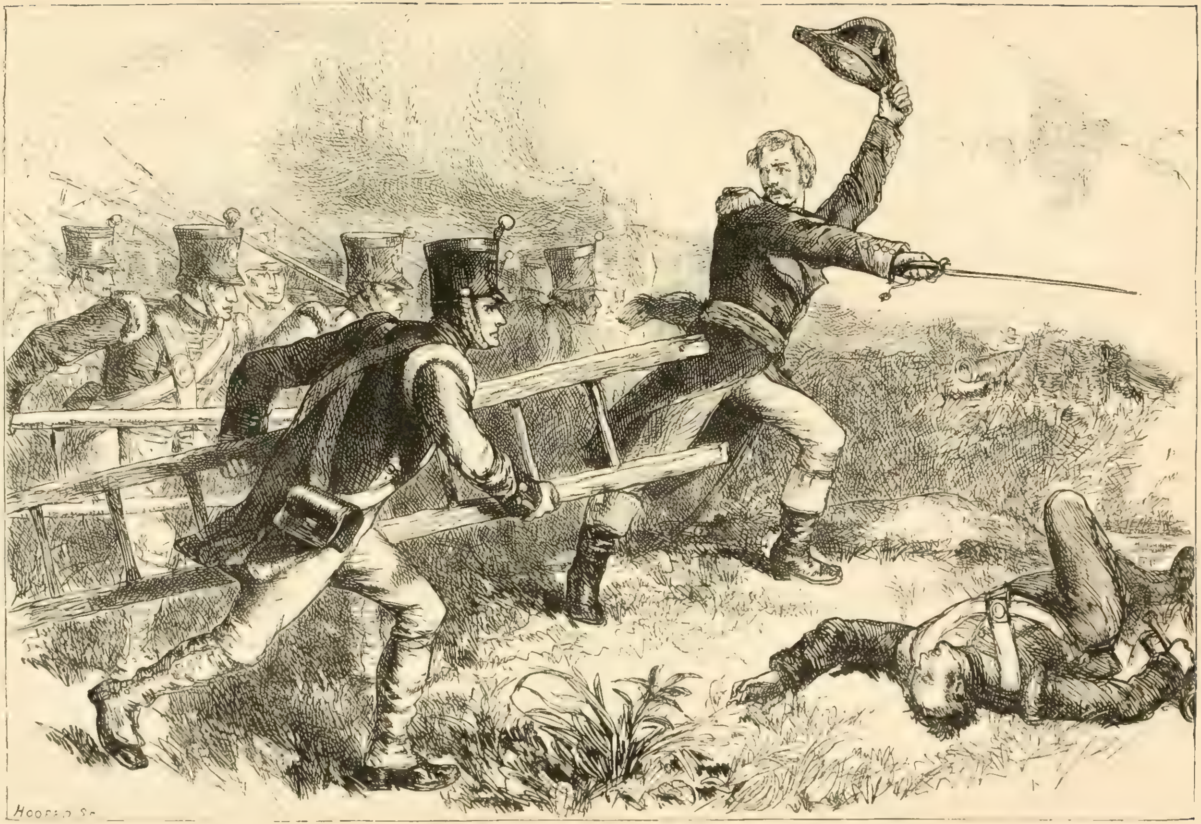
It was necessary in the first instance to carry the position at Bladensburg. The Americans numbered many more than the British; but the former were raw militia—the latter, experienced and highly-disciplined troops. The approach to the town was over a bridge, which was defended by artillery taken from Barney's flotilla and served by Barney's sailors. The resistance at this point was prolonged and courageous. For a time, the British were checked, and even compelled to give way; but they speedily rallied, out-flanked the defenders of the bridge, and finally overpowered them. The commander of the gallant band, being wounded, was captured, and paroled for his courage by General Ross. The militia acted as militia generally do. They abandoned their positions with the utmost haste, and Bladensburg was presently in the hands of General Ross. The retreating forces were ordered to assemble on the heights near the capital, and at this spot were joined by a body of Virginian militia. But General Winder had no reliance on his army. He considered it quite incapable of opposing so well-trained an enemy, and accordingly withdrew to Georgetown. Washington was at the same time abandoned by the President, the heads of departments, and most of the citizens, and was shortly afterwards entered by the victors. It was at eight o'clock in the evening when General Ross, with an advanced guard of eight hundred men, penetrated into the Federal capital. Having arrived at the seat of Government, he offered terms of capitulation, and promised that, on receiving a sum of money nearly equal to the value of the public and private property which the place contained, the city should be ransomed, and the British troops drawn off. There was no civil or military authority on the spot, however, competent to enter into any such arrangement. Ross found himself in a difficult position, and had to consider what next he should do. It is said that his flag of truce was fired on, and, probably in a moment of exasperation, he determined on an act for which there can be no defence. Washington was doomed to the flames, and, in the immense conflagration which was kindled, the President's house, the offices of the several departments, a considerable number of private dwellings, the libraries and public archives, the works of art contained in the public buildings, the navy-yard and its contents, a frigate on the stocks, and several smaller vessels, were involved in one common doom. The British remained close to the burning city (the light of which was seen at

Baltimore, forty miles off) till the evening of the 25th, when they retreated. On the 30th they re-embarked at St. Benedict's, and sailed for other quarters. The bombarding of fortified towns, however dreadful, is among the permitted, and even necessary, operations of warfare; but the destruction of undefended cities, with the firing of private buildings and civic offices, is an act which no exigency can palliate. General Ross's proceedings at Washington produced the very natural effect of exciting in the Americans the most vehement desire for revenge. The war became all the more popular on account of this disaster; and some even of those who had hitherto refrained from giving it their full support, now resolved to strain every nerve for repelling the invaders of their country. In England itself the act was denounced by many, and was made the subject of comments in the Houses of Parliament, which Ministers could do little to repel.

Ross paid heavily for his success at Washington. The losses of his regiments, including deserters, and such as died from fatigue on the march, besides those who were killed or wounded in action, were between eight hundred and a thousand men—a very large proportion of the small army with which the expedition had been commenced. The General, however, was speedily reinforced, and at once turned his attention towards other enterprises. He proceeded to attack Baltimore, and on the 12th of September landed with nearly eight thousand troops at North Point, fourteen miles from the city, while a portion of the fleet went up the Patapsco, to bombard Fort McHenry. Ross boasted that he would make Baltimore his winter quarters, and that with the force at his command he could march all over Maryland. Preparations had been hurried forward for resisting the threatened attack, and an action was fought some way in advance of the capital. At the head of a small reconnoitring party, Ross pushed on towards the city, but, shortly afterwards receiving a ball from a rifleman, died in a few minutes in the arms of his aide-de-camp. Colonel Brooke then took the command, and ultimately succeeded in driving the Americans back on their main body. The British bivouacked for the night on ground beyond the battle-field, and on the 13th re-commenced their march. In the meanwhile, Fort McHenry and Fort Covington, which defend the narrow passage from the Patapsco into the harbour of Baltimore, were being bombarded by a British squadron of sixteen ships, drawn up in line-of-battle within two miles and a half of the forts. On the night following the 13th, an attempt was made to storm these works; but it was successfully resisted. The squadron thereupon sailed down the river, and Colonel Brooke considered it prudent to withdraw his men. Admiral Cochrane had found himself much incommoded by the shallowness of the harbour, and by the vessels sunk at its mouth; and his inability to carry out with completeness one feature of the programme, caused the failure of the entire design. The whole fleet soon afterwards left Chesapeake Bay, and a portion turned southward, with a view to fresh operations.

A few weeks before—viz., on the 29th of August—the city of Alexandria, on the Potomac, had surrendered to a British squadron. The shipping, naval stores, and merchandise, were delivered up to the attacking force; the vessels in the harbour were seized, and loaded with a large amount of produce, of which Alexandria was the depôt; but the town was spared from destruction. The coasts of New England, which had hitherto been treated with great tenderness, now felt the stress of war. Villages were bombarded and destroyed; vessels moored in the rivers were burned; and in many ways the inhabitants were made to feel that they were part of that Confederation which was the enemy of England. Commodore Hardy, in command of a squadron, and of one thousand two hundred troops, took possession of East Port, on Moose Island, Maine, on the 11th of July, and, after erecting fortifications there, required the people to take the oath of allegiance to the English Sovereign, or to quit the island. Having accomplished this object, he retired; but similar conquests, if such they can be called, were effected in other parts of the same territory. All the strongholds on the Penobscot were reduced. A frigate, called the *John Adams*, was captured, though not without a gallant fight. Some islands in Passamaquoddy Bay were seized. Half the province of Maine was obliged to capitulate; and Sir John Sherbrooke, Governor of Nova Scotia, took possession of it in the name of George III. The British operations extended even to the coast of Massachusetts. The people of Cape Cod were prohibited from fishing on the banks, and, in consequence of this deprivation of their chief industry, were reduced to great distress. The inhabitants of Nantucket were forced to promise neutrality during the remainder of the war; and at various points in the same direction the British naval commanders imposed their own terms on a people who were left without adequate protection, and were themselves not very well inclined towards the prosecution of hostilities.

The war was in fact becoming every day more unpopular in the New England States. The prevalent feeling was a desire to isolate those States



PAKENHAM LEADING THE ATTACK ON NEW ORLEANS.

from the rest of the Federation, and striking advances were made in that direction. In Massachusetts, it was even proposed to withhold the State revenue from the national treasury, and to apply it to purposes of local defence. A convention of delegates assembled at Hartford, with a view to considering the alleged grievances of Massachusetts, and the steps necessary for redress. To this convention the Legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont, sent delegates, and on the 15th of December a session was opened, which lasted three weeks. The debates were carried on with closed doors, and the result of these deliberations was an address, charging the Federal Government with pursuing a system of measures injurious to the interests of New England. Amendments to the Federal constitution were suggested, and a committee was despatched to Washington to confer with the Government on the subject of applying the revenues of New England entirely to its own defence. By that date, however, the war was nearly over, and it was found unnecessary to consider these proposals; but the Hartford convention has always in succeeding times been referred to with great reprobation by the Southern and Western States, as showing that, during the crisis of a foreign war, New England was disposed to separate herself from the rest of the Union.

We must now turn our attention to the extreme South, which had for some little while been in a state of peace, but which was shortly to be the scene of important operations. The Creeks, as we have seen, had been reduced by General Jackson, and in the summer of 1814 those savages agreed, by treaty, to surrender a large portion of their country as indemnity for the expenses of the war, to allow the United States to construct roads through the remainder, and not to hold intercourse with any British or Spanish posts. Such concessions were of course very unwillingly made, and the Creeks looked eagerly for any chance of violating their engagements. An opportunity was soon found in the presence of a British squadron cruising in the Gulf of Mexico. These vessels took possession of the forts at Pensacola, by permission of the Spanish authorities, and there fitted out an expedition against Fort Bower, at the entrance to Mobile Bay. An attack on Mobile Point was made on the 15th of September; but in the end the British were repulsed, with the loss of a ship of war and several men. The attack had been directed from the land as well as from the sea, and among the forces on shore were two hundred Creek warriors. The movement among these tribes, however, was a matter of small importance. The really serious features were the British attack, and the complicity of the Spanish authorities at Pensacola in the operations of the enemy. Jackson, who was now a Major-General in the army, and Commander of the South-western military district, held the Governor of Florida responsible for this piece of bad faith, and, being unable to obtain satisfaction, marched from Mobile with about two thousand Tennessee militia, and some Choctaw warriors. Pensacola was stormed on the 7th of November; the British were compelled to retreat to their shipping, and finally to leave the harbour; and the Spanish Governor surrendered Pensacola and all its military works, without requiring any conditions.

On returning to Mobile, Jackson found messages from New Orleans awaiting him, from which it appeared that the British in the Gulf of Mexico, strongly reinforced by fresh troops from England, were about to invade Louisiana. This expedition had been in contemplation for a considerable time. The fleet lately employed in the Chesapeake, and many other squadrons on the Atlantic coast, had been concentrated at Jamaica and the Bermudas with a view to this great object. The reinforcements under General Pakenham (a Peninsular officer of great reputation) were furnished with printing-presses, custom-house and civil officers, and everything which could indicate an intention of permanent conquest. The authorities at New Orleans, hearing rumours of these preparations, begged Jackson to hurry to their assistance. He lost not a moment in answering the appeal, and on the 2nd of December arrived with his troops from the Mobile and Mississippi Territories. By prompt and vigorous action, he restored confidence to the city authorities; but it was found necessary to declare martial law, as not a little disaffection existed in the capital of Louisiana, which was a recent acquisition, peopled to a great extent by foreigners, and in many respects out of harmony with the general character of the United States. Before he reached New Orleans, General Jackson had been informed by Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana, that the city corps had for the most part refused to turn out on the requisition of General Flournoy; that the Legislature of the State, then in session, had encouraged them in their disobedience; and that several of the citizens had shown a friendly inclination towards the English. Jackson depended in the main on the troops he brought with him; but, having weeded the city of the traitorously disposed, he found an element of strength in those who remained. The English commanders had hoped to arrive at the point of attack before any intelligence of their plans had reached it. Under ordinary conditions, New Orleans was vulnerable to a spirited assault; but Jackson had time to increase its defences, which, in addition to the swampy nature of the soil where the mouths of the Mississippi empty themselves into the Gulf, enabled the American forces to offer a determined and ultimately a successful resistance when the foe at length appeared. Every man who could bear arms was required to take part in the military operations. Fort St. Philip, which guarded the passage of the Mississippi at Détour la Plaquemine, was strengthened by new works. An extensive line of fortifications was erected four miles below the city on the left bank of the river, from the edge of which it ran eastward towards an impenetrable cypress-swamp. A ditch already existing between the river and the swamp was turned to military uses by throwing up entrenchments, and accumulating cotton-bales until they reached a height calculated to afford protection to troops in the rear. Cannon were mounted at every available point, and the west bank of the river was held by General Morgan, with a body of militia, and by Commodore Paterson, with the crews and guns of part of his squadron. The approach of the enemy towards the principal works was thus enfiladed. Above the town, the pass of the Bayou St. John was guarded by a detachment stationed there for that purpose; and a small squadron of gun-boats was kept in readiness to dispute the passage of the river between Lake Pontchartrain and Lake Borgne.

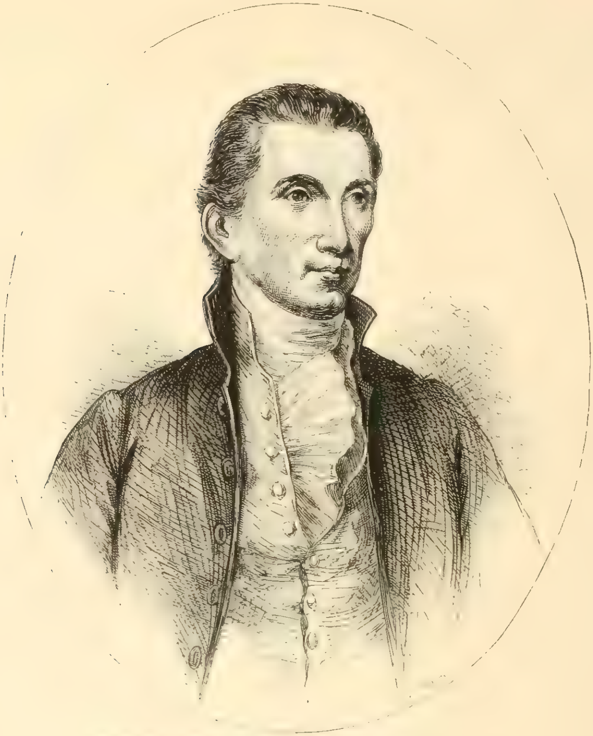
On the 14th of December, the English fleet appeared at the entrance to this channel, and was met by the flotilla of gun-boats, which commenced a spirited action. In the first instance, the attacking force sent forward forty launches, which, after some severe fighting, captured and destroyed the American vessels. This success was obtained at a considerable cost in killed and wounded; but it enabled the British to choose their point of attack. On the 22nd of December, they despatched a body of troops in flat-bottomed boats, which were rowed up to the extremity of the lake, and there landed the several divisions in a reedy swamp, some miles from the city. Here, on the night of the 23rd, they were attacked by General Jackson. A considerable loss was inflicted on the British, but they were not dislodged from their position, and Jackson fell back towards the town. By the 28th of December, the English forces (taking several field-works by the way) had arrived within half a mile of the American lines, from which point they opened a fire of shells and rockets, but were repulsed by the American artillery. Jackson's army at that time numbered about three thousand, consisting for the most part of militia. These troops were stationed within a line of entrenchments, a mile in length, thrown up about four miles from New Orleans, guarded by a canal in front, and flanked by the batteries on the west or opposite bank of the river, in addition to eight others in the main position. The assailants continued to advance, and on the night of the 31st of December were within three or four hundred yards of the works. Having taken up a position, protected by walls made out of hogsheads of sugar and molasses, they erected three batteries, under cover of which they three times endeavoured to storm the enemy's entrenchments, but were driven back with great loss, and compelled to return to the starting place, while their batteries were silenced by those of the Americans. The main assault was postponed for a few days, and in the meantime Sir Edward Pakenham, by an extraordinary expenditure of labour, dug a canal for connecting a creek which emptied into Lake Borgne with the main channel of the Mississippi, in order that he might convey a part of his boats and artillery into the river, and thus silence the enemy's batteries on the western bank. The work was executed in an amazingly short space of time, and evinced great energy on the part of the English commander; but it had no effect on the result.

Early on the morning of the 8th of January, 1815, the main body of the English army, consisting of seven or eight thousand men, moved up to the assault. Within a few days previously, Jackson had been reinforced by three thousand militia, chiefly from Kentucky; so that he had now six thousand men, with whom to defend his entrenchments and to work his batteries. The approach of the British was not resisted until they were within a convenient distance of the opposing lines; then, with a sudden flash and simultaneous report, showers of grape-shot struck the advancing ranks. Jackson had formed his troops in two rows, of which the rear-guard loaded for those in front, so that the fire was continued with scarcely a break. The men from Kentucky and the other Western States, being habituated to the use of the rifle, were almost unerring marksmen, and the effect of their simultaneous volleys was deadly in the extreme. Still the English troops pushed on; but the reedy plain was soon covered with the dying and the dead. Now and again, those hardy veterans staggered and fell back, but, recovering themselves after awhile, pressed forward on what was now a hopeless enterprise. The British order of battle was in two columns, of which the left advanced along an embankment skirting the river, while the right, moving through the swamp, endeavoured to turn the left of Jackson's position. Pakenham's plans were in some measure disordered by an untoward event. The canal, which had been very roughly executed, had partly fallen in; the boats, on whose assistance the English commander had calculated, were unable to come up; and the party that had been sent forward was insufficient in numbers, and arrived too late. The right of the British line became involved in the swamp through which it was necessary that they should pass: they were consequently unable to turn the American left, and were at length compelled to retire. Under these circumstances, the prudent course for Pakenham would have been to withdraw his whole army without delay, and postpone the attack on New Orleans until better arrangements could be made. But he seems to have been rendered desperate by his situation, and to have thought that mere courage could supply the defects of military science. He placed himself at the head of the regiment which bore the scaling ladders, and called upon his troops to follow. Some of his officers, seeing the impossibility of success, retired from the field; but Pakenham had apparently resolved on death. Supported by a number of his men, the English General rushed towards the American entrenchments. Some officers and soldiers even got within the lines, but were at once shot down. Pakenham himself was mortally wounded; Gibbs, the second in command, shared the same fate; and Keane, the third in command, was so severely injured as to be incapable of giving orders. It was evident that there was no choice but to retreat as speedily as possible. The shattered regiments reeled back at eight o'clock in the morning, and New Orleans was safe once more. The American militia desired to pursue their adversaries; but Jackson knew his men, and was well aware that, although they could fight heroically behind defences, they were of much inferior worth in the open field. On that very day, on the western bank of the river, opposite to that on which the decisive action was fought, the Kentucky and Louisiana militia had deserted their batteries and fled, and a naval battery had been compelled to surrender to the enemy. The operations against New Orleans were not at once abandoned, for on the 9th the English fleet commenced a bombardment of Fort St. Philip, which was continued till the 17th. This, however, was merely intended to cover the retreat of the army, which took place on the 16th of January, under the direction of General Lambert. The loss of the British had been at least two thousand in killed, wounded, and captured. The Americans, owing to the excellence of their entrenchments, are said to have lost only the incredibly small number of seven killed and six wounded.

At about the same period, Admiral Cockburn was sailing along the coasts of Carolina and Georgia, and menacing Charleston and Savannah with destruction. Fort Mobile was taken by the army which had retreated from New Orleans, and on the 16th of January an American frigate, the *President*, was captured by the English ship *Endymion;* but these small successes did little to counterbalance the great reverse before the capital of Louisiana. Several English ships were taken by the Americans, and in the early days of 1815 the position of the British in America was not at all favourable from a military point of view. Happily, however, an accommodation of differences was now close at hand. Commissioners of both nations had for some time been sitting at Ghent. The first attempts of these gentlemen to settle the matters in dispute led to nothing but failure, since no common ground could be agreed upon; but the hope of an ultimate arrangement was not entirely relinquished. While America was rejoicing over the victory at New Orleans, news arrived that terms of peace had been settled even before that action took place. The treaty had been signed on the 24th of December, 1814, and ratified by the Prince Regent on the 27th. It was received in the United States on the 11th of February, 1815, and ratified on the 17th by the President and Senate. The main stipulations of this treaty were that all places and possessions taken during the war, or which might be taken after the instrument was signed, should be mutually restored; that all captures at sea should be relinquished, if made within specified times; and that each party should put a stop to Indian hostilities, and endeavour to extinguish the traffic in slaves. Provision was made for settling the boundaries between the United States and Canada, which had been left in a very uncertain condition by the treaty of 1783. But the main objects of the war were entirely passed over. The Americans had objected to what are called paper blockades—that is to say, the blockading of ports by proclamation, without any ships of war being stationed there to prevent the entry of mercantile vessels; but, although this custom has since passed out of use, and was specifically renounced by the Powers agreeing to the Treaty of Peace with Russia in 1856, nothing was said against it in the treaty of 1814. The Orders in Council had been unconditionally withdrawn four days after the President's proclamation of war, and of course long before the state of hostilities could be known in England; and the British claim to search American ships, and take from them seamen who were supposed to be British subjects—after all, by far the most important ground of quarrel—was not given up. As the war between England and France was then concluded (though it broke out again shortly afterwards for a few months), it appears to have been thought that this delicate question might be passed over in silence.

It is painful to find that one of the chief American heroes of the war which had just concluded—namely, General Jackson—was bitterly assailed for his proceedings at New Orleans. Many were of opinion that he had acted despotically in declaring martial law, and that during the period of his command he had enforced that law with unnecessary rigour. It appears that a member of the Louisiana Legislature, about the period of the siege, attacked Jackson in a newspaper. The General ordered his arrest, and, on Judge Hall granting a writ of *habeas corpus,* Jackson refused obedience to the writ, and even went so far as to arrest the judge, and send him out of the city. This, no doubt, was an extreme application of his exceptional powers under the state of siege; but New Orleans was at that time in such a condition that nothing short of a despotic exercise of authority could have saved it. After the successful defence of the city, Jackson was himself arrested on a charge of contempt of court, and fined a thousand dollars. He was so far sustained by popular opinion, however, that the crowd in court hissed the sentence, and bore the General on their shoulders into the street. By Congress, Jackson was honoured with a vote of thanks and a gold medal; and thirteen years later, when he was a candidate for the Presidency, his achievements were not forgotten.

A treaty to regulate commerce between the two countries was signed at London on the 3rd of July, and ratified by the President on the 22nd of December, 1815. The rejoicings in the United States over the restoration of peace were universal and enthusiastic. The country had gained immensely in naval and military reputation; but its sufferings had been terrible. The loss of life, the destruction of property, the disturbance of material interests, had all been on a very large scale. The progress of the United States had been thrown back some years by this disastrous and unnatural struggle; and the feeling of friendship between the two great divisions of the English race, which was beginning to recover slightly from the War of Independence, was again dashed to the earth by bitter and exasperating memories. Since then, no war has occurred between Great Britain and the United States. Causes of quarrel have been numerous, and interested or passionate people on both sides of the Atlantic have endeavoured, by inconsiderate speaking and writing, to kindle the fires of mutual hate; but the good feeling and good sense of both countries have grown stronger with every year, and it is now understood that there are better ways out of a disagreement than through the mouth of a cannon. Increased facilities of communication—steam-vessels and electric telegraphs—have caused such an interchange of ideas on every subject of interest to human beings that the chances of a misunderstanding are greatly reduced. The press of England and the press of America speak equally to both lands, and, although their utterances are not always wise, there is a constantly-increasing overplus of opinion in favour of friendliness and peace. The manufacturers of both nations meet in the great Exhibitions of London and Philadelphia, compare their productions, profit by each other's inventions, and strengthen the habits of amity by the ties of personal acquaintance. In 1814, the English and the Americans knew little of one another, excepting such knowledge as they derived from a hundred recollections of mutual injury and insult. In these happier times they are familiar with the whole round of each other's lives, and feel through every fibre the ennobling reality of their kinship.

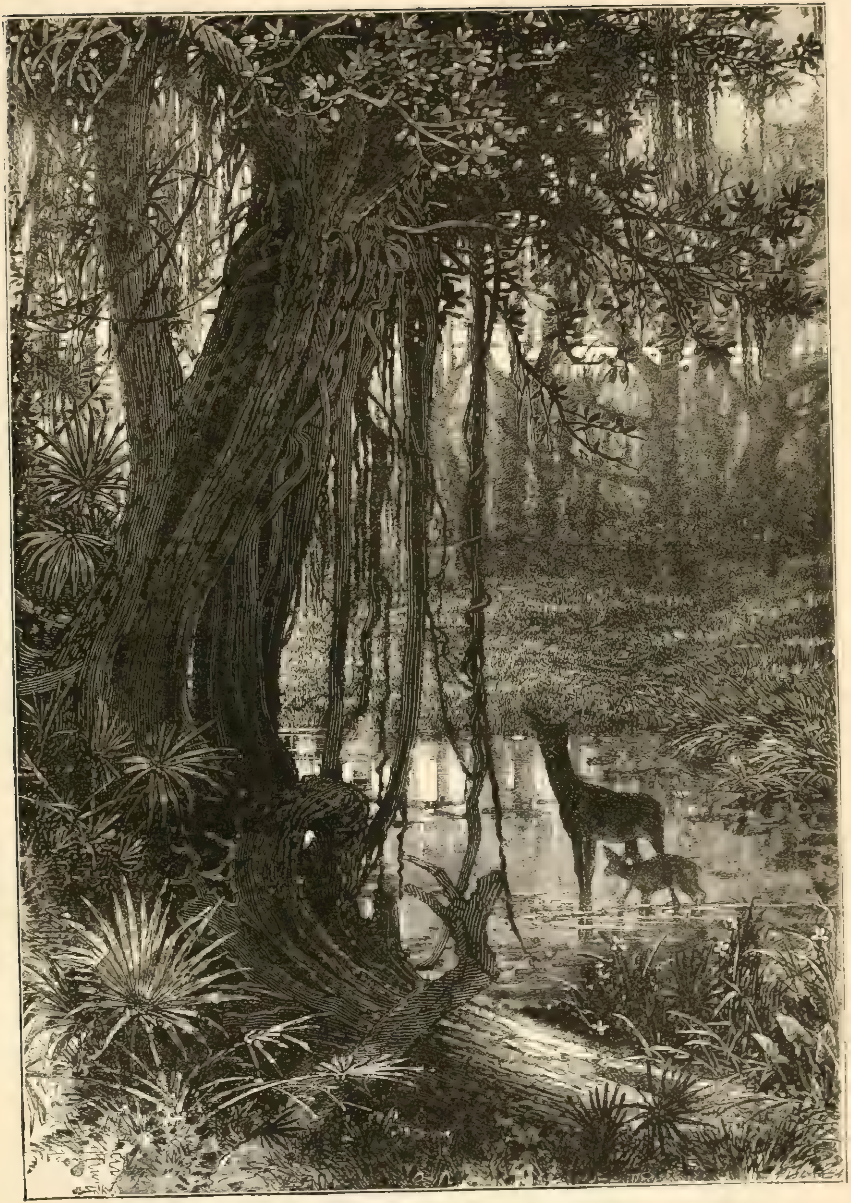


PRESIDENT MONROE. (After the Portrait by A. B. Durand.)

CHAPTER LXX.

The Cost of the War—Naval Operations against the Barbary Powers, and Submission of those States—Final Events of Madison's Administration—Election of James Monroe to the Presidency—His Previous Career—Development of Manufactures in America—Prosperity of Agriculture—Creation of New States—Large Accession of Emigrants from Great Britain—Suppression of Piratical Establishments on the Coasts of Florida and Texas—Policy of the United States towards the Spanish-American Republics—Expedition of General Jackson into Florida—Conquest of that Province by an American Force—The Conduct of Jackson impugned by the Minority in Congress—Florida ceded by Spain—Jackson's Difficulties as Governor—Alabama and Maine erected into Independent States—Violent Debates in Congress on the Subject of Slavery in Missouri—The "Missouri Compromise"—Various Acts of Monroe's Administration—Visit of the Marquis de Lafayette to America—Protective Tariffs—Election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency—His Inaugural Address to Congress—Threats of Secession in Georgia—The Year of Jubilee (1826)—Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

WHEN the Americans counted up the cost of the late war with England, they found that they were the poorer for it by a hundred millions of dollars. The total loss of life has been estimated at thirty thousand persons; but such calculations are wholly conjectural, and the number has perhaps been understated. England, doubtless, suffered much more than her opponent, both in expenditure of money and destruction of life; but it must be recollected that her resources in all respects were greater than those of the United States. Where she was most seriously injured, not only materially, but in reputation, was on the sea. An American writer records that during the struggle his countrymen captured, on the ocean and on the lakes, fifty-six British vessels of war, mounting 886 guns, and



FOREST SCENERY, FLORIDA.

2,360 merchant-vessels, mounting 8,000 guns; that, in addition to this, twenty-nine British ships of war, mounting about 800 guns, were lost on the American coast, by wreck or otherwise; and that the Americans lost only twenty-five vessels of war, and a much less number of merchant-ships than the British.* The people of the young Republic were naturally proud of their achievements. They boasted that General Jackson had conquered the conquerors of Napoleon, and ranked the defence of New Orleans among the great exploits of military history.

The war with England had only just been brought to a termination, when trouble again arose in connection with the Barbary pirates. The Dey of Algiers had in 1812 obliged Mr. Lear, the American consul, to pay him twenty-seven thousand dollars, to ensure the safety of himself, his family, and a few American residents, all of whom were threatened with slavery if the money were not produced. During the struggle of the United States with Great Britain, this African despot, knowing that the American navy would be entirely engrossed by its formidable opponents, attacked all the American merchant-vessels he could find, seized their cargoes, and sent their crews into servitude. These Mohammedan rovers were still just the same men as they had been more than two hundred years before, when Captain John Smith, afterwards of Virginia, sailed along the Mediterranean coasts in spite of them. They were nothing better than marine highwaymen, and America submitted to their exactions only so long as she felt herself unable to resist. On the conclusion of peace with England, the Government of Mr. Madison resolved to pay no more tribute to the piratical States of Barbary. War was therefore declared against the Algerines in March, 1815, and two squadrons, under Commodore Bainbridge and Commodore Decatur—officers gloriously associated with previous triumphs over the same enemy—were sent out to bring them to reason. On the 17th of June, Decatur fell in with the frigate of the Algerine Admiral, which he speedily captured. Two days later, he took another frigate, and on the 28th of the same month appeared before Algiers. He demanded the immediate surrender of all American prisoners, full indemnification for property destroyed, and the absolute renunciation for the future of all claims to tribute from the United States. The Dey, who had been informed of the capture of two of his vessels, saw the prudence of yielding, and on the 30th of June signed a treaty conceding all the requirements of Decatur. That commander being afterwards joined by Bainbridge, the Pasha of Tunis was forced to pay forty-six thousand dollars, in compensation for American vessels which he had allowed the English to capture in his harbour during the war; and a similar demand made on the Pasha of Tripoli was also satisfied. Before the close of summer, the Barbary Powers had been completely humbled, and the commerce of the United States in those waters made secure.

The last complete year of Madison's Administration (1816) was not signalised by many events of importance. A new National Bank, to replace that whose charter (granted in the time of Washington) expired in 1811, was established by Congress in 1816, with a capital of 35,000,000 dollars, and a charter to continue twenty years. Treaties of peace were concluded with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and other Indian tribes, by which additional territories were ceded to the Republic. Indiana became an independent State in the same year. This region originally constituted a part of New France, and several trading posts were established there in the early years of the settlement. The whole of the North-western Territory, of which Indiana was a part, was ceded to England at the peace of 1763, but became a portion of the Federal possessions after the conclusion of the War of Independence. On the 19th of April, 1816, a Bill passed the Federal Legislature for enabling the people of Indiana to form a Constitution and a State Government; and the resolution formally admitting their country into the Federation as a distinct State, was sanctioned on the 11th of December.

Having now filled the Presidential chair for nearly eight years, Madison determined to follow the examples of Washington and Jefferson, and to retire from any further candidature. In the approaching election, the Democratic party gave their support to Mr. Monroe, of Virginia, for the Presidency, and Mr. Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, for the secondary office. The Federalists, whose power had by this time sunk very low, brought forward Mr. Rufus King for the chief post, and, as regarded the other, divided their votes between several candidates. In the autumn, Monroe and Tompkins were elected by large majorities; indeed, the former had only one vote against him in the electoral college—the vote of New Hampshire. James Monroe was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, in April, 1759, and was of Scotch descent. During the Revolutionary War, he served for some time in the army, which he quitted after the Battle of Monmouth

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* Lossing's History of the United States.

Court House, in the year 1778, rejoining it when his State was invaded in 1781. He had studied the law under Jefferson, and, while still a young man of five-and-twenty, was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, after previously serving in the Virginia Legislature. Subsequently, he represented his country at Paris, and became Governor of his native State on returning to America. In the early years of the present century, he was again sent as Minister to Paris, and afterwards to Madrid and to London. In the Administration of Madison he had been Secretary of State. His death took place at New York on the 4th of July, 1831, and he lies buried under a simple slab in one of the cemeteries of that city.

The rule of Monroe began on the 4th of March, 1817. His Cabinet consisted of John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War; Benjamin Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy; and William Wirt, Attorney-General. All these Ministers were avowed members of the Democratic party, except John Quincy Adams, and even he had for some years forsaken his former allegiance to the Federalists. Monroe himself belonged very decidedly to the former of those political bodies, and, on his first embassy to Paris, was so strongly attached to the principles of the French Revolution that he was thought to have neglected the interests of his own Government, and was recalled by Washington. It was on his second mission to Paris, in 1802–3, that he conducted, together with Robert R. Livingston, the negotiations for the cession of Louisiana; and when in London, in 1806, he concluded, in conjunction with William Pinckney, that treaty concerning the disputed matters between England and America which Jefferson refused to allow. He was a man of good judgment, of cautious and prudent views, and of untiring perseverance in the conduct of business; but in original genius he was inferior to his predecessors. In character, his amiability was equal to that of Madison; but he had an awkward manner, which sometimes led to unpleasant results, since no quality is more necessary in a statesman than the power of saying the right thing at the right moment, and of leaving a great many things unsaid. Nevertheless, he was generally respected, and his inaugural address was considered satisfactory by most sections of the country. Shortly after his accession to power, he made a tour, of more than three months' duration, through a large part of the Union, passing from Maine, in the east, to Detroit, in the west. Jefferson disapproved of these progresses, as having too monarchical a character; but Washington had in practice given them his sanction.

At the commencement of his rule, Monroe found the manufacturing interests of the country in a very embarrassed state, owing to the competition of British goods, which, by reason of the great improvement of machinery in the old country, could be much more cheaply produced there than in America, and which, but for the duties it was considered necessary to impose on them, would probably have extinguished the native manufactures altogether—at least, for a time. The industrial arts, in which the United States now hold so conspicuous a place, were in a very rude condition in 1817. Our readers do not need to be reminded that, during the colonial days of English America, all manufactures there were not merely discountenanced, but actually forbidden, by the British Parliament. The working of iron promised at one time to be a great source of profit to the New Englanders; but it was prohibited by the Imperial Government. So also with regard to so slight a matter as the manufacture of hats: everything which could interfere with English traders was to be suppressed, in accordance with the selfish and ignorant policy of those days. Shortly after the achievement of independence, attempts were made to establish manufactories of various textile fabrics; but, owing to the dearness of labour, the want of surplus capital, and the absence of machinery, very little was effected. The imposition of the embargo at the close of 1807 was the first circumstance which gave a decided encouragement to the manufactures of America. The people were of necessity compelled to fall back upon their own resources, and, notwithstanding a few failures at the beginning, considerable progress was made in a surprisingly short time. The value of native manufactured goods, as early as 1810, was 170,000,000 dollars; in 1814, it was probably 200,000,000.* The exclusion of foreign commodities during the war, had the natural effect of enhancing the price of those which were produced at home; and the manufacturers of America were beginning to drive a good trade, when the restoration of peace interfered with their prospects. The country was inundated with British and other European productions; and for some while, until legislation of a protectionist character came to the assistance of the native manufacturer, all industries of this kind sank considerably. From 1818, however, they revived, and thenceforward entered on a stage of progressive development.

* History of the United States (1826)—an American production.

While manufactures suffered, agriculture enjoyed a period of great prosperity. The number of persons engaged in agricultural pursuits in the year 1820 was 2,070,646; and the value of all American products (including cotton, tobacco, flour, and rice), exported during the year 1823, was 37,646,000 dollars. The vast provinces of the West were being colonised by families from the Eastern States, and by emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, who, arriving in large numbers every year, added materially to the population of the Republic, and widened the area of cultivated land. Within ten years of the peace—which brings us to about the close of Monroe's Administration—five new States had grown up in those wild domains which had recently been hunting-grounds of the red man. England had for more than a hundred years contributed scarcely anything to the peopling of America; and colonies which had been created by English enterprise in the seventeenth century, had become so alien to the mother country by the middle of the eighteenth, that a large proportion of the British people believed the Americans to be negroes.* The War of Independence, the struggle of 1812–15, and the progress of popular instruction, had removed all such astounding misconceptions by the time of Monroe's Presidency; and England now once more looked towards the Western World, as she had done in the reigns of the first Stuarts, as offering a relief for her own superabundant population. As America wanted what England had in excess, the former country was an immense gainer by these large immigrations, and thenceforward made progress with amazing rapidity. In December, 1817, the Mississippi Territory was divided, and the western portion admitted into the Union as the State of Mississippi, while the eastern remained for a short time longer as a dependent province, under the title of the Alabama Territory. The latter included a portion of Georgia, which was given up for a consideration.

The same month saw the suppression of a piratical establishment which had been formed on Amelia Island, at the north-eastern extremity of the coast of Florida, by persons who alleged that they were acting under the authority of some of the Republics of South America, for the purpose of liberating the Floridas from the dominion of Spain. Another establishment of a similar nature, on the island of Galveston, Texas, was also suppressed. In addition to their avowed political objects, the persons engaged at those places were known to be carrying on a clandestine trade in slaves. From an early period in the century, the Spanish colonies in the South had been engaged in insurrectionary wars against the mother country, and some had succeeded in establishing their independence. It was the obvious policy of the Washington Cabinet to encourage these young Republics, though furtively, and thus destroy the influence of Spain. Monroe, in particular, very emphatically asserted the dogma that the monarchical form of government ought not to exist on the Continent of America—a political principle which, under the designation of the "Monroe Doctrine," has been widely received in the United States from that time to the present. Yet Monroe's Administration was not at all inclined to help these Spanish-American Republics in acquiring Florida, because Anglo-America wanted that territory for herself; and, on this account, a strict neutrality was maintained between the Government of Spain and its revolted colonies. The purchase of Florida had long been contemplated by the Americans; and, if Spain were not offended by an active exhibition of sympathy with her disobedient subjects, she might some day be persuaded to entertain offers which had previously been refused. The buccaneers, if they are to be regarded as such, were accordingly driven out from the settlements they had seized; but it is certain that these operations were dictated by no feeling of disinterested friendship towards the Government of Madrid. The prize of Florida was always glittering before the vision of American statesmen, and an opportunity now arose for grasping it.

In the latter part of 1817, the Seminole Indians, joined by a few of the Creeks, and by some runaway negroes, began to commit depredations on the frontiers of Georgia and Alabama. General Gaines was despatched to suppress these risings, and to remove every Indian from the territory which the Creeks had ceded to the United States. He was overmatched in numbers, however, and got into so dangerous a position that General Jackson was sent in all haste to his aid. This vigorous officer, acting on his own responsibility, raised a large force of Tennessee horsemen, in addition to the regular army with which he was supplied, and at once marched into the Indian territory, which he speedily overran. He was ordered not to enter Florida, except in pursuit of an enemy; but this was little more than a mask to cover the real intentions of the Government, and to furnish a decent reply to Spain in case the progress of events should be such as to lead to a remonstrance from that Power. In his recent message to Congress, the President had stated that "where the authority of Spain ceases to exist, there the United States have a right to pursue their enemy, on a principle of self-defence." At that time, the authority of the Spaniards did not extend, in Florida, much beyond the garrisons of Pensacola and St. Augustine; so that an invasion of the province seems to have been contemplated from the first. It was within the boundaries of Florida that the strongholds of the offending Indians were to be found; and into this country General Jackson determined to advance. He entered within its limits in March, 1818, and in April took possession of the weak Spanish post of St. Mark, at the head of Apalachee Bay. Here he arrested two British subjects, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, who were accused before a court-martial of having acted as emissaries among the Southern Indians, and incited them to hostilities. Their being found guilty was of course a foregone conclusion; they were condemned to death, and both were executed on the 30th of April. Jackson then marched on Pensacola, the capital of the province, expelled the Spanish authorities, and asserted the rule of the United States over the whole territory. For this high-handed proceeding, the alleged excuse was that the representatives of Spain had encouraged the Indians in making depredations in Alabama. The Spanish Governor protested against the invasion of his Sovereign's realm; but Jackson was not the man to heed such remonstrances, or to stand very long on niceties of international law. The Governor and his followers fled on horseback to Fort Barrancas, at the entrance to Pensacola Bay, where the American General had no great difficulty in stamping out resistance to his authority. On the 27th of May, three days after the flight of the Governor, Barrancas was captured by Jackson, and the Spanish officials and troops were sent to Havannah.

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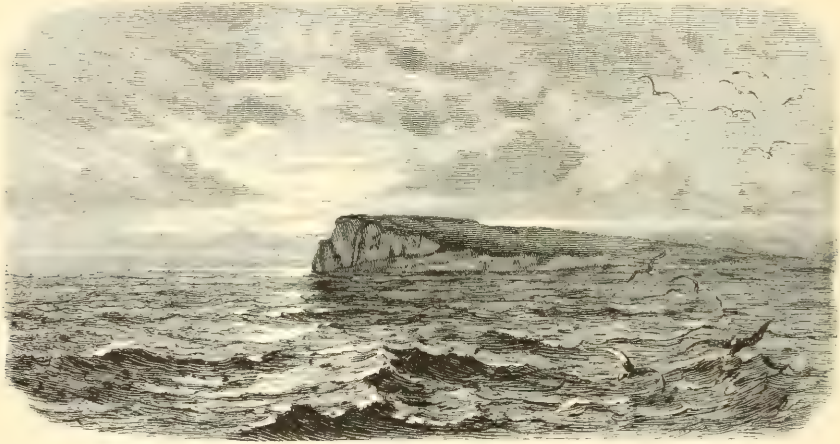
* Colonel Barré made this extraordinary statement, in 1775, to Josiah Quincy, who repeated it in a letter to Joseph Reed. (See Gordon's "History of the War of Independence," Vol. I., p. 438.) Barré referred to the beginning of George III.'s reign, and said that above two-thirds of the British people were thus ignorant. But this was more than he could possibly know, and must doubtless be set down as a colloquial exaggeration.

The proceedings of Jackson had been of a very questionable character, and they speedily formed a topic of remonstrance in the Legislature of the United States. The whole conduct of the Seminole war was investigated by a committee appointed for the purpose, and the report of this body censured the General very severely. It declared that he had disregarded the orders of the War Department; that he had committed gross breaches of the Constitution and the laws; that he had arrogated to himself the monstrous power of raising a volunteer army of 2,500 men, with 230 officers, out of whom court-martials had been formed, to decide upon life and death; that, although the victims condemned might perhaps have put themselves out of the pale of the law, General Jackson might almost as well have caused a court-martial of his volunteers to judge any American citizen who happened to be an officer of militia; and that his entering into Pensacola was contrary to his instructions, and highly blamable. That these charges were just, it would be very difficult to deny; but Jackson had the merit of success, and, having secured to his country a large accession of splendid territory, he was not wanting in supporters, and those the most influential. The Ministry ranged themselves on his side, and the President regarded him as having cleverly carried out a tortuous policy, the real nature of which it had not been convenient to avow beforehand. Congress was the scene of many exciting debates on the subject, and the number of votes upon several of the questions was nearly equal. Jackson contended that the Spaniards had persistently incited the Indians to their deeds of blood and rapine, and that prompt and efficient measures were absolutely necessary. The majority of the people adopted this view, and in the result his friends succeeded in carrying through Congress a vote of exculpation.

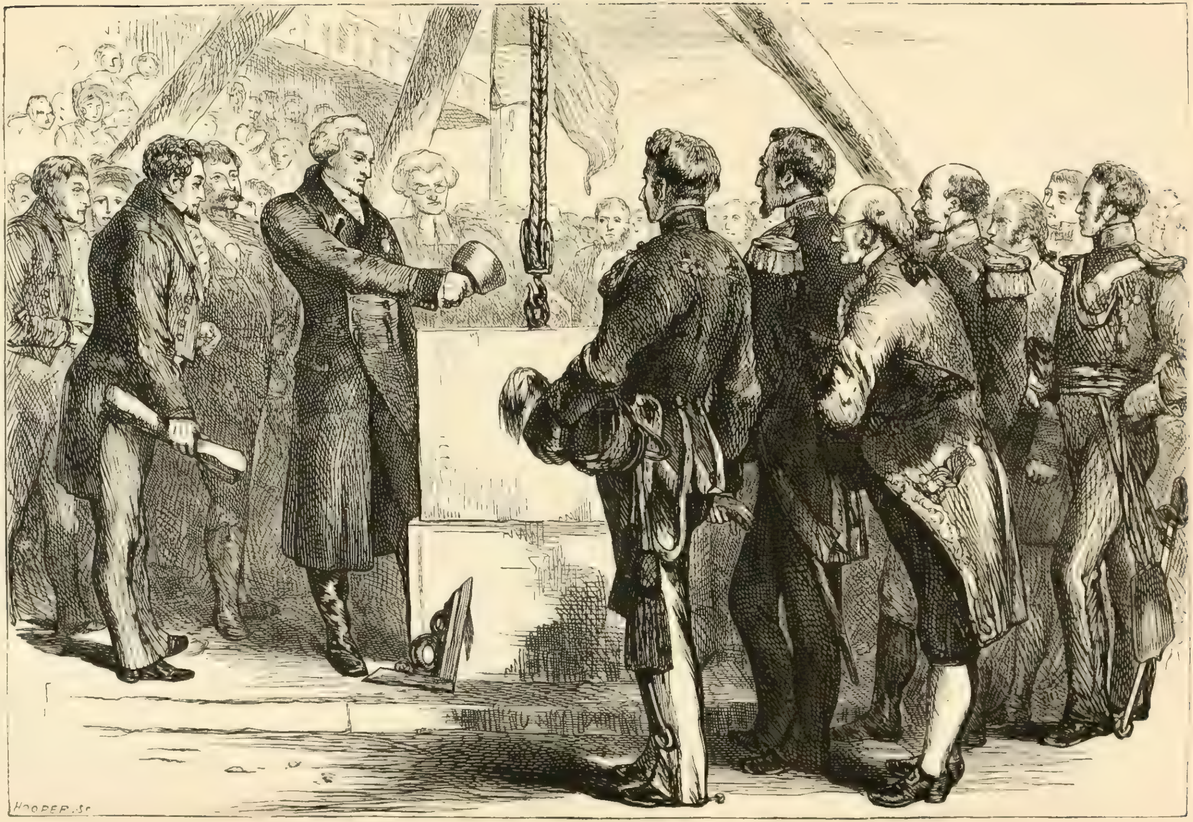
The addition of Florida to the United States was now an accomplished fact, though it still wanted the sanction of legal forms. The Americans were in possession, and Spain, distracted by civil war over the whole of what had once been her vast domains in the New World, was unable to expel her powerful rival, or to reverse the course of events. In February, 1819, a treaty was negotiated at Washington, by which Spain ceded to the United States both East and West Florida, together with the adjacent islands. King Ferdinand, however, refused to ratify this instrument, and despatched an Envoy to America, to make complaints on various points, but principally with respect to encroachments on the Mexican province of Texas. This led to much delay, but the treaty was at length ratified in October, 1820. Florida was erected into a Territory in February, 1821, and in the following month General Jackson was appointed the first Governor of that beautiful and fertile province.

He had a difficult task to perform. The Spanish officials whom he found there threw every obstruction in his way that they could devise, and amongst other things refused to give up the provincial archives, which, according to the treaty, were to be delivered to the new possessors. Even when they were at length obtained in the main, it was found that some particular documents were kept back by Don Cavalla, the late Spanish Governor. Jackson sent an armed force to bring Cavalla before him. The Spaniard resisted, and was carried from his bed to prison; the missing papers were then seized, and Cavalla was discharged. Nothing was more conspicuous in Jackson than a prompt and despotic resort to force. Had he been a Frenchman, he might have proved another Napoleon Bonaparte, for he certainly possessed soldier-like abilities, and had precisely that character which falls in with the military and Imperial order of society. His methods were not much in harmony with the political system of his own country; but he generally succeeded in his designs, and was therefore popular. On the present occasion, as at former times, his proceedings were blamed in Congress; but he had the support of the majority, and could well afford to disregard the objectors.

The recognition of the Spanish-American Republics by the United States followed at no distant date. In 1819, the southern portion of Missouri was formed into a Territorial Government under the name of Arkansas; and in December of the same year Alabama was admitted into the Union. Early in 1820, Maine, which had for nearly two hundred years been a portion of Massachusetts, was severed from that State, and suffered to enjoy a distinct existence. Maine had originally been settled by the French, and was long a ground of contention between that nation and the English. It was at first the property of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his descendants. The proprietary rights of this family were disputed by the Colonial Government of Massachusetts, which forcibly assumed jurisdiction about 1652, and in 1677 purchased the whole province. The people of Maine, however, though as well disposed towards the Republican cause during the War of Independence as any other part of the Federation, did not approve of their connection with the State which had its capital at Boston. They desired to follow their own ways, and from 1820 downwards they have enjoyed that wish.


AMELIA ISLAND, FLORIDA.

Missouri had of late been applying for admission into the Union, and this demand was made the occasion of a violent debate in Congress—one of a very long series of similar discussions—on the vexed question of slavery. During the session of 1818–19, a Bill was introduced into Congress, containing a provision which forbade the existence of slavery or involuntary servitude in Missouri, when that Territory should be constituted as a State. The subject was fiercely argued during the whole session; it had not been brought to a close when the Houses adjourned; the country itself caught the contagion of excitement, and the usual cry of disruption was raised, as on many previous occasions. When Secession at last came, in 1861, it was no new idea to the American people: it had been threatened again and again—now by the North, and now by the South, according as the objects of either seemed imperilled. The division between



LAFAYETTE LAYING THE CORNER-STONE OF THE BUNKER'S HILL MONUMENT.

those two great sections was indeed very strongly marked—in soil, in climate, in political institutions, in social customs, and in material interests; and the battle never raged more hotly, as far as language was concerned, than during the period at which we have now arrived. When the discussion was resumed, on the 23rd of November, 1820, much acrimony was displayed in the speeches delivered on both sides. The whole question of slavery was debated with that vehemence which it is so well calculated to call forth. The North-eastern States, which had put an end to negro bondage among themselves, were of course strongly opposed to any extension of the detestable system into States about to be admitted to the Union. The South was equally desirous of widening the area of African servitude, in order that in the Senate there might be a majority of States pledged to support the custom, together with all those interests which were bound up in its existence. The Missourians themselves were inclined to go with the South; and, having refused to adopt a clause for the prohibition of the growth of slavery, the Northern States obstructed their admission into the Federal body. Thus the battle hung: the North taking its stand upon the cruel and immoral character of slavery; the South maintaining that, even if objectionable in itself, it was part of the existing order of things, and could not be suddenly abolished, or even curtailed, without serious danger to the whole social fabric. The slave-trade, as regarded Africa and other foreign lands, had been suppressed for several years; but slaves were bred at home, and sold by one State to another, as they were needed. The Western States in this way produced a good many slaves, and found a large source of profit in disposing of them to other parts of the country. Missouri, wishing to share in these gains, violently resisted the restriction which the Northern members of Congress desired to impose, and threatened in 1819 to constitute itself a sovereign and entirely independent State, if not admitted to the Union on its own terms. The question was settled by a compromise on the 28th of February, 1821, in accordance with which slavery was to be tolerated in Missouri, but prohibited in all other parts of the Union north and west of the northern limits of Arkansas; and upon this understanding Missouri, on the 21st of August, was admitted to the Federation as its twenty-fourth member. Such was the "Missouri Compromise," which appears again and again in American history, as a source of dispute and recrimination.

This parting of the Federation into two divisions, with distinct and opposing interests, seemed to the veteran Jefferson a danger of a very menacing kind. He was hardly the politician most entitled to complain; for, by exaggerating the principle of State rights, he had encouraged the tendency to a sectional view of politics, and had strengthened the disposition of the slave-holding States to isolate themselves in support of their beloved institution. But he was not himself an admirer of slavery, though he did not clearly see his way to getting rid of it; and he was too wise and patriotic a citizen to desire a dissolution of the Union which he had done so much to create. He wrote to a friend in 1820:—"I have been among the most sanguine in believing that our Union would be of long duration. I now doubt it much, and see the event at no great distance, and the direct consequence of this question; not by the line which has been so confidently counted on—the laws of Nature control this—but by the Potomac, Ohio, and Missouri, or, more probably, the Mississippi upwards to our northern boundary. My only comfort and confidence is, that I shall not live to see this."* He considered the proposed action of Congress, in imposing regulations on the several States with regard to the extension of slavery, as grossly unconstitutional. But the idea of a line of geographical demarcation, involving a different system of politics and morals, he feared would gather force with time, reappear again and again, and in the end produce so deadly a feeling of mutual hate that separation would become preferable to eternal discord. His anticipations were disastrously realised forty-one years later.

During the discussion of the Missouri question, the President and Vice-President were re-elected for another term of four years by an almost unanimous vote. The Federal party was now nearly extinct. Although it still counted several members capable of making considerable opposition in Congress, it was devoid of all effective organisation, and had very little influence in the country generally. The policy of Monroe had been popular; his administration had been successful; and the Democrats had no difficulty in carrying him again into power. Two measures of his Government were particularly well received by the people of the United States. One of these was an Act of Congress, passed in March, 1818, for making some degree of provision for the surviving officers and soldiers of the Revolution—an Act which was subsequently extended, so as to include the widows and children of those who had already departed; the second was an arrangement, made with Great Britain in October of the same year, by which American citizens were allowed to share with English subjects in the fisheries of Newfoundland. It was at this period also that the boundary of the United States towards Canada, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, was defined.

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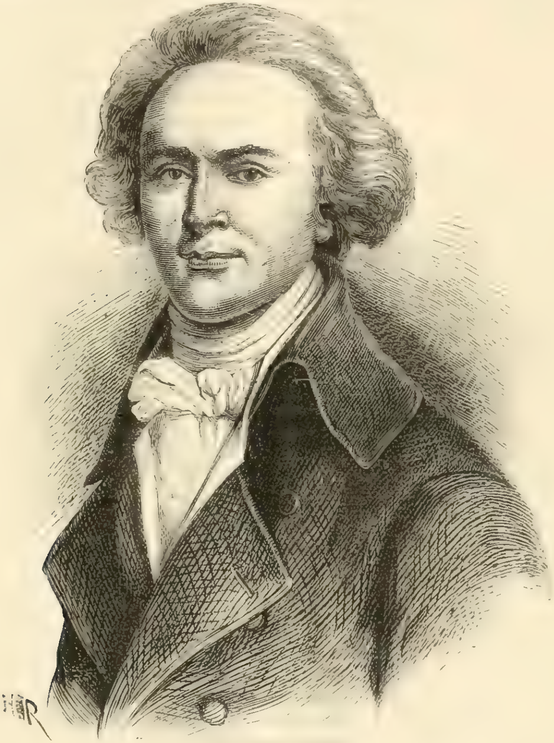
* Jefferson to William Short, April 13, 1820.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The remaining events of Monroe's Presidency are neither numerous nor very weighty. Among the most conspicuous was the suppression of piracy in the West Indies. A small American squadron under Commodore Perry, the hero of the naval action on Lake Erie, was sent out in 1819 to chastise the sea-rovers who made a prey of American commerce amongst those islands. Perry shortly afterwards died of yellow fever, but in 1822 another American squadron destroyed more than twenty piratical vessels on the coast of Cuba. Next year, a larger force, under Commodore Porter, completed the work, and the mercantile vessels of America were for a time free from the pillage of these buccaneers. The years 1824 and 1825 were distinguished by a very agreeable incident. The Marquis de Lafayette, who as a young man had fought with Washington for the independence of the English colonies in America, now revisited those lands after a lapse of almost half a century. His reception, as might naturally be expected, was of the most enthusiastic kind. No king, no conqueror, has ever received a more splendid ovation than this French nobleman who had believed in freedom in his youth, who had not forsworn it in his age, and to whom every American looked up as one of the surviving fathers of his country. He landed at New York in August, 1824, and subsequently made a tour through all the States of the Union, passing over five thousand miles of territory, and finding in every place a reception which came warm and throbbing from the depths of the popular heart. This interesting tour belongs partly to the Presidency of Monroe, and partly to that of John

Quincy Adams. While at Boston, on the 17th of June, 1825, the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker's Hill, Lafayette laid the corner-stone of the monument then about to be erected in commemoration of that conflict. In September of the same year, he departed from Washington in an American frigate, prepared for his reception, and entitled the *Brandywine*, in allusion to the first battle in which Lafayette had been engaged, and where he was wounded in the leg forty-eight years before. Previous to his return, Congress had voted him the sum of two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land, as a testimony of the national gratitude.

The American system of taxation came up for reconsideration in the year 1824. The restrictive commercial policy of England, in the opening days of the Federation, had led to a similar policy on the part of the United States; and these principles of protection to native industry still continued in force, although England was now beginning to enter on a more liberal path. Mr. Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, carried through Parliament, in the session of 1823, a measure which provided that duties and drawbacks should be imposed and allowed on all goods equally, whether imported or exported in British or foreign vessels, but which also reserved the power of continuing the existing restrictions with respect to those countries which should decline to act on a system of reciprocity. The same principle received a further application in 1824; but the Americans were not inclined to follow the good example. Although the British ports in the West Indies had been thrown open to American vessels, nothing was offered in return. The policy of protecting home manufactures, by imposing a heavy duty on all foreign articles likely to come into competition with them, was carried out more systematically than at any previous time. The tariff of 1824 raised to a very serious degree the imposts levied on foreign, and especially on British, manufactures. Retaliation was held to be a good device when other countries were illiberal; but reciprocity, when they were inclined to a more generous order of statesmanship, was regarded with distrust and derision. Some amount of protection may indeed have been necessary when the manufactures of the United States, in their tender infancy, were struggling for bare existence; but the commercial principles of the Federal Government, adopted at an early date, and confirmed by the legislation of 1824, established an unhealthy condition of trade, from which the country has suffered not a little, and suffers even to this hour.

Towards the end of 1824, the Presidential election once more recurred. The candidates were—John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, and son of John Adams; General Jackson; Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; and Mr. Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Adams had the support of the New Englanders; Jackson was the favourite of the extreme Southern States; Crawford could count on the votes of the Virginians, and Clay on those of the Western men. The contest lay mainly between Adams and Jackson, but the result was complicated by the two other candidates. Not one of the four had the requisite majority, and the choice accordingly lay with the House of Representatives. By the votes of that Chamber, John Quincy Adams was declared President, although, in the more direct election, Jackson had had the greater number of suffrages. Mr. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was the Vice-President. For his Cabinet, the younger Adams nominated, on his inauguration in March, 1825, Henry Clay, Secretary of State; Richard Rush, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, Secretary of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy; and William Wirt, Attorney General. The last two were already in office. In the Senate, considerable opposition was shown to the nomination of Henry Clay as Secretary of State. He was charged with defeating the election of General Jackson, by giving his influence to Mr. Adams on condition that he should receive the appointment which was in fact conferred on him. The truthfulness of this charge was strenuously denied, and a majority of thirteen Senators confirmed the nomination of Clay.

In his inaugural address, Mr. Adams observed:—"Since the period of our independence, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve; a territory bounded by the Mississippi has been extended from sea to sea; and States have been admitted to the Union in numbers nearly equal to those of the first Federation. Treaties of peace, amity, and commerce have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectually as under any other Government on the globe, and at a cost little exceeding in a whole generation the expenditure of other nations in a single year." The great parties of Federalists and Democrats, which had so long divided the country, Mr. Adams, by a conclusion more sanguine than correct, pronounced to be extinct. The nation, he said, was agreed on the fundamental principles of government; and he added:—"The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the Government of the United States first came into operation under this constitution, excited a collision of sentiments and sympathies, which kindled all the passions, and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the Union was shaken to its centre. This time of trial embraced a period of five-and-twenty years; during which the policy of the Union, in its relations with Europe, constituted the principal basis of our political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of our Federal Government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French Revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted. From that time, no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed, or been called forth in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or to give more than wholesome animation to public sentiment or legislative debate. . . . . If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy were a government competent to the wise and orderly management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, these doubts have been dispelled; if there have been projects of partial confederacies to be erected upon the ruins of the Union, they have been scattered to the winds." The President nevertheless considered it necessary to recommend his countrymen to preserve the Union which they had established, and to discard those party animosities, founded on "geographical divisions and adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life," which had so direct a tendency to separation.

The wisdom of this advice was made sufficiently manifest within a very short time. In the course of 1825, a controversy arose between the Federal Administration and the Governor of Georgia, concerning the lands of the Creek Indians, and the removal of those savages from their aboriginal seats. As a compensation to Georgia for relinquishing her claims to considerable portions of the Mississippi Territory, the Federal Government had in a previous year agreed to purchase for the Georgians certain Indian lands within their borders, whenever this could be done peaceably and upon reasonable terms. The Creeks, however, refused to sell their ground, on which they were beginning to settle down with something like civilised habits. Troup, the Governor of Georgia, insisted on the fulfilment of the contract, and, having caused the lands to be surveyed, prepared to distribute them by lottery. The Government of the United States regarded this proceeding as tyrannical, and refused to sanction it. Nevertheless, several years later, the Creeks and Cherokees were transported to the wilderness beyond the Mississippi, but not before the question had evoked a vast amount of bitterness. The Georgians believed that the opposition to their wishes proceeded mainly from the New Englanders; and their House of Representatives, in 1825, passed a resolution which fell little short of an announcement of secession, and which is in many respects a curious anticipation of the principles avowed and acted on in 1861. The resolution stated:—

"The hour is come, or it is rapidly approaching, when the States from Virginia to Georgia, from Missouri to Louisiana, must confederate, and as one man say to the Union: We will no longer submit our constitutional rights to bad men in Congress, or on judicial benches. The powers necessary to the protection of the Confederated States from enemies without and enemies within, alone were confided to the United Government; all others were retained to the several States, separate and sovereign. The States of the South will convey their products to the markets of the world; the world will open wide its arms to receive them. Let our Northern brethren, then, if there is no peace in Union, if the compact has become too heavy to be longer borne, in the names of all the mercies find peace among themselves. Let them continue to rejoice in their self-righteousness; let them bask in their own meridian, while they depict the South as a hideous reverse. As Athens, as Sparta, as Rome was, we will be; they held slaves, we hold them. In the simplicity of the patriarchal government we would still remain master and servant, under our own vine and our own fig-tree, and confide for safety upon Him who of old time looked down upon this state of things without wrath." Such were the preludings of ultimate civil war.

The second year of the younger Adams's Presidency (1826) was a year of jubilee. The 4th of July was the fiftieth anniversary of the Independence of the United States. It was on that day, in 1776, that the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence which had been drawn up by Jefferson. The experiment then commenced had received the sanction of more than a generation, and the United States no longer occupied a tentative position, but stood before the world as a recognised and successful Power, possessing the grandest future of any nation on the globe. The day was kept as a national holiday throughout the Union, and young and old combined in homage to the general mother of all—the great Republic which had broken with the worst precedents of royalty, feudalism, and ecclesiasticism, and had taken its stand on the principle so tersely expressed by an American poet of the present day, that "Only manhood ever makes a man." It is perhaps one of the most extraordinary facts in history—a fact full of a mysterious and almost sacred beauty—that in the midst of those rejoicings the two chief Americans of the revolutionary epoch, next to Washington, passed away from earth. Four days previously—viz., on the 30th of June, at nine o'clock in the morning—a gentleman, who had been deputed to make an oration on the great day, called on the venerable John Adams, and asked for a toast, to be presented as coming from him. "I will give you," said the noble old man, "'Independence for ever!'" He was asked if he would not add anything to it; and he replied, "Not a word." When those who had assembled at Quincy on the 4th of July were leaving the hall in which they had held their meeting, it was reported to them that John Adams was just dead. He had long been sinking, with the placidity not unusual in extreme age, for he was nearly ninety-one; and on the morning of the 4th was awakened by the ringing of bells. He was asked if he knew the meaning of what he heard. "Oh, yes," he answered, "it is the glorious 4th of July. God bless it! God bless you all!" Some time after, he observed, "It is a great and glorious day;" and then, after a pause, added, "Jefferson yet survives." But the author of the Declaration had already departed. In the course of the previous night (he had been ill several days), Jefferson awoke out of an apparent stupor, and asked the hour. Being told it was one o'clock, he expressed some signs of satisfaction, and it was evident that he had wished his life to be prolonged to the anniversary of the Day of Independence. He expired during the morning; Adams, at about six o'clock in the evening. Jefferson had himself attained a very advanced age, being then rather more than eighty-three; but the years of Adams were almost patriarchal. These two great men had been fellow-workers in the prime of their manhood. At a later day, party divisions had estranged them; but it is a happy fact that later still, when both had retired from the clamour and exasperation of politics, their ancient friendship was renewed and strengthened. In primitive times, two such men, departing almost simultaneously on the fiftieth anniversary of an event famous in the history of the world, and with which they had both been so intimately associated, would have acquired a mythical position, such as would very soon have elevated them to the rank of demi-gods. As it is, they will go down to remotest posterity, surrounded by the grandeur of noble service, the felicity of prolonged days, and the consecration of a death which has hardly the element of sadness.

END OF VOLUME II.

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